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No. 1.—REWAH PLATES OF THE TIME OF TRAILOKYAMALLADEVA: [KALACHURI] YEAR 963.

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This set of two copper-plates was found in 1929 at **Dhureti**, a village about 7 miles from the Rewah town, by a cultivator while ploughing his field, and is now preserved in the Treasury at Rewah. During my visit to Rewah early in 1936. I came to know of this find and later in the same year the Political Minister of the State very kindly sent me the plates for examination and taking impressions. The record has already been noticed by me in the *Annual Report, Archaeological Survey of India*, 1935-36, pp. 90-91 and I am now editing it in the *Epigraphia Indica* with the kind permission of the Rewah Darbar.

The plates measure  $15\frac{1}{2}'' \times 10\frac{1}{2}''$  each and are strung together by means of a ring, passing through a hole pierced about the middle of each plate. They are inscribed on one side only, the obverse of the first and the reverse of the second plate being left blank. They have highly raised rims which have protected the writing beautifully. There is a seal attached to the ring, bearing at the top the figure of Gaja-Lakshmi in relief, rather crudely executed. Below the figure is a legend in one line which reads *Śrīmat-Traiḷōyamalla*. When the plates were received by me the ring was found already cut but there can be no doubt that both the ring and the seal belong to the plates under discussion. The seal measures  $6\frac{3}{4}'' \times 4\frac{1}{4}''$  and the plates including the ring and the seal weigh 419 *tolas*.

Each plate has 11 lines of writing, the letters being approximately  $\frac{1}{2}''$  in height. The engraver appears to have left too much margin between the lines in the second plate and had to engrave the last two lines in slightly smaller characters so that the record could be completed in this face of the plate. The engraving was done rather carelessly. Some of the letters are ill formed and while syllables have been dropped in many places, only in two cases the missing letters have been supplied at the top of the line concerned. The characters are Nāgarī, the language being Sanskrit. The whole record with the exception of three verses in ll. 1-5 is in prose. Several mistakes in grammar and syntax show that though the record was composed by two Pandits, neither of them was a proficient scholar in Sanskrit. The script does not call for any special remarks but attention may be drawn to the following minor points. The *anusvāna* has sometimes been represented by a circle above the syllable to which it belongs, e.g., *siṃha* (l. 8), *Śrīchanda* (l. 9), *paṇḍita* (l. 11), etc., and sometimes it has been written in an ornamental way, e.g., *ōm* (l. 1), *mantri*, *maṇḍalaka* (l. 8), *śaṇḍhi*° (l. 8), etc. In writing *ś* sometimes a cross bar has been used joining the two limbs of the letter thus making it look like *s*, cf. *Śivāya* (l. 1), *śaranyah* (l. 4), *śrī-Malayasiṃha* (l. 8), *Śaiv-āchārya*° (l. 11), etc. Due to shabbiness in writing it is sometimes hard to distinguish between *v* and *ch*. For the same reason *pra* in *pravarddhamāna* and *ṭha* in *Jyēṣṭha* (l. 7) look like *via* and *ra* respectively. As

regards orthography the following points may be noted : (1) The same sign has been used for writing *v* and *b*, e.g., *Kanyakurj*° (l. 6). (2) While consonants in conjunction with a subscript *r* have never been doubled, those joined with a superscript *r* have sometimes been doubled and sometimes left single, e.g., *sarvva*- (ll. 4, 5, etc.), *pravarddhamāna* (l. 7), *chakravartti*- (l. 11), *Duvvāsū* (l. 12), etc., as against *samarthō* (l. 3), *Chaturmukha* (l. 4), *dharma*° (l. 9), *kārya* (l. 19), etc. (3) *Anusvāra* has invariably been used in place of the nasal of the same class, e.g., *namdanō* (l. 1), *kōmal-āṃgō* (l. 2), *Nilakamṭha* (ll. 2-3), *-āmbhōja* (l. 4), etc. (4) *Rēpha* has been wrongly dropped in *Tipura* (l. 3) and *visarga* in *Nilakamṭha* (ll. 2-3), *tapa*, *kuśala* (l. 11), *Sēvarāja* (l. 14), etc. (5) While *ś* and *s* cannot always be distinguished for reasons stated above, *ś* has been definitely used for *s* in *hamśa* (l. 4), *śaṃdhī*° (l. 8), *=āśvāśa* (l. 17) and *vice versā* in *Sēvarāja* (l. 14) if it stands for *Śivarāja*. (6) *Sandhi* has not been observed in many places, sometimes not even between members forming a compound, e.g., *°ra-aśvapati* (l. 5), *Vāhaḍa-artha-lekhi*- (ll. 8-9) and wrong *sandhi* is found in *-sūtō Śānta*° (l. 13). In l. 13 though honorific plural has been used in *Śāntaśiva-charaṇāḥ*, all the qualifying epithets have been left in singular. The genitive in *Dharēkasya* (l. 14), however, has been correctly used, as this person was not the recipient of a permanent gift.<sup>1</sup> The term *vittava(ba)ṃdhā* (ll. 13, 19) which I have taken in the sense of 'mortgage, or pledge for money received' is of lexicographic interest. All the errors occurring in the record have been corrected either in the body of the text or in the footnotes accompanying it.

The inscription opens with the sacred syllable *ōm* and obeisance to Śiva and Gaṇapati which are followed by three invocatory verses. The first two of these verses are in praise of Kṛishṇa and Śiva respectively and the third is a quotation of the verse found at the commencement of Daṇḍin's *Kāvyaḍarśa*. A similar instance is found in the Rewah Plates of the Mahārāṇaka Kumārapāla (V. S. 1297) and the Mahārāṇaka Harirājadēva (V. S. 1298)<sup>2</sup> where the last of the three introductory verses is taken from the introduction to Bāṇa's *Kādambarī*.

The record (ll. 5-7) refers itself to 'the prosperous, auspicious and victorious reign of the illustrious Trailōkyamalladēva, who was endowed with all the royal titles commencing with *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* (i.e., *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara*), who was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva), who was the lord over three *rājas* (viz.), the lord of horses, the lord of elephants and the lord of men, who was a veritable Vāchaspati in the investigation of the various (branches of) knowledge, who meditated on the feet of the illustrious Vāmadēva, (and) who was the lord of Kanyakubja'. In l. 12 he is also called *triśatī-rājy-ādhipati*, an epithet not met with elsewhere.

The date of the record is given in l. 7 as *Saṃma(va)t 963 Jyēshṭha-śūdi 7 Sōmē dinam*-*(nē)*, i.e., on Monday the 7th day of the light half of the month of Jyēshṭha in the year 963, which must be referred to the Kalachuri era. The date is, however, irregular, unless *Sōmē* is an error for *Saumyē* in which case it would regularly correspond to Wednesday, the 9th May A.D. 1212.

Lines 7-9 mention some of the officers of the king and the offices they held. Malayasimha who bears the titles *Mahāmahattaka* and *Maṃḍalika* was the minister (*mantrin*) of the king. The other officers mentioned are : Thakkura Haripāla, the *Sandhivigrahika* or the minister of Foreign Affairs, Vāhaḍa, the city-prefect (*Kōṭṭapāla*) and Srīchāṃda, who was a merchant (*śrēṣṭhīn*), the writer of deeds (*arthalekhi*). The last three among others appear to have been the members of the *pañchakula* and the *dharmaḍhikarāṇa*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Tattvabodhinī* on the rule *Karmāṇa yam=abhipraiti sa saṃpradānam* (Pāṇini, 1-4-32) : *dānam ch=āpunar-grahaṇāya sa=evata-nirpitti-pūracakāḥ para=evav-ākṣpādanam*.

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 231 ff. and 235 ff. For another inscription where the benedictory stanza of Kāli-*dāsa's* *Sakuntalā* is cited as an introductory verse, see above, Vol. XI, p. 65.

The record is interesting in that it is not the usual land-grant but is a *vitta-bandha* or 'deed of mortgage'<sup>1</sup> for the village *Alirā*, situated in the *Dhōvahaṭṭa-pattana* of the *Dhanavāhi-pattalā*. The village was pledged by the Śaiva teacher *Śāntaśiva*, son of the royal preceptor (*rājaguru*) *Vimalaśiva*, to the Rāpaka *Dharōka*, but no mention is made of the actual amount of money that was taken as loan. The mortgagee, who belonged to the *Vatsa-gōtra*, was a son of *Sēvarāja* (*Śivarāja*) and grandson of *Rāsala*. The document is said to have been issued from a camp in a certain auspicious place, apparently in the city of *Dhōvahaṭṭa* (ll. 10-14). The deed was executed by *Nādaśiva*, another son of *Vimalaśiva*, on the authorisation of his elder brother *Śāntaśiva* (ll. 15-18). The mortgagee was given all the rights of collecting taxes. As far as it can be made out from l. 19, the meaning of which is not quite clear, he also appears to have been given the right of holding the village in pledge as long as he wished, probably meaning thereby till all the dues were cleared. There were seven witnesses to the deed, viz., the *Paṭṭakila* *Madanē*, *Śilē*, *Thākur Sūpaṭa*, *Thākur Gāmgē*, *Raṇadhavala*, *Gaṇḍadēva* and *Kavita* (? ll. 19-20). It appears from the use of punctuation marks in lines 20-21 that *Thākur Gōllana*, probably an additional witness, was also authorised to take possession, evidently on behalf of the mortgagee. The document was drawn up by the Pandits *Viśvēśvara* and *Gaṇḍādhara* and engraved by *Śiruka*. As it is not a land-grant, it naturally does not contain any imprecatory and benedictory verses at the end.

In connection with the identification of *Trailōkyamalla* mentioned in the present record we may observe that most of the *binudas* used by this ruler were used by the Kalachuri rulers of Tripurī and also by the *Gāhaḍavāla* rulers of Kanauj. But though places in the neighbourhood of Rewah were within the Kalachuri territory we do not know of any Kalachuri ruler of this name. I would therefore identify this *Trailōkyamalla* with the homonymous ruler mentioned in the Rewah Plates of *Harirāja* of V. S. 1298.<sup>2</sup> Cunningham and Kielhorn have already suggested that he is no other than the Chandēlla ruler *Trailōkyavarman* for whom we have records dating from V. S. 1261 to 1298 (A.D. 1205-1241). But while *Trailōkyavarman*, like his predecessors, calls himself *Kālāñjarādhipati* in both the sets of Garrah plates of V. S. 1261<sup>3</sup> and *Trikaṇḍādhipati* in the Rewah plates of the *Mahārāpaka Kumārāpāla* dated V. S. 1297,<sup>4</sup> he is called *Kanyakubjādhipati* in the present inscription, a title used by the *Gāhaḍavāla* rulers of Kanauj. Though this last-mentioned title is not found in any other Chandēlla record, it is not unlikely that with the decline of the *Gāhaḍavāla* power, *Trailōkyamalla* assumed this title, as he did also the title of *Trikaṇḍādhipati* borne by the Kalachuris of *Dāhala*. Many years ago a hoard of 48 silver coins of the Chandēlla *Madanavarman* was found at *Panwar* in the *Teonthar Tahsil* of the Rewah State.<sup>5</sup> This find tends to show, as has been already suggested by Dr. H. C. Ray<sup>6</sup>, that even in the time of this ruler the Chandēlla power penetrated into *Bāghelkhand*, north of the *Kaimur* range. But that the country around Rewah still continued to be under the Kalachuris for several decades is certain. We have two inscriptions of the Kalachuri *Vijayasinha's* time to support this view. The first is the Rewah plate of *Salakshaṇavarman*, the chief of *Kakarēdi* (modern *Kakreri* on the border of Rewah and Panna States) and still a feudatory of

<sup>1</sup> For a deed of mortgage engraved on brick which was found in a village near Jaunpur, see *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 454-56. It is dated *Samvat* 1273 *Āshāḍha-śudī* 6 *Rava* (=Sunday, 11th June, A.D. 1217) and records the loan of 2,250 *dranmas* on the pledge of certain fields.

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 235 f.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. XVI, pp. 274 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 231 ff.

<sup>5</sup> See *J. P. A. S. B.*, Vol. X (1914), pp. 199 f.

<sup>6</sup> See his *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. I, pp. 727 f.



Vijayasimha in V. S. 1253 (A.D. 1195),<sup>1</sup> the date of the record, and the second, the Rewah inscription of Malayasimha<sup>2</sup> dated K. 944 (A.D. 1192-93). Verse 24 of the latter record seems to show that already before K. 944, Salakshana had tried to throw off the yoke of subordination of these rulers, probably by joining hands with the Chandēllas, an attempt in which he was not apparently successful. I have noticed elsewhere a damaged inscription of the reign of Vijayasimha,<sup>3</sup> the date on which seems to read (Chēdi year) 962. Unfortunately the provenance of this record, which was issued from Tripurī, is not known. But as it is now deposited in the Rewah Treasury, it is likely that it did not come from a place far from the Rewah town. If that is so, it is clear that the Kalachuris were still holding sway in this part of Bāghelkhand in K. 962. The record under consideration, however, shows that in K. 963, i.e., only a year later, their territory contiguous to the Rewah town had passed under the Chandēllas.

In the inscription of Vijayasimha of K. 962 referred to above, we find the name of one Maṇḍalika Malayasimha mentioned among the officers of this ruler. The Rewah inscription of K. 944 also mentions a Sāmanta Malayasimha who was responsible for the excavation of a tank and also for the setting up of the record in the reign of the very same Kalachuri ruler. Now there is nothing against our taking Malayasimha mentioned in these two records as identical. It is quite likely that Malayasimha, whose ancestors were connected with the Kalachuri rulers as officers for several generations, was himself appointed an officer by Vijayasimha sometime between K. 944 and K. 962. But what is surprising is that the record under consideration also not only mentions a Malayasimha bearing the titles *Mahāmahattaka* and *Maṇḍalika* but in addition calls him a *mantrin* or minister of the ruling king, viz., Trailōkyamalla. As this inscription is later than the inscription of K. 962 by one year only, there is little doubt that Malayasimha mentioned in all the three inscriptions is one and the same person. If this view is correct, then we have to admit that one of the chief officers of Vijayasimha not only transferred his allegiance to the conquering ruler but was also appointed a minister under him. It is reasonable to assume that he had to accept the Chandēlla suzerainty to save himself and his estate. We have a parallel instance in the history of the chiefs of Karkarēdi. We know from his Rewah plate that in V. S. 1253 Salakshanavarman was still a feudatory of the Kalachuri Vijayasimha. But in the Rewah plates of Harirāja (V. S. 1298) and his son Kumārapāla (V. S. 1297) we find these chiefs owing allegiance to the Chandēlla ruler Trailōkyavarman. But what is puzzling in the present record is the appointment of Malayasimha as a minister by the Chandēlla ruler. It may be that he helped the latter in his cause in some way or other or it may be that on account of his experience in local administration his services were utilized in the newly conquered territory on his accepting the Chandēlla supremacy.

In conclusion it would not be out of place to say a few words about the Śaiva teachers mentioned in the record. As I have already pointed out<sup>4</sup> Vimalaśiva mentioned in the record is no other than the *Rājaguru* Vimalaśiva of the Jubulpore Kotwali Plates of Jayasimhadēva of K. 918.<sup>5</sup> Though the name is not found elsewhere it is probable that he belonged to the line of the ascetics of the Mattamayūra clan who were held in great reverence by the Kalachuri rulers of Tripurī. We know from the present record that Vimalaśiva had two sons, the elder being Śāntaśiva and the younger Nādaśiva. The epithets applied to the latter two teachers show that they, like their father, were also held in high estimation. Śāntaśiva is said to be the incarnation of the

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 228 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See *An. Rep. A. S. I.*, 1935-36, pp. 89-90.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 93 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 296 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *An. Rep. A. S. I.*, 1935-36, p. 91.





sage Durvāsas in the Kali age. The interpretation of another phrase used in connection with him is rather puzzling. It is *trīsatī-rājy-ādhipati-śrīmat-Trailōkyamalla-pād-ārčhana-rataḥ* (l. 12). Probably this has to be translated as 'whose feet were devotedly worshipped by the illustrious Trailōkyamalla, the lord of the kingdom (*consisting*) of three hundred.' If that is so, it is reasonable to conclude that this teacher was getting some patronage from the new ruler as well, who also calls himself a *Paramamāhēśvara*. It is not clear under the circumstances why he should have to alienate what was apparently one of the gifts these teachers received from the Kalachuri rulers. Probably the Chandēlla conquest was very recent and as such these teachers did not get the same patronage as was hitherto extended to them by their former patrons and as a result they had to mortgage one of their gift villages to raise funds. A somewhat similar instance is provided by the Bengal Asiatic Society's Plates<sup>1</sup> of the Gāhaḍavāla Gōvindachandra which record that in V. S. 1177 (A.D. 1120), in presence of this ruler, the village of Karaṇḍa in the *Antarāla-pattalā* which was originally given to the Rājaguru-Śaivāchārya-Bhaṭṭāraka Rudraśiva by (the Kalachuri ruler) Yaśaḥkarna was transferred to Ṭhakkura Vasishṭhaśarman. Dr. F. W. Hall, who edited this record, suggested that the village which changed hands lay in the country conquered by Gōvindachandra from Yaśaḥkarna.

Of the localities mentioned in the record *Dhōvahaṭṭa* which was a *pattana* at the time is identical with the village of Dhureṭi where the plates were found. The other localities mentioned in the record, *viz.*, *Dhanavāhi-pattalā* and the village Alīra, I am unable to identify.

### TEXT.<sup>2</sup>

#### First Plate.

- 1 Ōm namaḥ Śivāya || Gaṇapatayē namaḥ || Jayatu jayatu dēvō Dēvakī-naiḥdanō-yam<sup>3</sup> jayatu jayatu Kṛishṇō Vṛishṇi-vamśa-pradīpaḥ || (l) ja-
- 2 yatu jayatu mēgha-śyāmala[h\*] kōmal-āṁgō jayatu jayatu prithvi-[bhā]ra-nāsō(śi) Mukundah || [1]\*<sup>4</sup> Avatu sakala-lōkān=Ni-
- 3 lakamṭha[h\*] Smarāris=Ti(Tri)pura-dahana-samarthō mūrṇhi(rddhni) bhāsva-[ch\*]-chhaśāṁikaḥ<sup>5</sup> Tuhinagiri-sutāyā vallabhaḥ Śūlapāṇiḥ<sup>6</sup>
- 4 sakala-jana-śaranyah sarvva-lōka-aika-nāthaḥ ||[2]\*<sup>7</sup> Chaturmukha-mukh-āmbhōja-vana-haiṁśa(sa)-vadhūr=mama [\*] mānasē ramatām ni-
- 5 tyaṁ sarvva-śuklā Sa[ra\*]svatī || [3]\*<sup>8</sup> Paramabhaṭṭāraka(k-ē)ty-ādi-samasta-rājāvali<sup>9</sup>-virājamāna-Paramamāhē[śva\*]ra-aśvapati<sup>10</sup>-gajapati-
- 6 narapati-rājatray-ādhipati-vividha-vidyā-vichāra- Vāchaspati-śrī - Vāmadēva-pād-ānudyātā-(ta)-Kanyakuvj(bj)-ādhipati-mahī-
- 7 [pra]varddhamāna-kalyāṇa-vijaya-rājyē śrīmat-Trailō(1ō)kyamalladēva-rājyē Samma(va)t 963 Jyēshṭha śudi 7 Sōmē dinarṇ(nē) mahā-
- 8 mahanna(tta)ka-mamṭi(mantri)-mamḍala(li)ka-śrī-Malayasiṁha-vyāpriyamānē śam(sam)-dhi[vi\*]grahika-ṭhakkura-Haripāla-kōṭṭapāla-Vāhaḍa-

<sup>1</sup> J. A. S. B., Vol. XXXI (1862), pp. 123 f.

<sup>2</sup> From impressions and the original plates.

<sup>3</sup> *Danda* unnecessary.

<sup>4</sup> Metro: *Mālinī*.

<sup>5</sup> There is an excess of a *mātrā* in the second *pāda*. Read -dahana-śaktō mūrḍhni, etc.

<sup>6</sup> Metro: *Anuṣṭubh*.

<sup>7</sup> The letter *va* which was at first omitted is written above the line between *jā* and *li*.

<sup>8</sup> Read °r-aśvapati.

- 9 arthalōkhi<sup>1</sup>-Śr[cha]mda-srēthi<sup>2</sup>-yathāvarttamāna-samasta-vaṇig-jana-vyavāhi(vyavahri)-yamāṇ<sup>3</sup>-a-paṇchakula-dharmādhikaraṇa-chiñtāyām  
 10 Dhōvahaṭṭa-pattanē Dhanavāhi-pattalāyām yatra kva[cha]na-śubha-pradēsa-samā-vāsita-katakāta(t) yama-niyama-svādhyāya-  
 11 dhyān-ānushṭhāna-tapa[ś\*]-chakravartti-paṇḍita-chakra-chūḍāmaṇi-śaiv-ā[ch]āry-ādhipati-sarvva-vidyā-kuśala[h\*] Ka-

*Second Plate.*

- 12 lau Durvvāśā(ō)-vatārah(ras)=trīśati(i)-rājy-ādhipati-śrīmat-Trailōkymalla-pād-a(ā)rchchana-rataḥ dhyānam kurvvāṇō(ṇa)  
 13 ēk-āgra-chittatayā bhaṭṭāraka-śrīmad-rājaguru-Vimalaśiva-sutō(tas=) Śāntaśiva-charaṇāḥ Vatsa-gōtr-ānvayō vita(tta)-vaṇ(baṇ)dha-  
 14 [sva]rūpatayā tba Rāsala-suta-Sē(Si)varāja[s\*]=tat-suta-Rāṇaka-śrīmad-[Dha]rēkasya Alira<sup>4</sup>-grāmasya bhāga-bhōga-pravaṇi-  
 15 kara-sarvv-ādāya-sahitarū yāvadhiraṇasya<sup>5</sup> dattam=iti || gūraṇām<sup>6</sup>=anujyām(jūām)  
 prāpya yam-ādi-guṇ-ōpēta[s\*]=samasta-  
 16 prakriy-ānvita[s\*]=tri-kāla-snāna-dēv-ārchchana-rataḥ agni-pūjā-rataś=[cha] sarvva-bhūta-dayā-parah sarvvēśām vaṇḍi-janā-  
 17 nām=ādharabhūtaḥ jāmṭūnām=āśvāśa(sa)-bhūmi[h\*] sarvvāsu kalāsu chaturah ||<sup>7</sup> śāstra-śāstra-vīśaradaḥ bhaṭṭa(tṭa)raka-śrīma-  
 18 d-rājaguru-Vimalaśiva-sutaḥ Śāntaśiv-ānujō Nādaśiva[s=tē\*]na paṭṭasya [ha]rsha-rūpatayā yāva[d\*]=diyatō tāvad=avā-  
 19 pitam<sup>8</sup>=iti ||[\*] Vitta-vaṇ(baṇ)dhatayā kinchi[t\*]-kārya-kāraṇitāpi vā<sup>9</sup> Rāṇa-śrīmad-[Dha]rēkasya yāvad<sup>10</sup>=i[ch\*]chhā pratipadyatō || Atr-ā-  
 20 r[th]ē sāksipah || Paṭa(tṭa)kila-Madanē tathā Śilē tathā tba Sūpaṭa tba Gāṁgē vī<sup>11</sup> Rāṇadhavala<sup>12</sup> vī<sup>11</sup> Gāṁgadēva pa[tṭa] vī Ka[ri]ta || Tha Gōlla-  
 21 ṇa iti kṛitvā pravi[shṭē] sati grī(gra)hītavyam || śubham bhavatu lēkhaka-pāṭhakayōḥ || Svalpa-vudhyā<sup>13</sup> māṇḍa-matir=aham ya[t\*]=tu vālyāti-  
 22 mu[dgī]ritam<sup>14</sup> ||[\*] śuddham=aśuddham vā paṇḍita[\*]-Vīśvēśvarēṇa likhitam=iti ||<sup>15</sup> paṇ Gāṁgādhārēṇa cha ||[\*] utakīritam(utkīrṇam) Śrīrūḍhā(ṇa) || ||<sup>16</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Read *Vāhaḍ-arthalēkhi*.. There is a superfluous medial *ē* sign at the top of *a* in *artha*°.

<sup>2</sup> Read *Śrīchandra-śrēṣṭhi*..

<sup>3</sup> The *anusvāra* meant for *pa* has been wrongly placed on *ya*.

<sup>4</sup> It seems that *lau* was first engraved which was then corrected into *li*.

<sup>5</sup> Read *yāvad=dhiraṇyam* ?

<sup>6</sup> Read *gūrūṇām*..

<sup>7</sup> *Daṇḍas* unnecessary.

<sup>8</sup> Read =*avāptam*..

Read =*kāraṇatō=pi vā*.

<sup>9</sup> *Va* is written at the top of the line, above *yā*. If we read *yā-d-ichchhā*, then *Vitta* etc. will form a stanza in the *Anuśṭubh* metre.

<sup>11</sup> I am unable to state what the abbreviation *vī* stands for. In the grant of Mahārūṇaka Harirājādēva it stands for *visūa*. But in the latter record as this term is always followed by certain figures, it apparently indicates shares in the donated property. See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 231 and n. 62.

<sup>12</sup> I.e., *Rāṇadhavala*.

<sup>13</sup> Read =*buddhyā* or =*buddhir*..

<sup>14</sup> The intended reading may be *vālyāt=lim=udgīritam*.

<sup>15</sup> This portion appears to be in *Aryāgñi* though the metre is faulty.

<sup>16</sup> There is an ornamental mark between these two sets of *daṇḍas*.

## No. 2.—RAMTEK STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF RAMACHANDRA.

BY PROF. V. V. MIRASHI, M.A., AND L. R. KULKARNI, M.A., NAGPUR.

Rāmṭēk is the head-quarters of a *taluk* of the same name in the Nāgpur District of the Central Provinces. It is situated 28 miles North by East of Nāgpur and derives its name from the temple of Rāma on a hill close to the town. The place is regarded as very holy on account of a number of temples and *tīrthas* on the hill and in its vicinity. A fair is held in the month of Kārttika, which attracts thousands of people from even far-off places. The sanctity of the place can be traced back to the fourth century A.D. at least; for the Riddhapur plates, which were issued from the foot-prints of the Lord of Rāmagiri<sup>1</sup> (modern Rāmṭēk), record a grant of the Vākātaka dowager queen Prabhāvatiguptā on the twelfth *tilhi* of the bright fortnight of Kārttika. Kālidāsa also mentions in his *Meghadūta* that the hill was marked with the foot-prints of Rāma<sup>2</sup>. These references indicate that the shrine at Rāmagiri at first contained only the foot-prints of Rāma. Later on the images of Rāma and Sītā appear to have been installed there and another temple dedicated to Lakshmaṇa was built. This is probably the reason why the temple of Lakshmaṇa is at present situated in front of that of Rāma and Sītā. The present images of these deities are said to have been found in the Dudhālā tank at Rāmṭēk<sup>3</sup> and were substituted some years ago for the earlier ones which had been mutilated. These temples are surrounded by a number of smaller shrines. They are situated in the innermost of three enclosures on the hill and none but caste Hindus get access to them.

The present inscription is incised on a large slab let into the wall on the right hand side of the door of the *garbhagriha* in the temple of Lakshmaṇa. It was first referred to by General Cunningham's Assistant Beglar,<sup>4</sup> who visited Rāmṭēk in 1873-74. He was not admitted to the innermost court-yard of the temple, but he got the inscription copied by his Hindu servant and noticed in it the name of Rāmadēva.<sup>5</sup> He could not, however, offer any conjecture about the identification of this Rāmadēva. Subsequently from a faint rubbing of it supplied by Dr. Fleet, Prof. Kielhorn first noticed in it the names of Simhaṇa and Rāmachandra whom he identified with the homonymous princes of the Raipur branch of the Haihaya dynasty<sup>6</sup> mentioned in the Khālāri and Raipur stone inscriptions. In 1904-05 Mr. Cousens visited the place, but he too was not admitted inside<sup>7</sup> and was therefore unable to give any account of the contents of the inscription. Finally Rai Bahadur Hiralal briefly noticed the inscription in his *Inscriptions in the C. P. and Berar*<sup>8</sup> and identified many of the *tīrthas* mentioned in it in an informative article entitled 'A visit to Rāmṭēk', published in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 202-08. Though referred to or noticed several times the inscription has remained unedited so far. In the absence of a reliable edition it has given rise to some misconceptions about its historical contents. We have, therefore, edited it here from the original stone which we could examine several times during our visits to Rāmṭēk.

<sup>1</sup> रामगिरिखामिन)पादमूलाद्- J. P. A. S. B., Vol. XX, p. 58.

<sup>2</sup> वर्यैः पुंसां रघुपतिपदैरङ्कितं मेखलात् । (Verse 12.)

<sup>3</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. XXXVII (1908), pp. 207 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Cunningham's A. S. R., Vol. VII, p. 112.

<sup>5</sup> This occurs in lines 54 and 61 but there it denotes the deity Rāma.

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol. II, p. 230.

<sup>7</sup> P. R. A. S., Western Circle, for 1904-05, p. 41, para. 125.

<sup>8</sup> First Edition (1916), pp. 3 f.; Second Edition (1932), p. 3.

As stated above, the record is inscribed on a stone fixed in the front wall of the *garbhagriha* in the temple of Lakshmana. It now contains 75 lines of writing covering a space 2' 9" broad and 3' 3" high, but a few lines may have been lost at the top. The extant portion falls into two parts, separated by some ornamental figures in lines 31 and 32, the first part comprising ll. 1-31 and the second ll. 31-75. As the surface of the stone has flaked off in several places the record has suffered very much, especially in its upper and lower portions and on the left hand side. The loss of the upper portion is very much to be regretted; since, judging from the fragments still extant, it seems to have contained a description of the exploits of the reigning king and his ancestors.

The characters belong to the Nāgarī alphabet of about the thirteenth century A.D. The language is Sanskrit. As regards orthography, we find that the vowel *ri* is in some places wrongly written for *ri*, see *tribhuvana* l. 31; *v* is throughout used for *b*, see *vāla* for *bāla* l. 26; *sh* is employed for *kh* and vice versa, see e.g., *viṣaṇḍita* l. 13 and *namaskarikhyē* l. 54; the *visarga* before *k* and *p* is changed to *sh*, see *tushṭuvush-kalp-āntē* l. 47 and *ṛṣipash=Pamktirathū* l. 48, etc.<sup>1</sup> The sign of *anagraha* is also noticed in some places.

The first four lines of the inscription are too much mutilated to yield any coherent sense. The fifth line contains the words *Yādaṁ vaṁśaḥ* and *Yadu-vaṁśajaḥ* evidently indicating that the reigning king called himself Yādava and traced his descent from the legendary hero Yadu. The exploits of some king of this family are next described, but the only names of his adversaries that can be made out are Rudra in l. 7, the lord of the Āndhras and Chōḍa in l. 8 and possibly the lord of the Gurjaras in l. 9. The syllables *Jaitra* which occur at the end of l. 9 probably denote some name like Jaitrapāla. The name of the king *Simhaṇa* occurs in l. 15 in the course of the description of his successor, who is said to have made the Earth forget her grief on account of separation from the illustrious king Simhaṇa. This name seems to have occurred at the beginning of l. 13 also, but the first two *aksharas* of it have now been broken away. Line 16 mentions the genealogy of a person named Śrī-Rāghava. He was a descendant of one Vāyinaṇyaka. From l. 17 we learn that the king, the illustrious Rāmachandra, bestowed on him (i.e., Rāghava) fortune which appeared lovely owing to the prosperity of his empire and himself enjoyed the company of ladies skilled in all arts. This means that the king entrusted the government of his kingdom to him and being free from care gave himself up to the enjoyment of pleasures. This Rāghava is probably referred to again in ll. 18 and 21 as *Sāyyāpāla* (guardian of the royal bed-chamber). His wife Rājāyī is mentioned in l. 19. Once upon a time Rāghava asked his preceptor how he could cross the ocean of worldly existence. In answer to this the latter seems to have given a description of the hill as well as of the temples and *tīrthas* situated on it and in its vicinity. The first part of the record seems to have described the hill and the temples on the four sides of it, viz., Ghaṇṭeśvara, Sudheśvara, Kēdāra and Āñjanēya. The second part, which is better preserved, names and describes the temples and *tīrthas* on the hill and in the town of Rāmṭek after the manner of the *tīrtha-māhātmyas*. As a matter of fact many of them find mention in two *Sindūragiri-māhātmyas*, one of sixteen and the other of forty-five *adhyāyas*<sup>2</sup>. The description and topography of these temples and *tīrthas* given in the present inscription agree with those in the *māhātmyas*. Some of them are again mentioned in a work of the Mahānubhāva sect<sup>3</sup> in connection with the itinerary of Chakradhara, the founder of the sect, who lived in the

<sup>1</sup> Probably this *sh* is intended to represent the sign for both *jihvāmūliya* and *upadhmānīya*.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> Of these the former was published together with a Marāṭhī translation some years ago at Nāgpur, but the latter is still unpublished.

<sup>3</sup> An extract from this work called *Sihānapōthī* was kindly supplied to us by our friend Mr. H. N. Nene.

time of the Yādava king Rāmachandra (13th century A.D.). Most of these temples and *tirthas* can even now be identified at Rāmṭēk. The traditions about them are thus at least seven centuries old.

As stated above, Prof. Kielhorn, in his article on the Khalāri stone inscription, expressed the opinion that the kings Simhaṇa and Rāmachandra mentioned in the present inscription were identical with the princes of the same names who were respectively the grandfather and father of Haribrahmādēva, a Haihaya or Kalachuri prince who ruled in Chhattisgarh in the beginning of the fifteenth century A.D.<sup>1</sup> From this he concluded that the rule of the Kalachuris extended in the west as far as Nāgpur. An examination of several Kalachuri dates had led him to the conclusion that the Kalachuri year commenced on the first *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āśvina, but he had no evidence of the actual use of the Āśvinādi year in any territory under the rule of the Kalachuris. This was subsequently furnished by the remark of Colebrooke in his *Journal of Occurrences at Nagpur* that the year at Nāgpur commenced on the first of the bright half of Āśvina.<sup>2</sup> Kielhorn thought that this usage was reminiscent of the use of the Kalachuri era in the territory round Nāgpur, which on the evidence of the Rāmṭēk inscription he believed to have once been under the rule of the Haihayas or Kalachuris of Raipur.<sup>3</sup> The identification of the family to which the princes Simhaṇa and Rāmachandra mentioned in the present inscription belonged is, therefore, important not only for the interpretation of the record, but also for the determination of the beginning of the Kalachuri year.

Kielhorn had no opportunity to examine the inscription *in situ*. He had before him only a faint rubbing of it. The characters of the inscription have become very shallow, being choked up with oily dust and white-wash. It is therefore extremely difficult to decipher the record from rubbings or inked estampages. Rai Bahadur Hiralal, who personally examined it, read the words *Yādavō ramśaḥ* (l. 5), but he chose to stick to Kielhorn's view that the kings Simhaṇa and Rāmachandra mentioned therein belonged to the Haihaya dynasty, because he thought that the Haihayas being descended from Yadu could be called Yādavas<sup>4</sup>. It is no doubt true that the Haihayas were descendants of Yadu; for their ancestor Haihaya was, according to the Purāṇas, a grandson of Sahasrajit who was himself a son of Yadu<sup>5</sup>. But the name Yādava was by usage restricted to the descendants of Krōṣhṭri, another son of Yadu<sup>6</sup>. Nowhere in their numerous inscriptions have the Haihayas or Kalachuris called themselves Yādavas. Besides, in the genealogy of the Haihayas there occurs nowhere any name like Jaitrapāla, which, as shown above, appears at the end of line 9 of the present inscription. But the most important objection to the identification of the kings Simhaṇa and Rāmachandra with their namesakes who ruled in Chhattisgarh is that neither these latter kings nor any of their immediate ancestors achieved any victories over Rudra, the lord of the Āndhras, the Chōla and the lord of the Gurjaras; for they were petty princes, whose rule did not extend much beyond the modern district of Raipur. Besides, there is no king of the name Rudra known from history as ruling in the fourteenth or fifteenth century

<sup>1</sup> His Khalāri stone inscription is dated Vikrama Samvat 1470 (for 1471), corresponding to A.D. 1415.

<sup>2</sup> 'The new year begins here with the light fortnight of Āśvina, but opening in the midst of Durgā's festival, the New Year's day is only celebrated on the 10th lunar day.' *Life of H. T. Colebrooke* by Sir T. E. Colebrooke, p. 163.

<sup>3</sup> See his article entitled 'Die Epoche der Cēdi-Aera' in the *Festgruss an Roth* (1893), pp. 53 ff.

<sup>4</sup> In the second edition of his *Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar* (p. 3) he has admitted the possibility of Simhaṇa being a king of the Yādava dynasty.

<sup>5</sup> See *Harivamśa* (Bombay Ed.), *adhyāya* 33, vv. 1-2. Compare also the Pithāpuram pillar inscription of Mallidēva and Manma-Satya II, above, Vol. IV, p. 89.

<sup>6</sup> See Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 87.



A. D., who may have been defeated by these kings. It is therefore difficult to uphold the identification first proposed by Kielhorn.

We find, on the other hand, the names Jaitrapāla, Śimhaṇa and Rāmachandra in the genealogical list of the Later Yādavas of Dēvagiri, who flourished in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries A.D. Jaitrapāla, whose name seems to have occurred at the end of line 9, is probably identical with the homonymous king who was the father of Śimhaṇa. The names of Rudra, the kings of Āndhra and Chōla in ll. 7-8, seem to have occurred in the course of the description of Jaitrapāla's victories; for we know from the introduction to Hēmādri's *Vṛatahaṇḍa*<sup>1</sup> as well as from the Paithan plates<sup>2</sup> and other Yādava grants that Jaitrapāla killed the Kākatiya king Rudra. This latter king is in some places called the king of Āndhra. We can therefore unhesitatingly identify the kings mentioned here with the Yādava kings of Dēvagiri. That the kingdom of the Yādavas extended in the East as far as Lānji in the Bālāghāṭ District is known from a stone inscription of the dynasty found at Lānji<sup>3</sup> which mentions the Yādava king Rāmachandra.

We know from other records that Śimhaṇa was succeeded by his grandson Kṛishṇa, but his name does not occur in the extant portion. We can, however, conjecture that he must have been described in line 15, which speaks of a king having made the earth forget its grief due to separation from Śimhaṇa. The names of Kṛishṇa's brother Mahādēva and his short-lived son Āmaṇa may have been omitted in the present record. As no successor of Rāmachandra has been mentioned here, it seems that the inscription was put up during his reign. It may, therefore, be referred to the last quarter of the thirteenth century A. D.

As the kings mentioned in the present inscription are thus proved to be of the Yādava dynasty of Dēvagiri and no inscriptions of the Kalachuris are found in the Marāṭhī-speaking districts of the Central Provinces, Kielhorn's view that the Kalachuri year commenced in the month of Āśvina cannot be supported by any usage current in the territory round Nāgpur<sup>4</sup>.

The mutilated condition of the inscription makes it difficult to say what it was intended to record. But the fact that the genealogy of a personage named Rāghava is given in lines 16 and 17 where he is also said to have been entrusted by Rāmachandra with the government of his whole empire combined with the statement in l. 63 that this Rāghava felt gratified on doing something seems to show that the object of the inscription was to record some service rendered by Rāghava to the deities at Rāmṭēk—perhaps some repairs done to the temple of Lakshmaṇa where the inscription is put up. Māidēva, who is mentioned in ll. 70-71, seems to have been a local official in charge of the work.

The hill on which the main temples of Rāma and Lakshmaṇa are situated is called Sindūra-giri and Tapaṃgiri<sup>5</sup> (for Tapōgiri) in the present inscription. The tradition about the former

<sup>1</sup> Cf. तिहंगाधिपतिः पशोर्विजयनं रौद्रस्य रौद्राकृतः.

कुत्वा पूरयन्नेधयत्तविधिना लज्जन्मिन्कीर्तयः ॥४१॥ See R. G. Bhandarkar's *Early History of the Deccan*, Appendix C.

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 316.

<sup>3</sup> See Hiralal—*Inscriptions*, etc. (Second Ed.), p. 20. Lānji is about 100 miles north by east of Nāgpur. Hiralal remarks that 'some passages of this record correspond exactly to those given in the Rāmṭēk Lakshmaṇa temple inscription'. We have examined the Lānji inscription in the Nāgpur Museum, but have failed to notice any such passages.

<sup>4</sup> As a matter of fact Colebrooke was mistaken in supposing that the year commenced in Nāgpur in the month of Āśvina. As shown elsewhere (above, Vol. XXIV, p. 122), the era current at Nāgpur in Colebrooke's days was the so-called Śālivāhana or Śaka era, its months were *amānta* and the year commenced in Chaitra and not in Āśvina. For the commencement of the Kalachuri year, see above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 116 ff.

<sup>5</sup> In the larger *Sindūra-giri-māhātmya* the name occurs in the correct form Tapōgiri,

name was apparently given in line 23 which is partly mutilated. What remains of it is, however, sufficient to show that the hill was called Sindūragiri, because it was reddened by the blood flowing from the breast of Hiranyakaśipu which was torn by Narasiṃha with his sharp claws. There are two temples on the hill containing huge images of the man-lion incarnation of Viṣṇu. As conjectured by Cousens<sup>1</sup> the name Sindūragiri may have been originally given to the hill because of its red stones which when broken or newly dressed appear blood-red. The second name of the hill Tapāgiri (for Tapōgiri, penance-hill) which occurs in this very form in one of the *Sindūragiri-māhātmyas* owes its origin to the tradition that Śambūka, a Śūdra ascetic, practised penance here. He was afterwards killed by Rāma with his sword called Chandrahāsa. But, the Māhātmya says, he asked for three boons from Rāma, viz., that his mortal remains should be transformed into a *liṅga in situ*, that Rāma should live on the hill for ever and that he himself should be worshipped before Rāma. In accordance with this, pilgrims first worship the *liṅga*, now called Dhūmrāsvara, situated on the southern plateau of the hill outside the citadel, before they proceed to the temples of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa. The story of Śambūka is given in line 45 of the present record, which mentions the *liṅga* Dhūmrākṣa.

The story of Śambūka occurs also in the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki. It would, therefore, be interesting to see how far the topography of the place where Śambūka was practising penance suits Rāmṭēk. According to the Epic the Śūdra ascetic was engaged in austerities on the bank of a large lake to the north of the mountain Śaivala.<sup>2</sup> This mountain is not mentioned anywhere else. But from the *Rāmāyaṇa* itself we learn that a king named Daṇḍa was ruling over the territory between the Vindhya and Śaivala mountains.<sup>3</sup> His rape of a Brāhmaṇa girl led to the devastation of the country measuring a hundred *yōjanas* round the Śaivala mountain and this country came consequently to be known by the name of the Daṇḍaka forest.<sup>4</sup> This Daṇḍa or Dāṇḍakya is called Bhōja elsewhere<sup>5</sup> and it is well known that the Bhōjas were ruling over Vīdarbhā. So the site of Śambūka's penance must have been situated in Vīdarbhā to the south of the Vindhya mountain. The *Rāmāyaṇa* tells us that after killing Śambūka, Rāma went in his aerial car to the hermitage of Agastya which was situated not very far from the Gōdāvarī,<sup>6</sup> but it gives us no idea of the distance between the site of Śambūka's penance and the hermitage of Agastya. Still the description in the epic shows clearly that the former lay somewhere in ancient Vīdarbhā between the Vindhya mountain and the Gōdāvarī. The description in the *Rāmāyaṇa* of the site of Śambūka's penance suits Rāmṭēk where there is a large tank at the foot of the hill. As there is no hill in Vīdarbhā where there is such a tradition connecting it with Śambūka's penance, it would not be wrong to identify Rāmṭēk with the Śaivala mountain.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> P. R. A. S., W. C. for 1904-05, p. 41, para. 127.

<sup>2</sup> *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Uttarakāṇḍa*, *adhyāya* 75, verses 13-14.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, *adhyāya* 79, verse 16.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, *adhyāya* 81, verse 8.

<sup>5</sup> See Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra*, *adhyāya* 1, *prakaraṇa* 3.

<sup>6</sup> *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Uttarakāṇḍa*, *adhyāya* 76, verses 16-20.

<sup>7</sup> The larger *Sindūragiri-māhātmya* mentions Mahāśaivala as a name of the hill at Rāmṭēk in addition to the two names noticed above, and explains it as being due to Śiva bringing the Śaivas to the hill. According to the colophon the Māhātmya has been taken from the *Kaumārakhaṇḍa* of the *Padmapurāṇa*; but the portion dealing with Śambūka's story seems to have been copied *verbatim* from the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki. We have not been able to trace the *Kaumārakhaṇḍa* in the printed edition of the Purāṇa. Still this description corroborates our inference that Śaivala was one of the old names of the hill at Rāmṭēk. For the identifications of the *tīrthas* mentioned here see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 202 ff.

TEXT.<sup>1</sup>

- 1 . . . . . <sup>2</sup>ण . . . . . <sup>3</sup>मवाङ्मु . . . . . <sup>4</sup>
- 2 . . . . . पूजित . . . . . स्तले(चे)न . . . . .
- 3 . . . . . देवासुरोर[ग\*] . . . . . वचरितो . . . . .
- . . . . .
- 4 . . . . . <sup>5</sup>कः सुकविसार्थपथे प्र[विष्टः\* ?]<sup>6</sup> . . . . . <sup>7</sup>ज्यो-  
त्स्नाप्र- . . . . . <sup>8</sup>
- 5 . . . . . युग्मः ॥ ततोभूद्यादवो वंशः<sup>9</sup> . . . . . ॥ किं  
वर्णतेऽ[यं य\*]दुवंशजः<sup>10</sup> . . . . .
- 6 . . . . . क्षौणिपालष्कालः<sup>11</sup> प्रोद्यद्दैरिवीरव्र<sup>12</sup> . . . . . जंभ-  
शत्रुः ॥ भ्रश्यत्कलंकविधुम<sup>6</sup> . . . . .
- 7 . . . . . <sup>13</sup>यस्यातिभीषणरणांगण<sup>6</sup> . . . . . <sup>14</sup>मंडलमिदं स्मरति स्म  
रुद्रको<sup>6</sup> . . . . .
- 8 . . . . . लौवनालौतलगभुजग<sup>15</sup> . . . . . त्वमंघ्राधिप<sup>10</sup> त्वं रे चोड  
विमंच द[र्प]- . . . . . धरानाथप्रबोध . . . . .<sup>17</sup>
- 9 . . . . . ऽधि(खि)लभूपतीनां<sup>9</sup> शिर[स्सु ?] . . . . .  
[गुर्ज\*?]रिन्द्रः पराङ्मुखो यस्य पुरो रणेऽभूत्<sup>18</sup> . . . . . हेषु महा-  
महौन्द्रे जैच- . . . . .

<sup>1</sup> From the original stone.<sup>2</sup> From 15 to 18 *aksharas* are lost in the beginning of ll. 1-3.<sup>3</sup> About 25 *aksharas* are broken off here and in the corresponding portion of ll. 1-3.<sup>4</sup> About 45 *aksharas* are gone at the end of ll. 1-3.<sup>5</sup> About 13 *aksharas* are gone in the beginning of ll. 4-6.<sup>6</sup> Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.<sup>7</sup> From 23 to 27 *aksharas* are lost here and in the corresponding portion of ll. 5-6.<sup>8</sup> From 35 to 45 *aksharas* are lost at the end of ll. 4-7.<sup>9</sup> Metre: *Anushubh*.<sup>10</sup> Metre: *Indravajrā*.<sup>11</sup> Read क्षौणिपालः काढः. [See above, p. 8, n. 1.—Ed.]<sup>12</sup> Metre: *Śūlinī*.<sup>13</sup> About 18 *aksharas* are lost in the beginning of ll. 7-14.<sup>14</sup> From 18 to 22 *aksharas* are broken off here and in the corresponding portion of ll. 8-14.<sup>15</sup> Metre: *Mūlinī*.<sup>16</sup> Metre: *Śārdūlavakriḍita*.<sup>17</sup> About 5 *aksharas* are lost at the end of ll. 8-14.<sup>18</sup> Metre: *Upēndravajrā*.

- 10 . . . . . र्यदसप्रभिन्नप्रतिभटविक<sup>1</sup> . . . . . [मौक्ति\*]-  
 कौघैर्गगनमिव सतारं संध्या स<sup>2</sup> . . . . . [क]रोत्तराणां<sup>3</sup> सौंदर्य . .  
 . . . . .
- 11 . . . . . [क्षो]णिपतेरस्य<sup>4</sup> भूमिपालोऽ . . . . . हासि-  
 निहतोत्कटप्रतिभटेभक्तुंभद्वयो<sup>5</sup>पटुद्यु(?) . . . . . कसुक्ताच्छलात् ।  
 असु[थ] . . . . .
- 12 . . . . . महीरुहस्य यशसा चंद्र[द्र] . . . . .  
 वाचस्पतेः । तेजोभिर्दिनकृद्गुचामपि हठादा[धि]क्य . . . . . द्वालय-  
 भोगभूमिरभवत्काल . . . . .
- 13 . . . . . [घ]णदेवनामा<sup>7</sup> गुणाभि . . . . . [॥\*] — — — —  
 — — — — चंडकोदंडमुक्तैः शितकांडदंडै<sup>8</sup>विष(ख)ण्डितारक्त — — —  
 देहष(ख)डैरमंडि क्षितिराहवस्य<sup>9</sup> ॥ . . . . .
- 14 . . . . . [मा]साद्य शान्तिं परमाववाप<sup>10</sup> । . . . .  
 . . . . . जगतीं क्षितौशः । शशाश(स) विश्रामतरुस्ततो यफलैग्रहि<sup>10</sup>र्याचक-  
 पचिपंक्तेः<sup>7</sup> ॥ <sup>11</sup>धराचक्रं भ्रांत्वा त्र(त्रि)दश . . . . .
- 15 . . . . . <sup>12</sup>धिष्ठाय रचयत्यहो नृत्यत्क[बंध\*] . . . . .  
 [॥\*] अपारसंसारसमुद्रसारैर्यशःसुधौघैर्वसुधा यदीयैः श्रीसिंहणक्षोणिपतेर्वियोगतापं  
 जहौ<sup>13</sup> [॥]अ . . . . .<sup>14</sup>
- 16 . . . . . [म\*]हीतले ॥ वायिनायक इति क्षमातले नि  
 — — — — व्यशीभरैः । तत्सुतः सकललोकविश्रुतो न श्रुतः  
 कचिदपौह यत्समः<sup>15</sup> ॥ तस्याप्ययं राघवदेव[नामा]<sup>16</sup> . . . . .

<sup>1</sup> Metre: *Mālinī*.<sup>2</sup> Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.<sup>3</sup> Metre: *Prithvī*.<sup>4</sup> Metre: *Śārdūlavikṛīḍita*.<sup>5</sup> Metre: *Upēndravajrā*.<sup>6</sup> Read शितकांडदंडैः । विषण्डि°.<sup>7</sup> Metre: *Upajāti*.<sup>8</sup> Read यः फलैग्रहि-<sup>9</sup> Metre: *Śikharinī*.<sup>10</sup> From 20 to 24 akṣaras are lost in the beginning of ll. 15-20.<sup>11</sup> The metre of this verse is irregular. The first hemistich is in *Upēndravajrā*.<sup>12</sup> From 5 to 8 akṣaras are lost at the end of ll. 15-20.<sup>13</sup> Metre: *Rathōddhatā*.<sup>14</sup> Metre: *Indravajrā*.<sup>15</sup> Metre: *Mālinī*.<sup>16</sup> Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

- 17 . . . . . [गु]णगौरवप्रणयिनं श्रीरामचंद्रः प्रभुर्यं साम्राज्यसमृद्धि-  
सुंदररुचः पात्रं विधाय त्रियः । क्रीडोद्यानतलेऽपि(खि)नोज्ज्वलकलालौलागृह-  
स्तौजनालाप<sup>1</sup> . . . . .
- 18 . . . . . श्रीरामभूपत्वधरस्य शय्यापालीकतात्मानममानसत्वं-  
(चम्)<sup>2</sup> ॥ श्रीवैद्यनाथशिवपादपयोजभक्तिसंपादितापि(खि)लमहत्व(त्व)पदाय तस्मै ।  
के के नृपा ज<sup>3</sup> . . . . .
- 19 . . . . . तिर्क्षिरं चातिरपि प्रधानकुलजं श्रद्धा यथा सात्वि-  
(त्वि)कं(कम्) । तद्वभूषयति स्म यं पृ(प्रि)यतमा सौभाग्यसौंदर्यभू राजायीति गुणा-  
श्रया गुणगणाधारं धरा<sup>4</sup> . . . . .
- 20 . . . . . दिनहृदिनलद्युतिं(तिम्) । गुरुमात्मीयमित्वेष पप्रच्छ  
तदनु द्विजम्<sup>5</sup> ॥ जानासि सर्वं भगवंस्ततस्त्वां पृच्छामि पर्युत्सुकतामुपेतः ।  
अगाधसंसारपयोधि<sup>6</sup> . . . . .
- 21 . . . . . <sup>0</sup>पि(खि)लपारदृष्ट्वा ॥ शय्यापालकुलाधीश निबोधेदं  
वची मम । संसारसागरोत्तारकारणं न हरेः परं(रम्) ॥<sup>7</sup> अवतारा दशाप्यस्य  
रामस्ते[षां ?] . . . . .<sup>8</sup>
- 22 . . . . . वायुपुत्रयुक्तो वसत्युत्तमयोगिचिन्त्यः ।  
महौधरस्यास्य तपंगिरिस्तं प्रभावमग्रं किमुदाहरामि<sup>9</sup> ॥ विहाय मे . . . . .
- 23 . . . . . साय रघूदहस्य<sup>10</sup> ॥ प्रागत्र देवी  
नृहरिः सुरारिर्वि(र्वि)भेद वचः करजैः शिताग्रैः । तद्रेक्तपूरारुणितस्ततोऽयं<sup>11</sup>  
. . . . .
- 24 . . . . . [गु]णकथां सौंदर्यसारैः पुनस्तद्वक्तुममं  
वृ(ष्ट)हस्यतिसमोऽप्यन्यो हि जानाति कः<sup>12</sup> ॥ पपौ समुद्रं तुलुकीन यस्तं  
मुनी[श ?]<sup>13</sup> . . . . .

<sup>1</sup> Metre: *Sārdūlavīṇīdita*.<sup>2</sup> Metre: *Indrayajrū*.<sup>3</sup> Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.<sup>4</sup> Metre: *Anuśtubh*.<sup>5</sup> Metre: *Upanjāt*.<sup>6</sup> From 29 to 31 *aksharas* are gone in the beginning of ll. 21-25.<sup>7</sup> Metre of this and the next verse: *Anuśtubh*.<sup>8</sup> From 9 to 11 *aksharas* are lost at the end of ll. 21-25.<sup>9</sup> Metre: *Upāndrayajrū*.

- 25 . . . . . मनो सृदु . . . [रा\*]मिष्वर इतीह  
कीर्त्यते ॥ श्रीरामाय मुनीश्वरः कलशभूर्मध्येसभं व्र(व्र)ह्मणः श्रुत्वैतस्य  
गिरिः प्र[भाव\*]<sup>1</sup> . . . . .
- 26 . . . . . <sup>2</sup>विलोक्य सादरं जन्तुर्मुच्यते व्र-  
(व्र)ह्महृत्या<sup>3</sup> ॥ गोविप्रवा(वा)लप्रमदावधादिपापौघपूर्णं अ<sup>4</sup> . . . . .<sup>5</sup>
- 27 . . . . . लयपर्वतंद्रे ॥ कृतोपवासा हरिवासरे  
ये कुर्वन्ति रात्रौ रघुनन्दनाग्रे । तपंगिरौ<sup>6</sup> जागर[ण\*] . . . . .  
. . . . .
- 28 . . . . . मराधिकामैः ॥ घंटेश्वरं चैव सुधेश्वरं  
च केदारमीशं च तथाजनेयं(यम्) । द्वारेश्वरं<sup>7</sup> . . . . .
- 29 . . . . . [म\*]ज्जनेन दुरितं निर्धूय वं(वं)धच्छिदा  
स्वाच्छं मनुजा भजन्ति भवने भर्गस्य यत्तत्परं(रम्)<sup>8</sup> ॥ म . . . . .  
. . . . .
- 30 . . . . . प्रभावं शक्तोतिवक्तुं न गुरुः सुराणाम-  
न्यस्य<sup>9</sup> तत्कस्य<sup>4</sup> . . . . .<sup>8</sup>
- 31 . . . . . श्रीशंप(ख)नाम्नि ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ त्रि-  
भुवनजनतापूज्यपादारविंदं स्नात्वा श्री-<sup>9</sup>
- 32 . . . . . ॐ ॐ ॐ<sup>10</sup> लत्यनलां समयम[प\*]भयः  
शंखपाण्यंतिकस्यः ॥ तामग्नितीर्थप्रभवां विभूतिं<sup>4</sup>
- 33 . . . . . [अ\*]स्व(स्व)तीर्थे नरः स्नात्वा पूजयित्वा-  
वि(वि)कापतिं(तिम्) । अंवि(वि)कानायसदने याति भोगैकभूमितां(ताम्)<sup>9</sup> ॥  
अधिगम्य वरुणतीर्थं

<sup>1</sup> Metre : *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.<sup>2</sup> About 45 letters are gone at the beginning of ll. 26-31.<sup>3</sup> Metre : *Anuṣṭubh*.<sup>4</sup> Metre : *Indravajrā*.<sup>5</sup> About 9 letters are broken off at the end of ll. 26-29.<sup>6</sup> Read तपंगिरौ. Metre : *Upajāti*.<sup>7</sup> Read सुराणाम् । अन्यस्य.<sup>8</sup> About 20 akṣaras are gone here.<sup>9</sup> Metre : *Sragdharā*.<sup>10</sup> From 60 to 60 akṣaras have been lost in the beginning of ll. 32-33.

- 34 . . . . .<sup>1</sup> वरुणादिलोकपालैर्वदितचरणं . . . .  
 रिशरणं(णम्)<sup>2</sup> ॥ यत्शुक्लतीर्थे<sup>3</sup>ऽप्यभिषेकभाजां जायेत पुन्यं(खं) नरपुंग-  
 वानां(नाम्) । तदश्वमेधादिमहामघा(खा)नामोघैर्न लभ्यं न तपोभि-
- 35 रुग्रैः<sup>4</sup> ॥ तीर्थं नृसिंहस्य कथं[चि\*]दाद्यैः पु[खैः\*] समासाद्य विशुद्धमूर्त्तैः ।  
 नरस्य लोकद्व(चि)तये करस्थं किमीप्सितं नास्ति दुरापमन्यैः ॥ अष्टमे च  
 कुरुचेचनाम्नि तीर्थवरे नरः । निमज्ज्य(ज्य) ब्र(व)ह्महत्यादिमृजा शुद्धो  
 दिवं ब्र-
- 36 जेतु<sup>5</sup> ॥ तीर्थपंचकमिहाचलराजं यत्तिलोकविदितं विदि[ता]ख्यं(ख्यम्) । तत्रभाव-  
 कथने न समर्थो देवसार्थगुरुस्ति न सोऽपि<sup>6</sup> ॥ लक्ष्मीतीर्थं तेषु मुख्यं दुरापा  
 लक्ष्मीर्न स्यान्मज्जतां यत्र तूर्णं(र्णम्) । यावज्जीवं पातकोद्भूतिहेतुप्रोद्य[हु]प्सो(ःखो)-  
 द्रेकदारिद्र्यभाजां(जाम्)<sup>7</sup> ॥
- 37 किं हंसतीर्थस्य तथा प्रभावः प्रभूतपुण्योज्ज्वलकेतनस्य । व्या[ख्या]यते यज्ज-  
 लपानतोऽपि हंसो हृदिस्थो विमलत्वमेति<sup>8</sup> ॥ श्रीचक्रतीर्थमहिमानसमानमुर्व्यां  
 गुर्वी प्रवक्तुमपि कस्य नरस्य शक्तिः । यस्य स्वयं भगवता हरिणा स्वचक्रं  
 रक्षार्थमुद्यतमकल्पि
- 38 सुदर्शनख्यं(ख्यम्)<sup>9</sup> ॥ स्नात्वा धनुस्तीर्थजले धनुश्च प्रदाय हेमादिकृतं स्वशक्त्या । नरो  
 विदूरीकृतपापराशिः श्रीशार्ङ्गपाणेः सदनं प्रयाति<sup>10</sup> ॥ तीर्थे पितृणां पितृतीर्थ-  
 नान्नि स्नात्वा च कृत्वा पितृतर्पणादि । कोटिं पितृणां नियतः(तं) पवि-  
 त्रीकृत्ये(त्यै)ति दिव्यं हि पदंपितृ-
- 39 णां(णाम्)<sup>11</sup> ॥ गिरिरपाच्यां दिशि वाजिमेधतीर्थे समर्थेऽखिलतीर्थसार्थात् । नरो  
 निमज्जगगनया समेतस्तनूभवानाशु लभेत धन्यान्<sup>12</sup> ॥ या ररक्ष कलि-  
 कालतो बलाद्धर्मसूर्मिकरपंकजैर्नदी । सा तथास्य कलिपेति विश्रुता संनिधौ  
 कलिमलं हरत्यलं(लम्)<sup>13</sup> ॥ सुरनदी च सुरोघ-

<sup>1</sup> About a dozen *aksharas* may have been lost here.

<sup>2</sup> Metre: *Giti*.

<sup>3</sup> Metre of this and the next verse: *Upajāti*.

<sup>4</sup> Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

<sup>5</sup> Metre: *Śrīgāṭā*.

<sup>6</sup> Metre: *Śalini*.

<sup>7</sup> Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

<sup>8</sup> Metre: *Indrarajrū*.

<sup>9</sup> Metre: *Ratiḥḍḍhatā*.

<sup>10</sup> Read यच्छुक्लतीर्थे .

<sup>11</sup> Metre: *Upajāti*.

- 40 समाश्रिता निकटतोऽस्य वहत्यचलस्य सा । सुरनिकेतनभोगसमृद्धिदा सक्तदिवच-  
मनादिक्तां नृणां(णाम्)<sup>1</sup> ॥ कलिपासुरनयं(वु)संगादंगार्कजां(वु)नीः । संगं न  
गणयंत्युच्चैर्मनुष्य(य)मुनिदेवताः<sup>2</sup> ॥ नाश्चर्यमस्मिन्मणिकालकुंडं तीर्थोत्तमे प्राप्य  
समस्तसिद्धीः ।
- 41 प्राप्नोति मर्त्यः खलु मुक्तिरस्य प्रसादतः साऽपि न दूरसंस्था<sup>3</sup> ॥ [मो]क्षकुंडं  
समासाद्य दक्ष(क्षि)णस्यां महोभूतः । दुर्लभाऽपि भवेन्मोक्षः सुलभः प्राणिनां  
क्षणात्<sup>4</sup> ॥ श्रीरामतीर्थं यदिहास्ति तीर्थं साक्षात्सदृशप्रथितप्रभावं(वम्) । तस्या-  
मुतिप्रोद्भवपुन्य(ण)राशिफलप्रदाता<sup>5</sup> दशकंधरा-
- 42 रिः<sup>6</sup> ॥ एकादशीवासरवासभाजां तीर्थं शुभार्थं दशकंठशत्रोः । मुक्तिर्वराको करपंज-  
रस्या करोति सेवां गृहसारिकेव ॥ यत्कार्तिके मासि नरो निमज्य(ज्ज)र  
श्रीरामतीर्थं दशकंधरारिं(रिम्) । भक्त्या प्रपश्यन्न शरीरकोशे कोटत्वमायाति तदन्त-  
रात्मा<sup>7</sup> ॥ सक्तद्रामगयाश्राद्धं गिराविह क-
- 43 रोति यः । लभन्ते पितरस्तस्य मुक्तिमत्यन्तदुर्लभां(भाम्)<sup>8</sup> ॥ श्रीरामचंद्रस्य समीपतोऽस्ति  
सिंदूरवापो सुकृतप्रपा सा । यस्या विशुद्धेन विलोकनेन विजित्य नाकं  
समुपैति मुक्तिं(क्तिम्)<sup>9</sup> ॥ कर्पूरवापी सुकृतप्रवाहपूरण पूर्णा किमु वर्णनीया ।  
देवस्य सीतादयितस्य पार्श्वे दास्यं हि यस्याः कुरुतेऽपि
- 44 मुक्तिः<sup>10</sup> ॥ काशो नोज्जयिनी न चापि मथुरा नो द्वारका नो पुरी तद्वत्पुण्य-  
भरं प्रयच्छति नृणां वासेन नित्यायुषा । यद्वासासमेकमष्टिति(?)कृतां सिंदूर-  
भूमीधरः श्रीरामस्य पदारविंदयुगलस्पर्शेन सर्वोत्तमः<sup>11</sup> ॥ जगन्मंगलमाधत्ते  
यस्य कुंभद्वयी स्मृता । गजेन्द्रवदनः
- 45 साक्षादत्रास्ते रामकांचया<sup>12</sup> ॥ आस्ते धर्मेश्वरो नित्यं स रामस्य गिराविह ।  
पौडितं कलिना धर्मं यः कपालुरपालयत् ॥ श्रीरामचंद्रस्य करेण चंद्रहा-  
साहतः प्राप्य पदं पुरारिः । स शम्बु(म्बु)कः शूद्रमुनिर्महोभ्रराजेऽत्र धूम्नाच  
इति प्रसिद्धः<sup>13</sup> ॥ पश्यन्ति सुक्तीश्वरनामधेयं शिवं शिवा-

<sup>1</sup> Metro : *Drutavilambita*.<sup>2</sup> Metro : *Anushtubh*.<sup>3</sup> Metro : *Upajāti*.<sup>4</sup> Read राशेः फलप्रदाता .<sup>5</sup> Metro of this and the next verse : *Upajāti*.<sup>6</sup> Metro : *Indravajrā*.<sup>7</sup> Metro of this and next verse : *Anushtubh* .<sup>8</sup> Metro : *Sārdūlavilrīṇita*.<sup>9</sup> Metro of this and the next three verses : *Upajāti*.



- 46 नायमिहाचलेन्द्रे । शिवव्रतस्थाः शिववासरे ये शिवत्वमायांति शिवालये ते ॥  
गोपीजनानंदसमुद्रपूर्णचंद्रो विनिद्रोज्ज्वलपद्मनेत्रः । गोपालमूर्तिर्जगदेकमूर्-  
त्तिर्वसत्यसावत्र धराधरेन्द्रे ॥ अतीव तेजःप्रसरप्रतप्तं जगत्समग्रं कृपया ररच ।  
योऽयं चतुर्थोऽवतरोऽच्युतस्य श्री-
- 47 मानृसिंहोपि वसत्यमुष्मिन् ॥ सप्तांभोनिधिपूरदूरपिहितां वि(वि)भ्रहरां दंष्ट्रया  
योऽयं भाति सरोजिनीदलनिभो दन्तेन यद्वन्ययन्<sup>1</sup> । यं रोमान्तरगुप्तवास-  
सुखिनो देवर्षयस्तुष्टुवृष्कल्पान्ते<sup>2</sup> दशकंधरारिसदने सोऽत्रादिकीलः प्रभुः<sup>3</sup> ॥ अन-  
न्यलभ्यामतुलां सपर्यां नित्यं
- 48 परित्यज्य महेंद्रदत्तां(ताम्) । श्रीमानृपप्यंक्तिरथोपि<sup>4</sup> पुत्रप्रीत्या वसत्यत्र गिरीन्द्रसानौ ॥<sup>5</sup>  
सुती श्रीरामचंद्रस्य गिरौ कुशलवाविह । दधाते कल्पवृक्षत्वं भक्तिभाजां जगत्प्र-  
भु<sup>6</sup> ॥ मातरोऽष्टौ महासिद्धिनामधेयोपलक्षिताः । अत्र तिष्ठंति भक्तानामणि-  
माद्यष्टकप्रदाः ॥ कल्पान्ते कवली-
- 49 करोति सकलं चैलोक्यमल्पेतरज्वालाजालकारालकालवदनो यष्कालिकाकेलिभूः<sup>7</sup> ।  
सिन्दूराचलमीक्षणं क्षणमपि क्षीणान्ववाससृहः श्रीरामसृहया करोति भगवान्किं  
वा महाभैरवः<sup>8</sup> ॥ पंचास्यं चंद्रमौलिं दशभुजमुदयत्कोटिभानूग्रभासं चंद्रं  
वृक्षा उ —
- 50 — सिवरशरधनुःशूलप(ख)द्वांगहस्तं(स्तम्) । हृत्पद्मे भक्तलोकाभयवरदकरं चिन्तयन् नरः  
स्यात्त्रैलोध्ये सिद्धिसम्पादयति पवनजः सोऽत्र रामैकभृत्यः<sup>9</sup> ॥ मालां पुष्पमयी-  
मिव क्षितिमिमां वि(वि)भ्रच्छिरोभिर्विभुः श्रीरामावतरे हरिः सहचरः शंखोऽ-  
प्यशंखात्मकः । आस्ते सोऽ[त्र] स-
- 51 मस्तुभक्तजनतातत्तन्मनोवांच्छि(च्छि)तं संयच्छन्ज(ज्ज)नकाधिराजतनयानायांतिके लक्ष्मणः<sup>10</sup> ॥  
यन्नामस्मरणाग्रयाति निपि(खिलः) पापादिरुचैः क्षयं या विश्वैकपतिव्रताध्वनि  
गुरुर्देवी दयैकापगा । या शपेन निनाय भस्मकणिकाभूयं न लंकापतिं  
कर्त्ता मे दयिता[स्य]

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps चक्रजयन् is intended here. [This reading would involve a sandhi with the preceding word which would spoil the metre. I would suggest -*dalam=ibhū dantēna yadran=nayan* as the intended reading.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> Read सुष्टुः कल्पान्ते.

<sup>3</sup> Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

<sup>4</sup> Read श्रीमानृपः पंक्तिरथो-

<sup>5</sup> Metre: *Upajāli*.

<sup>6</sup> Metre of this and the following verse: *Anuṣṭubh*.

<sup>7</sup> Read यः कालिका.

<sup>8</sup> Metre: *Śaṅkharā*.

<sup>9</sup> Metre of this and the next verse: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

- 52 नाशमिति सायत्रास्ति रामान्तिके ॥ इहाचलेंद्रे दशकंठशचीर्विलोक्य मूर्तीः खलु  
— ७ मर्त्यः । परत्र काले न करोति भीतिं कातास्तम(?)त्संहतिघोर-  
मूर्त्तेः<sup>1</sup> ॥ भक्त्या महत्या प्रभुमादिरामं जगत्सुषा(खा)रामतनुं निरीक्ष्य । नरः  
सुरेन्द्रादिकरोपनीतपूजाग्रपात्रत्वमुपैति] नि-
- 53 त्वं(त्वम्) ॥ ओ[भो]गराममभिरामतनुं निरीक्ष्य क्षोणाषि(खि)लाघसरणिः शरणे मुरारेः ।  
भोगा[नभंगुररसा]न्नुचिरं विचित्रान्प्राप्नोति कल्पशतमल्पितदेवराजः<sup>2</sup> ॥ दृष्ट्वा प्रकष्ट-  
महिमानमनन्तभक्त्या तं गुप्तराममतिगुप्तपदं च किञ्चित् । प्राप्नोति यत्तदिह  
किं ननु देवरा[जो] — — ७
- 54 तद्गुरुरयागिरसोऽपि सोऽपि ॥ श्रीशंखरामं प्रणिपत्य मर्त्यः पदं समभ्येति हि शंख-  
पाणेः । विशुद्धभावेन हृदा महेंद्रमुख्यादिदेवैरभिवंद्यमानः<sup>3</sup> ॥ जगन्महानंदनि-  
दानमीशं श्रीमैथिलीलक्ष्मणदेवयुक्तं(क्तम्) । श्रीरामदेवं प्रणिपत्य मूर्द्धा नमस्कारिख्ये-  
(थे)त्यतरैर्व्व[चोभिः\*] ॥
- 55 देव श्रीरघुनंदन त्व(त्रि)जगतामद्वैतवादप्रभो भास्वदंशमहाविभूषणमणे कारुण्यरत्नाकर ।  
त्रैलोक्यारिदशास्यकंठदशकच्छेदोत्तसत्पाणये पा — — ७ ७ — ७ — ७ ७ ७  
ते त्रैलोक्यगोप्त्रे नमः<sup>4</sup> ॥ देव क्षीरसमुद्रसांद्रलहरी[र्नि]र्मथ्य हृत्कीर्त्तये तत्ताट-  
गुण — ७ — ७
- 56 ७ ७ — विश्वैकभर्त्रे नमः । श्रीरामाय हनूमदादिवदनांभोजन्मण्डप्रभामर्त्रे श्री-  
जनकक्षितींद्रतनयानंदैक[कं]दाय च ॥ देव त्वां स्फुरदुग्रशोषण ७ — — —  
७ — — ७ — — — दारचटुस्तुतिप्रशमितक्रोधं नमस्कुर्महे । तत्का[ला]प-  
चितिक्रियार्थमिलिताशेषास्व — — ७
- 57 — धत्ता(?)त्यन्तसुजात्यरत्नचयभाभ्राजिष्णुपादांवु(वु)जं(जम्) ॥ देव त्वां गिरिपादपेषि(खि)-  
लसुजामुष्टिप्रहारो ७ — — — ७ ७ — ७ — ७ ७ — — — ७ —  
— ७ — । — — — ७ ७ — ७ — ७ निषि(खि)लं त्रैलोक्यनाशक्षमं धाम्ना  
— ७ सहस्रपूर्णरुचिम — — ७ — मं नुमः ॥ — — — ७

<sup>1</sup> Metre of this and the following verse : *Upajāti*.<sup>2</sup> Metre of this and the next verse : *Vasantatilakā*.<sup>3</sup> Metre of this and the next verse : *Upajāti*.<sup>4</sup> Metre of this and the next seven verses : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

- 58 विसर्परोगजगतीनाथारिदारिद्र्यभूर्भक्तिर्भक्तजनस्य संमदपदं रामेति नामस्मृतेः । गव्यू-  
तिप्र ॐ — ॐ — ॐ ॐ ॐ — — — ॐ — ॐ — — — ॐ ॐ  
— ॐ — ॐ ॐ ॐ — — — ॐ — — ॐ — — ॥ देवं त्वां करुणा  
ॐ — ॐ ॐ ॐ — सामन्तसिन्दूरजं रणं संशमयन्तम ॐ ॐ ॐ — —
- 59 चोभुजां तेजसां(साम्) । कुर्वाणि जगदिष्टदृष्टिममृतासारां भवोन्मायिनीं — — प्रार्थितट-  
प्रभाक ॐ ॐ — — — ॐ — — ॐ — [॥\*] — — — ॐ ॐ — ॐ — ॐ ॐ  
ॐ — — — ॐ — — — ॐ — — ॐ ॐ — र्णिक्कासन ॐ — — — ॐ  
— — ॐ — [॥\*] सिंदूराचलमौलिकल्पि ॐ ॐ — — —
- 60 प्रतिष्ठं विभुं कुंभोद्भूतमुनीश्वरेण भगवन्न्दे मुदे नित्यशः ॥ देवं त्वां पुरुषं  
पुरातनमजं तत्त ॐ — — ॐ — — — — ॐ ॐ — ॐ — ॐ ॐ ॐ — —  
— ॐ — — ॐ — [॥\*] — — — ॐ ॐ — ॐ ॐ ॐ — — — ॐ —  
— ॐ — — — ॐ ॐ — ॐ — — ॐ ॐ — भगवते भक्त्या नमोऽस्तु प्र[भो ॥\*]  
ॐ ॐ ॐ
- 61 रामदेवं य स्तौति मर्त्यः पवित्रधीः । सिंदूराचलमौलिस्थं भजते तस्य य ॐ  
ॐ<sup>1</sup> ॥ काशीप्रभृ ॐ — — ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ — ॐ ॐ [॥\*] ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ  
ॐ — — ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ — ॐ ॐ<sup>1</sup> [॥\*] — — — ॐ ॐ — ॐ — ॐ  
ॐ ॐ — — — ॐ — — ॐ — — ॐ — कल्यांतावधिनिर्मलाग्नि(स्त्रि)लज्जला वृद्धा  
ॐ — — ॐ
- 62 लः । आस्ते वा(वा)लसमुद्र एष विलसद्देवालयालीमिल — — — ॐ जलो जले-  
क्षणकतां देवा ॐ — — ॐ — <sup>2</sup>[॥\*] . . . . .  
<sup>3</sup>धन्यः ॥ समभ्यर्च्य नरो भक्त्या न ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ —
- 63 ॐ ॐ । दुर्लभां लभते कां कां न हि सिद्धिं विशुद्धधीः<sup>1</sup> ॥ — — ॐ — —  
ॐ वराणि तानि देवांश्च — — ॐ ॐ — ॐ — — [॥\*] — — ॐ — —  
ॐ ॐ — ॐ — — — ॐ — — ॐ ॐ — ॐ — — [॥\*] — — ॐ — —  
ॐ ॐ — ॐ — — — ॐ — — ॐ ॐ — ॐ — — [॥] — — ॐ — —  
भरणं गरीयः औराववोऽमंस्त कृतार्थमुच्चैः<sup>4</sup> ॥<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Metre: *Anushtubh*.<sup>2</sup> Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.<sup>3</sup> About 40 aksharas are gone here.<sup>4</sup> Metre: *Indravajrā*.<sup>5</sup> Lines 64-75 are too much mutilated to be transcribed here. Lines 69 and 71 mention one Māidēva and

Line 70 has आह्वय सवरसुवाच वचः स . . . . . मैथिलीनाथस्तुयति देन मे कुरु . . which shows that the inscription was intended to record something done by Māidēva by the order of Rāghava—perhaps some repairs to the temple of Lakshmana.

## No. 3.—A GRANT OF THE WESTERN CHALUKYA VIJAYADITYA: SAKA 653.

By S. C. UPADHYAYA, M.A., LL.B., BOMBAY.

This set of three copper-plates was presented by the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society to the Archæological Section of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, and is now exhibited in the Epigraphical Gallery.

These plates have not been published so far nor have they been noticed anywhere. Their authenticity is, however, unquestionable and therefore they are taken up for publication in this journal.

Each plate is 10"×5½" in size. The whole grant runs into 45 lines. A circular hole with a diameter of about ¾" is found in all the three plates. There is neither any ring nor any Royal seal attached to the set at present. The first and third plates are written on one side only while the second plate is inscribed on both the sides. As regards orthography the record has no peculiarity worth mentioning.

Vijayāditya, the donor of the present grant, seems to have ascended the throne in 618-619 Śaka as the Bādāmi Sanskrit and Kanarese inscription is dated Śaka 621, in his third regnal year.<sup>1</sup> The present grant was made in his 36th regnal year when 653 Śaka had passed. His reign seems to have ended in 654-655 Śaka as his son Vikramāditya II issued from Raktapura a grant in his 2nd regnal year in 656 Śaka expired.<sup>2</sup>

The donation was made on the full-moon day of Vaiśākha to Bhavasvāmi-Bhaṭṭa of the Viśvāmītra-gōtra, who was well versed in the Vaidika literature and who was the son of Paśupatiśarman and grandson of Yajñāśarman. The donation was of a village (?) in a certain *vishaya*<sup>3</sup>. The grant was issued from the victorious camp at Raktapura.<sup>4</sup>

The writer was Niravadya-Puṇyavallabha. We know that in the reign of Vinayāditya the *Mahāsāmdhivigraha* was one Rāma-Puṇyavallabha.<sup>5</sup> But in the reign of Vijayāditya there was one Niravadya-Paṇḍita *alias* Udayadēva-Paṇḍita, a Jaina to whom Vijayāditya granted a village.<sup>6</sup> Niravadya-Paṇḍita who was of the Mūla-Saṃgha was the spiritual guide of Vinayāditya.<sup>7</sup>

The inscription opens with *Sevati* followed by a verse in praise of the Boar incarnation of Vishnu. Then it successively refers to the famous Mānavya-gōtra, the descent from Hārītī of the Chalukyas who were guarded by the Seven Mothers, the receipt of a banner bearing the figure

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 60.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 104.

<sup>3</sup> [According to my reading of lines 35-37 the name of the village granted would be Tārāvadra which was situated in Tēlād-āhāra, a district in Navasāri-vishaya. I read the portion as follows:—

35 भवस्वामिभद्राय नवसारिविषये तेह्लादाहारे

36 कोच्चत्त्यातेह्लादपटमत्याषवेसीभाषामाषा मधेय तारा[व]द्रना-

37 सग्राम(नी) वाप्ययमने विजयादित्येन दत्तः etc.—N. L. R.]

<sup>4</sup> This Raktapura was a famous place in the times of the Western Chālukya kings. Vinayāditya issued a grant from this place. Cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, p. 112. Vikramāditya II issued one more grant in 656 Śaka, cf. *ibid.*, p. 104.

<sup>5</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 85.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 112.

<sup>7</sup> [The late Prof. Pathak has suggested (above, Vol. X, p. 15) that the name Niravadya, which seems to have been a *biruda*, originally of Vijayāditya, was assumed by the writer of his grants.—N. L. R.]

of a Boar on it through the favour of Vishnu, etc., as found in most of the other grants of this dynasty.

The genealogy begins with **Pulakēśi-Vallabha (I)**<sup>1</sup> who had purified his limbs with the holy waters at the time of the horse sacrifice performed by him. Then his son, the famous **Kīrtti-varman(I)** who had defeated the kings of **Vanavāsī**, is referred to. Then we find mentioned his son **Satyāśraya** otherwise famous as **Pulakēśin (II)** who bore the additional titles **Mahārājā-dhīrāja** and **Paramēśvara**; the last-mentioned title he obtained by defeating **Harshavardhana**. Then comes his 'favourite' son **Vikramāditya (I)**. Mounted on the back of his favourite steed **Chitrakaṇṭha** and with only a sword in hand he is said to have retrieved the fortune of his father which had been taken away by the alliance of three kings. He also broke down the power of the **Pāṇḍyas**, **Chōlas**, **Kēraḷas** and **Kaḷabhras**, and made the king of **Kāñchī** bow down in reverence to him. Then is mentioned **Vinayāditya**, who is also stated to have subdued the triple alliance. He subdued the kings of **Kavēra**, **Pārasika** and **Sirṃhala** and by defeating the king of the north acquired the emblems of greatness such as the **Pālidhvaja**, etc.

His favourite son was **Vijayāditya-Samastabhuvanāśraya**, the donor of the present grant. He secured peace at home while his grandfather carried on wars with the southern kings and he assisted his father in a campaign in the north and going further to the north (more than what his father had done) he acquired for himself the emblems of **Gaṅgā**, **Yamunā**, the **Pālidhvaja** banner and the **Dhakkā** drum. He was once caught by the enemies but he skilfully contrived to escape and brought peace and order unaided by others in the provinces where disorder reigned supreme for a while.

#### TEXT.<sup>2</sup>

##### First Plate.

- 1 स्वस्ति [॥\*] जयत्वाविष्कृतं विष्णोर्वीराहं चाभितार्ष्वं(वम्) [॥\*] दक्षिणोन्नत-  
दंष्ट्रायविश्रान्तभुवन<sup>3</sup> वपुः [॥\*] श्री-
- 2 मतां सकलभुवनसंस्तूयमानमानव्यसगीत्राणां सप्तलोकमातृ-
- 3 भिस्सप्तमातृभिरभिवर्जितानां कार्तिकेयपरिरक्षणप्राप्तकल्याणपरंपराणां भगव-
- 4 न्नारायणप्रसादसमासादितवराहलाब्धनेक्षणक्षणवशीकृतशिष्यमहीभृतां
- 5 चलिक्वानां कुलमलंकरिणोरश्वमेधावभृथस्नानपवित्रीकृतगात्रस्य श्रीपुलकेशि-
- 6 वल्लभमहाराजस्य स्तुतुं पराक्रमाश्रान्तवनवास्यादिपरचरुपतिमण्डलप्रणिव-
- 7 हविशुद्धकीर्तिः श्रीकीर्तिवर्मप्रथिवीवल्लभमहाराजस्तस्यात्मजस्मर-<sup>4</sup>
- 8 संस्तुतसकलोत्तरापथेश्वरश्रीहर्षवर्धना<sup>5</sup> पराजयोपात्तपरमेश्वरशब्दा-

<sup>1</sup> His title *Satyāśraya* is not given here, unlike in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 73.

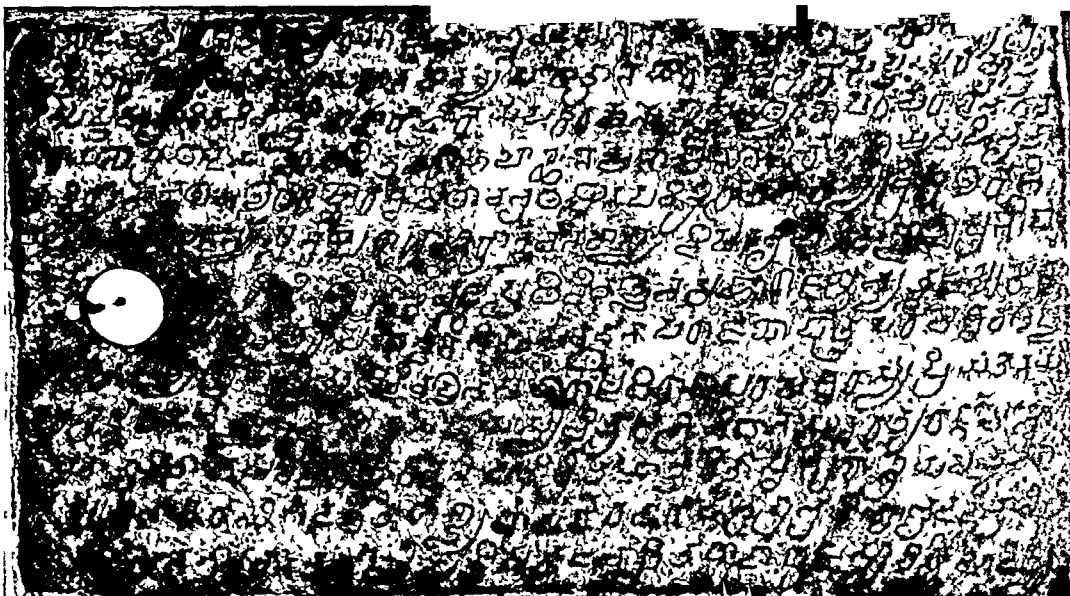
<sup>2</sup> From the original plates.

<sup>3</sup> Read *bhuvanān*.

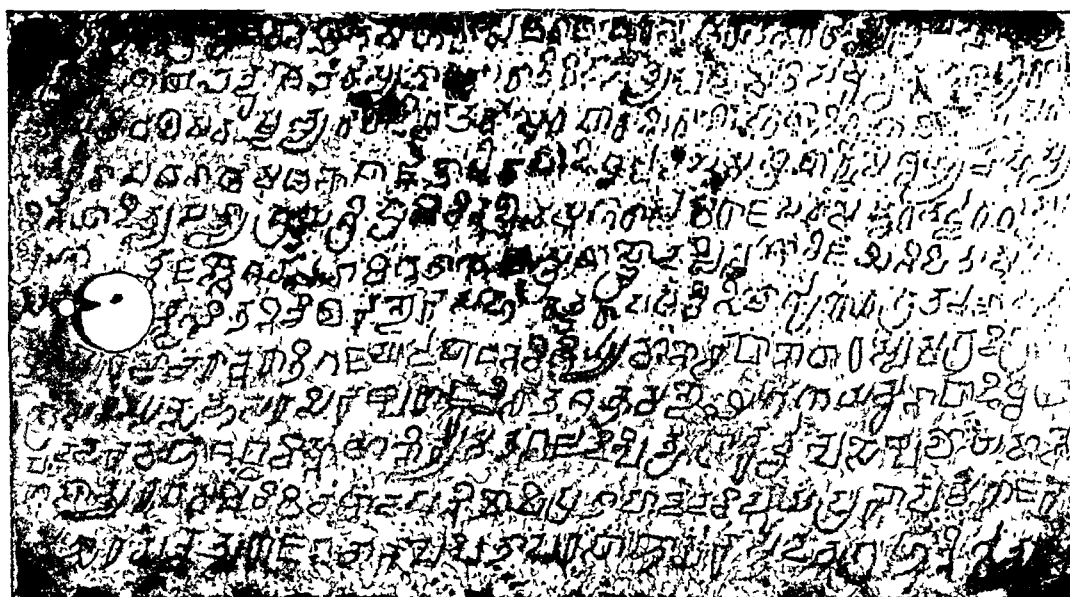
<sup>4</sup> Read *śya samara*. [This emendation is unnecessary as the reading of the text in ll. 8-9 is correctly *-paramēśvara-kāśī-dāt-tasya*.—Ed.]

<sup>5</sup> Read *śri-Harshavardhana*.

i.



ii,a.



ii.b.

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28

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Handwritten text in a script, likely Indic, with a circular symbol on the left margin.

26

28

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32

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iii.

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44

Handwritten text in a script, likely Indic, with a circular symbol on the left margin.

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44

- 9 [ङ्ग]स्य सत्याश्रयश्रीपृथिवीवल्लभमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरस्य प्रियतनय-  
 10 स्य प्रज्ञा[त]नयस्य खड्गमात्रसहायस्य चित्रकण्ठाभिधानप्रवरतुरङ्गमेणै-  
 11 केनैवोत्थारिताशेषविजिगीषोरवनिपतित्रितयान्तरितां स्वगुरो<sup>1</sup> श्रियमात्मसा-  
 12 त्कृत्य(त्वा) प्रभावकुलिशदलितपाण्ड्यचोळकैरककळभ्रप्रभृतिभूभृददभ्रवि-  
 13 भ्रमस्यानन्यावनतकाञ्चीपतिमुकुटचुंवितपादांवुजस्य विक्रमादित्य-

*Second Plate ; First Side.*

- 14 सत्याश्रयश्रीपृथिवीवल्लभमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरभट्टारकस्य प्रियसूनोऽपि-  
 15 तुराज्ञया बालेन्दुशेखरस्य तारकारातिरिव दैत्यवलमतिसमुद्धतं त्रैराज्यका-  
 16 ञ्चीपतिवलमवष्टभ्य करदीकृतकमे(वि)रपारसौकसिंहकादिद्वीपाधिपस्य सक-  
 17 लोत्तरापथनाथमथनोपार्जितोर्जितपाकिध्वजादिसमस्तपारमैश्वर्यचिह्नस्य  
 18 विनयादित्यसत्याश्रयश्रीपृथिवीवल्लभमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरभट्टारकस्य  
 19 प्रियात्मजशैशव एवाधिगताशेषास्त्रशास्त्रो दक्षिणाशविजयिनि पितामहे  
 20 समुन्मूलितनिखिलकण्टक<sup>2</sup>सह[ति\*]रुत्तरापथवि[जि\*]गौषोर्गुरोरग्रत एवाहव-  
 21 व्यापारमाचरन्नरातिगजघटापाटनविशैर्यमाणक्षपाणधारस्समग्रविग्रहा-  
 22 ग्रेसरस्त्र[त्वा]हसरसिकऽपराङ्मु(ङ्ग)खीकृतशत्रुमण्डलो गंगायमुनापाकिध्वज-  
 23 पट[ह\*]ठक<sup>3</sup>महाशब्दचिह्नमाणिक्यमर्तगजादीन्पद्भु(ल)सात्कुर्वन्प[रि]ऽपलायमानै-  
 24 रासाद्य कथमपि विधिवशादपनीतोपि प्रतापादेद<sup>4</sup> विषय<sup>5</sup>प्रकोपमराजक-  
 25 मुत्सारयन्वत्सराज इवानपेक्षितापरसहायकस्तदवग्रहाद्विर्गत्य स्व-

*Second Plate ; Second Side.*

- 26 भुजावष्टंभप्रसाधिताशेषविश्वंभरऽप्रभुरखण्डितशक्तित्रय-  
 27 त्वाच्छत्रुमदभंजनत्वादुदारत्वान्निरवयत्वाद्यस्समस्तभुवना-

<sup>1</sup> Read °gurōh.

<sup>2</sup> Read āhakka-.

<sup>3</sup> Read vishaya-.

<sup>4</sup> Read samhātir-.

<sup>5</sup> Read °d=eva.



- 28 अयस्सकलपारमैश्वर्य्यक्तिहेतुपालिध्वजाद्युज्ज(ज्ज)लप्राज्य-  
 29 राज्यो विजयादित्यसत्याश्रयश्रीष्टिथिवीवल्लभमहाराजाधिरा-  
 30 जपरमेश्वरभट्टारकस्त्वर्वात्ते(ने)वमाज्ञापयति विदितमस्तु वोस्मा-  
 31 भिन्निपञ्चाशदुत्तरषट्पट्ट(ट्श)नेषु शकवर्षेष्वतोतेषु प्रवर्द्धमानविजय-  
 32 राज्यसंवत्सरे षट्द्विंशे वत्तमाने रक्तपुरमधिवसति विजयस्कन्धावारि  
 33 वैशाखपौर्णमास्यां विश्वामित्रगोत्राय — — — <sup>२</sup>वि[द<sup>२</sup>]विदांगपारगाय २  
 34 ज्ञशर्मपौत्राय <sup>३</sup>पटुपतिशर्मपुत्राय सकलविदितशास्त्रा-  
 35 य भवस्वामिभट्टाय — — — — <sup>५</sup>विप्रये — — — <sup>५</sup>हारागे

Third Plate.

- 36 — — — — लु<sup>५</sup> — पश्चिमे — — — <sup>५</sup> सीमा — — — — — .  
 37 — — — — — — — <sup>५</sup> विजयादित्येन दत्तः तदागामिभिरस्मदं-  
 38 श्यैरन्यैश्च राजभिरायुरैश्वर्यादौनां विलसितमचिरांशुचञ्च-  
 39 लमव[ग<sup>\*</sup>]च्छद्भिराचन्द्रार्कधराण्यवस्थितिसमकालयशस्विभिः[<sup>\*</sup>] स्वदत्ति-  
 40 नि[र्वि]शेषं परिपालनीयमुक्तञ्च<sup>६</sup> भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन [॥<sup>\*</sup>]  
 41 बहुभिर्बन्धुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिर्य(भिः । य)स्य यस्य य-  
 42 दा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) [॥<sup>\*</sup>] स्वन्दातुं सुमहच्छक्यं दुःखम-  
 43 न्यस्य पालनं(नम्) [॥<sup>\*</sup>] दानं वा पालनं चेति दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनं(नम्) [॥<sup>\*</sup>]  
 44 स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत् वसुन्धरां(राम्) [॥<sup>\*</sup>] षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि विष्ठा-  
 45 यां जायते कृमिः [॥<sup>\*</sup>] श्रीनिरवद्यश्रीपुण्यवत्तमेन लिखितमिदं शासनं [॥<sup>\*</sup>]

\* Read °bhis=tri°.

° Reading doubtful. [It is विदित°.—N. L. R.]

° Read Paśupati°.

° The order of the words in the compound is incorrect.

° [See note 3 on p. 21.—Ed.]

° Read °yam/uktān=cha.

## No. 4.—ELLORA PLATES OF DANTIDURGA : SAKA 663.

By S. K. DIKSHIT, M.A., NEW DELHI.

The copper-plates which bear the subjoined inscription of the earliest Rāshtrakūṭa emperor Dantidurga were discovered at Ellora (ancient Ēlāpura) in Aurangābād District of H. E. H. the Nizām's Dominions. They were handed over to Sir John Marshall by Major Garforth, Under Secretary, Public Works Department, in the year 1921, but originally belonged to a widow lady, by name Mrs. Plunkett, from whom they were subsequently purchased by the Archaeological Department. Unfortunately they have somehow remained in oblivion for more than 17 years, until Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit happened to come across them. He has kindly lent them to me for editing, which I am doing under his guidance.

The plates are two in number, each measuring in the middle roughly 6 inches in length and  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches in breadth. They are joined together by a copper ring which is oval in shape, being roughly  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches in length and  $1\frac{1}{8}$  inches in breadth. The letters, which are engraved with fair accuracy, vary in size from  $\frac{1}{4}$ th to  $\frac{1}{3}$ rd of an inch. The plates are inscribed on one side only, and the engraving is fairly deep, though the letters do not appear on the other side except in a few cases. The edges of the plates are thickened only very slightly, so that the first plate is worn out in the middle of the upper edge though no damage is thereby caused to any letters. The copper ring which joins the two plates together has a seal attached to it, on which appears a winged figure sitting cross-legged. The figure must be of Garuḍa who usually appears on the Rāshtrakūṭa seals. The language is Sanskrit and the inscription is throughout written in prose, except for the imprecatory and benedictory verses (lines 23 to 28) which are usually found near the end. As regards orthography, it may be noted that the consonant following *r* is generally duplicated (cf. *Dantidurgga*, l. 8; *antarggata* and *vinirggata*, ll. 13 and 14; *Adhvaryyu*, l. 14; *utsarppaṇārtham*, l. 17). A certain amount of laxity in rules relating to *sandhi*, etc., is also observable.

The palaeographical peculiarities found in this inscription mark it out from the Rāshtrakūṭa inscriptions like the Multāi and Tiwarkhēḍ plates of Nannarāja Yuddhāsura,<sup>1</sup> the Bhāndak plates of Kṛishṇarāja I<sup>2</sup>, which, according to Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, have characters belonging to the "Northern class of alphabets". On the other hand, a comparative study of this record with some of the Valabhī and Southern Gujarāt plates betrays their closest affinity in palaeographical details. Thus the Ilāḍ (Broach District) plates of Dadda II-Praśāntarāja,<sup>3</sup> Prince of Wales Museum plates of Jayabhaṭa,<sup>4</sup> Āntrōli-Chhārōli plates of Karka II (dated Śaka 679)<sup>5</sup> and Baroda plates of Suvarṇavarsha (dated Śaka 734)<sup>6</sup> bear a much closer resemblance with the present record than the first-mentioned three grants from the Bētūl and Chāndā Districts. Special attention may be drawn to the form of the letter *ē* (l. 10), which could easily be mistaken for 'gu' or 'l', but is obviously meant to be of the same type as is found in *Ēlāpur-āchala*, etc., of the Baroda plates<sup>7</sup>.

The object of this inscription is to record the grant of a village called Pippalāla in the district of Chandanapuri-eighty-four, to certain Brāhmaṇas originating from Navasārikā, by the Rāshtrakūṭa prince Dantidurga, son of Indrarāja and grandson of Karkkarāja. The grant was issued

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 230 ff.; above, Vol. XI, pp. 276 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XIV, pp. 121 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 115 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 147 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 105 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 156 ff. Also, cf. the Valabhī plates illustrated in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, facing p. 328; above, Vols. XI, XIII and XXII, facing pp. 106, 339 and 118 respectively, etc.

<sup>7</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, plate facing p. 158, text l. 14.

from, and probably recorded at, Badarikā-vāsaka, though it was originally made at Ēlapura (Ēlapura) by the donor after bathing in the Guhēśvara *tīrtha*. Its chief importance, however, lies in the fact that it is the earliest dated record of the Imperial Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty so far known. The inscription is dated in the (Śaka) Saṃvat 663, Āśvina Śuddha trayōdaśī, Sōma-vāra. According to S. K. Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris* the date is not regular either for Śaka 663 current or for 663 expired. The details cited, however, regularly correspond to Monday, the 17th September 742 A.D., in the Śakā year 664 expired. The present inscription, whose authenticity can be borne out by the palaeographical test, is thus dated 12 years earlier than the Sāmangaḍ plates of Dantidurga,<sup>1</sup> which are dated in the Śaka year 675. The genuineness of the latter has been called in question by scholars like Dr. Sukthankar<sup>2</sup> and Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar,<sup>3</sup> who base their arguments mainly on palaeographical grounds, which are, however, 'hardly convincing' to Dr. A. S. Altekar, 'when the difference is only of a few decades.'<sup>4</sup> One may not perhaps fully agree with Dr. Altekar in his doubts as regards the validity of the palaeographical test, which has always to reckon the district in which the inscription is found, the district in which the grant is given and the personality of the writer; but one cannot set aside the Sāmangaḍ inscription altogether, especially in view of the possibility that it might have been copied from an earlier and authentic inscription which really gave the correct date of Dantidurga (*viz.*, Ś. 675). The present record also bears out Dr. Altekar's suggestion that at any rate "there is nothing impossible in Dantidurga being a ruling prince in 753-4 A. D."<sup>5</sup>

Another point to be considered is regarding the titles that were borne according to this inscription by Dantidurga and his predecessors, Karka and Indra. All the three bear only feudatory titles, such as *Samadhigata-paṃcha-mahāśabda* and *Mahāsāmantādhipati*. Thus Dantidurga had not as yet assumed the imperialistic titles which appear in the Sāmangaḍ plates. No doubt, he bears in this record the title of *Prithivīvallabha*, but that may signify at best his increased importance. It is true that the title *Prithivīvallabha* was often borne, along with *Śrīvallabha*, by kings of the Imperial lines of the Chālukyas and the Rāshtrakūṭas; but while the latter title, like the simpler *Vallabha*, was exclusively a suzerain's title, the former, *viz.*, *Prithivīvallabha*, was borne also by important feudatories. Thus in *circa* 645 A. D. Chandraditya, the eldest son of Pulakēśin II, is styled *Prithivīvallabha* and *Mahārāja*. About a century later, *i.e.*, in or before 739 A. D., the same title *Prithivīvallabha* was conferred upon Pulakēśin (the repeller of the Tājikas) along with other titles, *viz.*, *Avanījanāśraya*, *Dakṣiṇāpathasādhāra-Chalukyakuḷālamkāra*, etc., by *Śrī-Vallabhanarēndra* who evidently was his suzerain<sup>6</sup>. Dantidurga also seems to have defeated certain enemies, before 742 A. D., since he is said in this inscription to have obtained victory in many battles. One may therefore suggest that he too was honoured by *Śrī-Vallabhanarēndra* with the title *Prithivīvallabha* in recognition of his service in some battles, possibly fought in collaboration with Pulakēśi-*Avanījanāśraya*. The date of the present record is only three years later than the date of Pulakēśin's record. The connection of the Rāshtrakūṭa predecessors of Dantidurga with Gujarāt is borne out by the fact recorded in the Sanjān and other inscriptions that the mother of Dantidurga (called Bhavagaṇā in the Bhāṇḍak plates of Kṛishnarāja)<sup>7</sup> was a Chālukya princess who was carried away by Indrarāja from *Khēṭaka-maṇḍapa* in accordance with the *Rākshasa* form

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, pp. 110 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XIV, p. 121, n. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 238.

<sup>4</sup> *Rāshtrakūṭas and Their Times*, pp. 33-34, footnote 11.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Pt. 1, p. 109, n. 2. Also cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 265, where Nikumbhallaśakti Śēndraka assumes the title *Prithivīvallabha*.

<sup>7</sup> Above, Vol. XIV, p. 124, text l. 19.

of marriage. Further, the connection of Dantidurga with Southern Gujarāt is perhaps betrayed by the fact that one or probably all of the donees of the present grant hailed from Navasārikā. Lastly, as shown above, close palaeographical examination of this inscription confirms this connection, for the inscription was probably engraved somewhere in South Gujarāt. Thus, there is nothing impossible in Dantidurga helping Pulakēśi-*Avanījanāśraya*, when the Tājikas were penetrating into Dakṣiṇāpatha at Navasārikā, though it has to be admitted that this is nothing more than a supposition.

When did this scuffle between the Gujarāt Chālukyas and the Tājikas take place? Several scholars have averred that it must have taken place soon after 724 A.D., when Junayd<sup>1</sup> under Caliph Hisham carried raids into the dominions of the Hindu kings. But it seems to me that the Chālukyan skirmishes with the Tājikas did not take place before 731 A.D., since Pulakēśi-*Avanījanāśraya* who claims for himself the credit for repulsing the Tājikas, did not come to the throne till after A.D. 731, for an inscription of Vijayāditya Janāśraya Yuddhamalla Maṅgalarāja, the elder brother of Pulakēśin, is dated in that year.<sup>2</sup> Pulakēśin must have, therefore, encountered the Arabs sometime between 731 A.D. and 739 A.D., i.e., probably in the reign of Vikramāditya II who ruled from 733 A.D. to 746 A.D. Thus Vikramāditya was probably the *Śrī-Vallabhanarēndra* who conferred titles on both Pulakēśin and Dantidurga. The assumption of the title *Prithivīvallabha* and the *biruda Khaḍgāvalōka* on the part of Dantidurga shows, at any rate, that he had materially added to the dignity and prestige of the Rāshtrakūṭas before this grant was issued; while the issue of a land grant itself shows a certain amount of independence enjoyed by Dantidurga.

Dantidurga must have required some time to achieve victory in many battles as is claimed by him in the present record, or at least to add to the dignity and prestige of the family, as is indicated by the assumption of additional, if not higher, titles. Hence, Dantidurga's career probably began some time before 742 A. D. This would probably invalidate Dr. Altekar's supposition that Indra I married the Chālukya princess Bhavaganā in or after 725, when he "very probably served in this campaign (against the Valabhī king) as one of the feudatories of the Chālukya king (Maṅgalarasa)"<sup>3</sup>. Another statement of Dr. Altekar that "Nanna Guṇāvaloka, a younger brother of Indra I, was still alive in 792 A.D., as the Daulatabad plates show",<sup>4</sup> also needs correction, since it is nowhere told in the original record that Nanna was still alive at that date, though his son who issued the grant was then certainly living. Hence, the dates suggested for Dantidurga and his ancestors by Dr. Altekar have to be revised in the light of this record and the suggestions made above and we have perhaps to assign the following approximate dates to Dantidurga and his ancestors :—

Dantivarman (A.D. 615-40).

Indra-Prichchhakarāja (640-65).

Gōvindarāja (665-90).

Karka I (690-715).

Indra I (715-35).

Dantidurga (A.D. 735-57) ; known dates, A.D. 742 and 754.

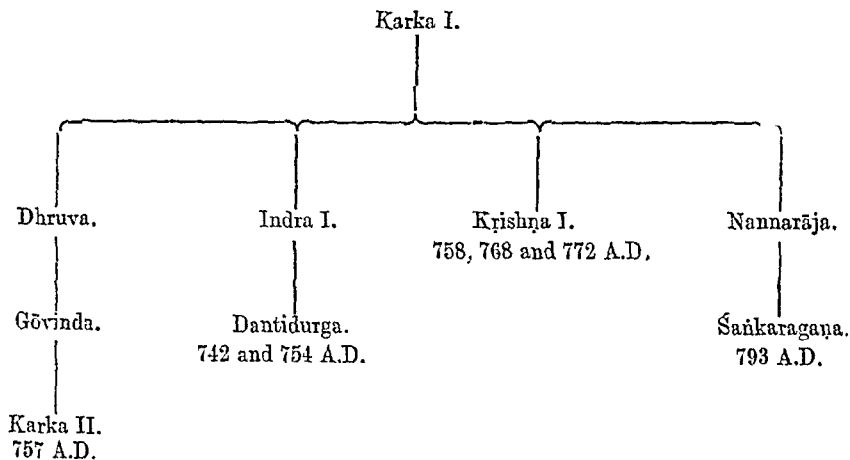
<sup>1</sup> Elliot : *History of India*, Vol. I, pp. 125-26.

<sup>2</sup> See *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Altekar, *Rāshtrakūṭas and Their Times*, p. 32.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 10. See above, Vol. IX, pp. 195 ff.

Consideration of the above facts would make it clear that the suggestion of Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji about the identity of Karka I of Āntrōli-Chhārōli plates with the grandfather of Dantidurga is more probable than Dr. Altekar is disposed to agree. According to him, "the drawback in this theory is the necessity of assuming that Dhruva, Govinda and Karka II were, all of them, the eldest sons of their parents."<sup>1</sup> This is because he would assign later dates to the predecessors of Karka I, and would place Nannarāja in 793 A.D., when he probably did not exist. Thus the various branches of the Rāshtrakūṭa family emanating from Karka I may be shown with their known dates as follows :—



As stated already, the palaeography shows a close similarity between the letters of this record and those of the Āntrōli-Chhārōli record of Karka II, which favours Dr. Bhagwanlal's hypothesis. Dr. Altekar, however, tries to connect the line of Dantidurga with Nannarāja Yuddhāsura of Multāi and Tiwarkhēd plates, which palaeographically differ from the present grant.

A verse in the Sāmangaḍ plates possibly connects early activities of Dantidurga with the Mahi and the Rēvā as also with the Mahānadi. But this does not necessarily show that he was connected with the Rāshtrakūṭas of Berār. He might have led an expedition and gained a victory on the bank of the Mahānadi. As regards Dantidurga's revolt against the Vallabha it is possible to hold that it did not take place till the death of Vikramāditya II who had bestowed on him the title *Prithivīvallabha*, while the accession of Kirtivarman II in circa 747 A.D. probably gave an impetus to his desire to catch hold of the royal sceptre, which he did, according to the Daśavatāra cave, Sāmangaḍ and many other inscriptions, by means of *daṇḍa* or *daṇḍabala*. In view of this definite statement of the use of force, it is difficult to agree with Dr. Altekar's suggestion that 'the overthrow of the Chālukya emperor was brought about by strategem or treachery.'<sup>2</sup> The very fact that Kirtivarman II was alive at least upto 757 A. D. shows that very probably there was no intrigue against him, but that he was defeated in a regular battle by Dantidurga, who had raised the standard of rebellion in consequence of the weakness of the central authority. Another fact that I should mention here is about the reading *Sandhubhūpa* found in l. 10 of the Daśavatāra record, which Dr. Bhagwanlal reads as : *daṇḍen-aiṛa jīgāya Vallabha-balaṁ yaḥ Sandhubhūp-ādhipam*. According to Dr. Altekar, *Sandhubhūpa* "is obviously a mistake for *Sindhuhūpa*".<sup>3</sup> But

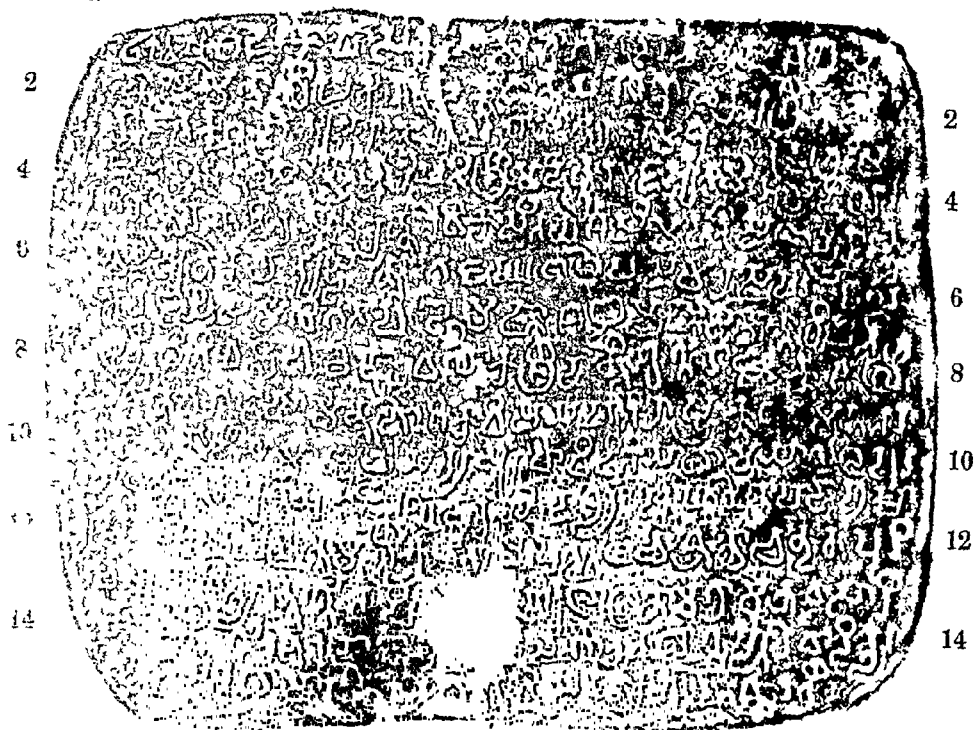
<sup>1</sup> Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 39.

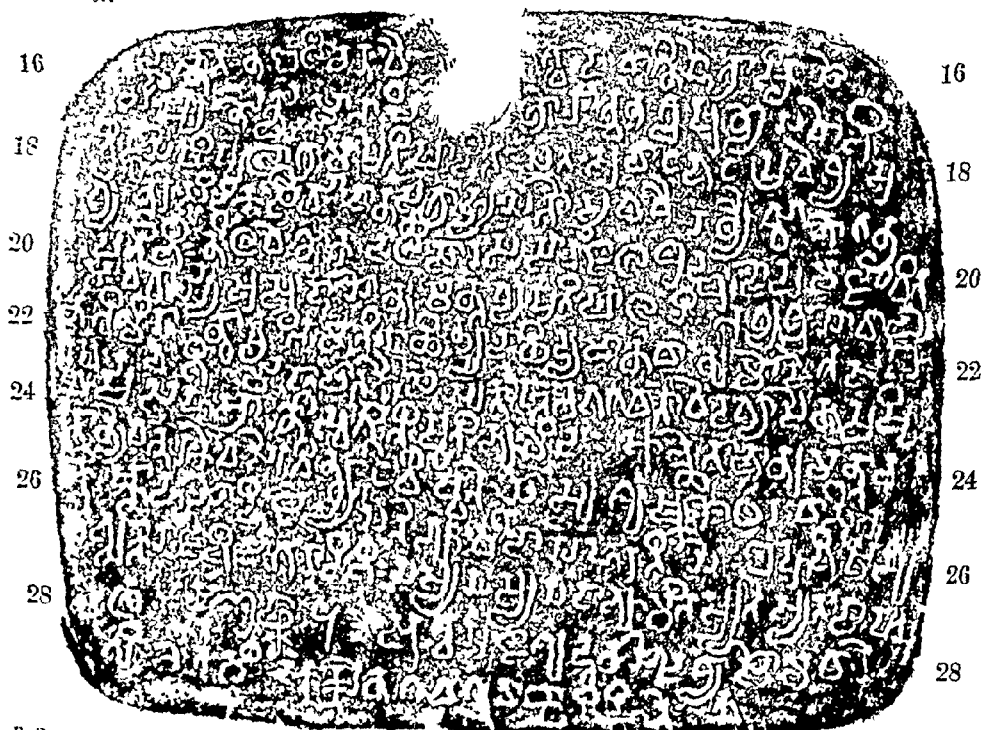
<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 30.



i.



ii.



then, it would mean that Dantidurga conquered "the overlord of the kings of Sind". The correct reading, so far as I can see from ink-estampages of the Daśāvātāra inscription, kindly supplied by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, is : *danḍeṇ=aiva jīgāya Vallabha-nṛipam (?) yaḥ sarva-bhūp-ādhipam*, etc., that is : "He conquered Vallabha, the king of all kings by means of force". We may here note that *Ballara* "signifies king of kings", according to Ibn Khurdabīd, Al-Idrisi, etc.<sup>1</sup> There is thus no question of Dantidurga conquering Sind according to this reading.

Of the localities mentioned in this inscription, *Badarikā* whence this record was issued probably lies as indicated by the palaeography of the record, somewhere in southern Gujarāt, though an alternative that the writer who inscribed the record might have hailed from that region is not altogether barred out. *Navasārikā* is the famous Nausārī (Baroda), while *Ēlāpura*<sup>2</sup> is the famous Ellora, where Dantidurga built the Daśāvātāra cave temple as can be inferred from his inscription found in that cave, and where his successor Kṛishṇa built the Kailāsa temple. As regards the *Gubhēśvara-tīrtha*, which, according to this inscription, seems to be in *Ēlāpura*, one may suggest that this *Īśvara* of the cave (*guhā*) is none else but *Gṛishṇēśvara* of Ellora,<sup>3</sup> one of the twelve *Jyōtir-līngas*. *Chandanapuri* is the same as the modern Chandanpuri a small town on the Girna river, three miles to the south-west of Malegaum, and about forty-five miles to the north-west of Ellora while *Pippalāla* is the same as the modern Pimpral 12 miles south-east of Chandanpuri, and about 33 miles from Ellora. Since *Pippala* changes into *Pimpal* in *Marāṭhī*, there is little phonetic difficulty with regard to the equation *Pippalāla*=*Pimpral*. This geographical consideration therefore suggests that the Rāshtrakūṭa territory included at least the Aurangābād District and parts of Nāsik and Khāndesh Districts as early as 742 A. D.

#### TEXT.

##### First Plate.

- 1 ॐ<sup>4</sup> स्वस्ति [I\*] वदरिकावासकात्ममधिगतपंचमहाशब्दम-
- 2 हासामन्ताधिपतिराष्ट्रकूटान्वयगोत्रालंकारश्रीकर्क-
- 3 राज[स्\*]तत्पादानुद्धातपरममाहेश्वरसमधिगतपंचम-
- 4 हाशब्दमहासामन्ताधिपतिश्रीमदिन्द्रराजसुत(राजस्तत्सुतो) मेरुमहोदर-
- 5 गिर(?) विजर)स्थिररुचिरसमुन्नते विकसितयशसि महति स इन्द्रराज्ञा(ज्ञो)-

<sup>1</sup> Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. I, pp. 13, 75, 86, 88, etc. [To me the reading appears to be *Vallabha[ra]sam*. Is *arasa* here to be taken as the Kanarese form of *rāja* as in *Viṭṭarasa* (= *Vishnurāja*)?—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> For the history of its name and the traditions connected with it vide *A. S. W. I.*, Vol. V, p. 26, footnote. I may point out another tradition narrated in the *Brahmapurāṇa*, Ch. 108 (*Gautamī-Māhātmya*), according to which *Ilapura* owes its name to king *Ilā*. The story says that *Ilā* changed his sex on entering the forest called *Umāvana* due to a curse of *Śiva* and came to be known as *Ilā*. Wishing to regain her former sex *Ilā* worshipped *Śiva* on the banks of the river *Gautamī* (*Gōdāvarī*) in the forests of *Dandaka*. She succeeded and hence the town established there came to be known as *Ilapura*. The *tīrtha*, according to Dr. Burgess, "was originally at the caves" (*A. S. W. I.*, Vol. V, p. 4).

<sup>3</sup> I owe this suggestion to R. B. K. N. Dikshit, as also the reading *Ēlāpura*.

Vide : हिमालये तु केदारं घृणेशं तु शिवालये ।

इलापुरीरथशिवालयेऽभिन् समुल्लसन् च जगद्दरिणम् ।

वन्दे महोदारतरुसभावं घृणेश्वराख्यं शरणं प्रपद्ये ॥

—*J. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. X, pp. 4-6.

<sup>4</sup> Expressed by a symbol.



- 6 न्वये अनेकचातुर्दन्तगजघटाटोपसमरसंघटल-  
 7 स्वविजयी(यः)<sup>1</sup> समधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्दमहासामन्ताधिपति-  
 8 प्री(पु)थिवौवल्लभखट्वावला(लो)कश्रोदन्तिदुर्गराजः कुशली  
 9 सर्वानिव राजसामन्तभोगिकविषयपतिराष्ट्रकूटमहत्तरा-  
 10 धिकारिकादी[न\*] समाज्ञापयत्यस्तु वो विदितं यथा मया एल(ला)पुर-  
 11 व्यवस्थितेन अश्वयुजशुद्धययोदश्यां स्वहस्तेन पादां(दी) प्रचा-  
 12 ल्य परलोकमपेक्षत्वमंगौल्य(लोकमपेक्ष्य) महत्फलं च श्रुत्वा चन्दनपुरि-  
 13 चतुराशित्या(रशीत्य)न्तर्गतपिप्पलालं नाम ग्राम[ः\*] नवसारि-  
 14 काविनिर्गतेभरद्वा[ज]सगोच तथाध्वर्युरेवादित्य-  
 15 भट्टाय तथा माउल तथा [गो]विसरभ्य(भ्यो) गुहेश्वरती-

Second Plate.

- 16 र्थज्ञातेन वलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रादिह(क्रि)यो-  
 17 त्स्पर्षणार्थं मातापित्रोरालनश्च पुण्ययशोभि-  
 18 त्रि(ह)द्वये पिप्पलालग्राम[ः\*] प्रतिपादितः यत[ः\*] अचाटभटप्रवेश्य[ः\*] अ-  
 19 भ्यन्तरसिद्धिक[ः\*] सर्वोदानसंग्राह्य[ः\*] यतोस्त[ः\*]वंशै(श्यै)रन्यैर्वा भोग-  
 20 पतिभिः(भावितृपतिभोगपतिभिः)<sup>2</sup> नलवैष्णुकदलौसारसंसारजलबुद्धोपमं जीवित-  
 21 सवधार्थ्य असहायोनुमन्तव्य[ः\*] प्रतिपालयितव्यश्च यो वाज्ञा-

<sup>1</sup> The epithet 'anēka-chāturdānta-gaja-ghaṭ-āṭṭpa-samara-saṃghaṭṭa-labdha-vijayah' is also found in the Khāmkhēḍ plates of the time of Prāpāśila, edited by Prof. V. V. Mirashi (*Supra*, Vol. XXII, p. 95). The letters being partly illegible, the editor has read them as: 'anēka-cha[tu]rddanta-[gaja-ghaṭā] . . . [prāpta\*]-vijayah.' [In the Khāmkhēḍ plates there is no room for so many syllables after ghaṭā.—Ed.] But the present record has a greater similarity with the Bagumrā grant of Nikumbhallaśakti Sēndraka (Prithivī-vallabha) than with the Khāmkhēḍ plates. Cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 267:—*Mrumahādihara-vijara-sthira-ruchira-samunmatē vikasita-mahati yaśasi (vilasita-yaśasi mahati) Sēndraka-rājñām=anrayē naika-chānu(tu)radanta-gaja-ghaṭ[ā]-āṭṭpa-sam[ar]-saṃghaṭṭa-labdha-vijayō*, etc. (The reading cited here will be found slightly different from the one given by Bühler.) The writer of our inscription thus seems to have before him a Sēndraka record, which he blindly copied till he inscribed the words 'vikasita-yaśasi mahati sa', as if he had to write 'Sēndraka-rājñām=anrayē.' Immediately after he wrote 'sa', however, it seems to have dawned upon him that this deed belonged to the Rāshtrakūṭas and not to the Sēndrakas. So he inserted an obviously unnecessary word "Indrarājā(ji)ṇ-ayē." After stating that Dantidurga belonged to the Rāshtrakūṭa family and that he was a son of Indrarāja it was certainly not necessary to add that he was a member of Indrarāja's family.

<sup>2</sup> The letter *la* is incised below the line. It was evidently omitted at first by mistake and was supplied later on. The *līlapada* sign over the foregoing *lā* indicates the omission.

<sup>3</sup> *Bhōgīpati* is the same as *Bhōgika*, a governor of a *bhukti*.

- 22 नतिमिरान्धावतमतिराक्षि(च्छि)न्धादाक्षि(च्छि)द्यमानं वानुमोदेत स  
 23 पंचभिर्महापातकैः[\*] संयुक्तु(संयुनक्तु) [1\*] उक्तं च भगवतो(ता) वेदव्यासेन [1\*]  
 षष्टिं  
 24 वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गि(र्गो) तिष्ठति भूमिदः [1\*] आच्छेता(त्ता) चानुमन्ता च  
 25 तान्येव नरके वसेत्[\*] [1\*] विन्ध्याटवीष्वतीयासु शुष्ककोट(ट)रवासिनः [1\*]  
 26 क्रि(क्त)ष्णाहयो हि जायंते भूमिदायं हरन्ति ये [11\*] बहुभिर्वसु-  
 27 धा भुक्ता राजभिः[\*] सगरादिभिः [1\*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमि[स्\*] तस्य तस्य  
 तदा फ-  
 28 लं(लम्) [11\*] सं ६०० ६० ३ अश्वयुज शुद्ध त्रयोदश्यां सोमवारे [1\*]  
 29 लिखितमिदं कुक्कुरे(ण) गवंग[वाब्बा]भिहितेन(?)

No. 5.—BHIKSHUNIS IN INDIAN INSCRIPTIONS.

BY BIMALA CHURN LAW, M.A., B.L., PH.D.

Here I am concerned to put together the evidences which Indian inscriptions bear to the existence of the Buddhist Bhikshunī order in India, and to examine how far they tally with the facts that may be gathered from literature and foreign travels.

It may be observed at the outset that the epithet *bhikshunī*<sup>1</sup> (*bhikhunī*<sup>2</sup>, *bhichhunī*<sup>3</sup>) is nowhere employed in Indian inscriptions to denote a religious woman other than a Buddhist female mendicant, sister or nun as she is usually represented. In rare instances *samanikā* or *pavajitikā* is used as the epithet of a Buddhist nun.<sup>4</sup> This is, however, not to deny that Indian inscriptions are wanting in references to the female members of the Jaina Order, although they are not called *bhikshunīs*.<sup>5</sup>

The Bhābrū and Schism Pillar Edicts of Aśoka go to prove that the Buddhist community was constituted in the 3rd century B.C., precisely as in the Buddha's time, of *bhikshus*, *bhikshunīs*, *upāsakas*, and *upāsikās*. The text of Aśoka's ordinance provides against schisms in the Saṅgha fomented by *bhikshus* as well as *bhikshunīs* (*e chum kho bhikhū vā bhikhunī vā saṅgham bhākhati*).<sup>6</sup> Thus the *bhikshunīs* had at that time to be reckoned with as equally powerful factors in the matter of unity or division in the Buddhist Fraternity.

The information about the *bhikshunīs* which may be gathered from Aśoka's edicts may be supplemented by the account of Saṅghamitra's mission to Ceylon as met with in the *Dīparamsa*

<sup>1</sup> Lüders' *List*, No. 38 (above, Vol. X, appendix).

<sup>2</sup> Aśoka's Bhābrū and Schism Pillar Edicts; Lüders' *List*, Nos. 175, 202, 341, 344, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Lüders' *List*, Nos. 163, 168, 183, 187, etc.

<sup>4</sup> Lüders' *List*, Nos. 1240, 1242, 1315.

<sup>5</sup> Lüders' *List*, Nos. 16, 18, 21, 23a, 24, 32, 39, 39a, 45a, 48, 50, 59a, 67, 70, 75, 86, 99, 199, 121.

<sup>6</sup> Sārnāth Pillar Edict. Cf. also Sāñchi and Kauśāmbī Pillar Edicts.

and the *Mahāvamsa*. The *Dīpavamsa* informs us that Aśōka's son and daughter, Mahēndra and Saṅghamitrā, received the ordination as Buddhist monk and nun in the sixth year of his reign.<sup>1</sup> The renowned Dharmapālā was, according to the *Mahāvamsa*, Saṅghamitrā's preceptress (*upajjhāyā*), and Āyupālā her teacher (*āchariyā*).<sup>2</sup> The brother and the sister, Bhikshu Mahēndra and Bhikshuṇī Saṅghamitrā, both of whom belonged to the Theravāda school of Buddhism, were destined to illumine the doctrine of the Buddha even like the sun and the moon.<sup>3</sup> In about the 19th or 20th year of Aśōka's reign after his coronation, the wise Saṅghamitrā with ten other capable *bhikshuṇīs* went from India to Ceylon during the reign of King Devānampiya Tissa and taught the three Piṭakas in Anurādhapura. They succeeded in founding the Bhikshuṇī Order in the island of Laṅkā, Princess Anulā with her following having received the ordination from Saṅghamitrā.<sup>4</sup> The *Dīpavamsa* immortalises the names of a few other *bhikshuṇīs* who had then received the Upasampadā Ordination in Ceylon.<sup>5</sup> The nunnery (*bhikshuṇī-upassaya*) in which Saṅghamitrā dwelt with her company of *bhikshuṇīs* was known as the Upāsikā-vihāra consisting of twelve buildings.<sup>6</sup> King Devānampiya Tissa caused to be erected a suitable nunnery for Saṅghamitrā and other *bhikshuṇīs* round about the Thūpārāma, which came to be known by the name of Hatthūlāhaka-vihāra.<sup>7</sup>

The state of things which prevailed in India regarding the *bhikshuṇīs* after the reign of Aśōka, both before and during the Śuṅga-Mitra period, may be easily inferred from some of the donative inscriptions on the Sanchi Stūpa, the Bharhut Stūpa, and the Bodhi-Gayā railings. These epigraphic records reveal the following facts concerning the Buddhist nuns, each of importance :—

- (1) That the nuns are mentioned generally as *bhikshuṇīs* or *bhichhuṇīs*, while the monks are honoured with such epithets as *bhaddānta*, *bhayaṇṭa*, *āya* (*ārya*) and *bhaddāntaya*, a fact which may not be unreasonably taken to indicate the inferior position accorded to the nuns as compared with the monks;<sup>8</sup>
- (2) that there are instances where a senior nun had junior nuns as female pupils under her<sup>9</sup> or a nun was a female pupil of a monk,<sup>10</sup> but none where a monk was a pupil under a nun;
- (3) that the nuns, precisely as the monks, either received Buddhist names at the time of initiation and ordination<sup>11</sup> or were allowed to retain their quondam names, the names given by their parents or guardians;<sup>12</sup>
- (4) that the following localities are the various places or centres with which the nuns are associated : Ujēni (Ujjayini), Kākandī, Kāchupatha (Kañchupatha, Kāñchipatha ?),

<sup>1</sup> *Dīpavamsa* (ed. Oldenberg), VII, 22; *Mahāvamsa* (ed. P. T. S.), V, 209.

<sup>2</sup> *Mahāvamsa*, V, 208.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, V, 211.

<sup>4</sup> *Dīpavamsa*, XVIII, 11-13, also XV, 79-80; *Mahāvamsa*, XIX, 64-65; *Samantapāsādikā*, pt. I, p. 101.

<sup>5</sup> *Dīpavamsa*, XVIII, 14-16.

<sup>6</sup> *Mahāvamsa*, XIX, 68-71.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, XIX, 82-83.

<sup>8</sup> Barua, *Barhut*, Bk. I, p. 45.

<sup>9</sup> Lüders' *List*, Nos. 573 (Dhamadevī, *antīrāsini* of Mitasiri), 589 (*Mūlā*, *antīrāsini* of Gaṇḍi).

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 38.

<sup>11</sup> Such names as Arāhadāsī (*Arhaddāsī*), Arāhadinā (*Arhaddattā*), Isidatā, Isidinā (*Rishidattā*), Isidāsī, Gotamī, Jitāmītā (*Jitamitrā*), Diganāgā, (*Diṇnāgā*), Dhamarakhitā, Dhamasiri, Budharakhitā, Sagharakhitā, Sarighapālītā.

<sup>12</sup> Such names as Devabhūgā, Chanḍī, Kāḍī, Chirātī (*Kirātī*), Yakkhi, Sagarinā, Girigutā, Pusā (*Pushyā*), Asabhū- (*Rishabhā*), Gadā (*Gaṇḍā*), Vāsavā, Ratini, Siri, Sihā, Surīyā.

Kāpāsīgāma, Kurama, Kurara, Kuraraghara, Chudaṭhīla, Tumbavana, Nandina-gara, Pemuta, Bhojakāṭa, Maḍalachhikāṭa (Maṇḍalākshikāṭa), Māhimsatī (Māhishmatī), Moragiri, Vāghumata, Vāḍivahana, and Vidiśā.<sup>1</sup>

In the two surviving inscriptions on the coping of the Bodh-Gayā railing Kuraṅgī is introduced as the elderly wife of King Indrāgnimitra,<sup>2</sup> while in all the fifteen shorter inscriptions on the uprights of the same railing she is honoured as *Ayā Kuraṅgī* (*Āryā Kuraṅgī*).<sup>3</sup> Having regard to the fact that in both Buddhist literature and inscriptions the epithet *ayya* or *ayira* (*ārya*) is applied to the name of a person who has attained Arhatship, it may be presumed that Kuraṅgī passed a retired life as a *bhikṣuṇī* in her old age and that she was found to be in an advanced state of spirituality.<sup>4</sup>

Coming to such later period of Indian history as the Kushāṇa we shall expect in vain to come across many references to the *bhikṣuṇīs* in inscriptions. There is definitely one inscription only at Junnār Buddhist cave which records the erection of a nunnery (*bhikṣuṇī-upasaya*) in the town for the residence of the *bhikṣuṇīs* of the Dharmōttariya sect.<sup>5</sup> So far as Mathurā is concerned, we know of one inscription only, assigned to the reign of Huvishka, in which the Bhikṣuṇī Dhanavatī, the sister's daughter of the Bhikṣuṇī Buddhāmitrā, is said to have set up a Bōdhisattva image at Mādhuravanaka (Māthuravana). This *bhikṣuṇī* is praised as one who knew the Tripiṭaka (*Trepīṭikā*) and introduced as the female pupil (*antēvāsini*) of the Bhikṣu Bala who himself was a master of the three Piṭakas (*Trepīṭaka*).<sup>6</sup> It needs no mention that the sphere of influence of the Bhikṣu Bala was not confined to Mathurā but extended to Śrāvastī and Sārnāth. At Amaravatī, however, one may obtain as many as eight inscriptions which, too, go to prove that the Buddhist community continued to be constituted of *bhikṣus*, *bhikṣuṇīs*, *upāsakas* and *upāsikās*. In all of them the *bhikṣuṇīs*, otherwise called *samanikā* and *pavajitikā*, figure as female donors.<sup>7</sup> In one instance a *bhikṣuṇī*, called Budhā, is described as the sister of the Thera Chetiyavandaka Bhadanta Budhi,<sup>8</sup> and in two records the *bhikṣuṇīs* are introduced as the resident female pupils of two saintly *theras*, Budharakhitā of the Thera Bhadanta Budharakhita<sup>9</sup>, and Nandā of the Arahata Ayira Budharakhita.<sup>10</sup> One inscription speaks of Vasā (Vasāyā) as a *pavajitikā* (*pravrajitā*) resident in Kevurura.<sup>11</sup>

The continuance of the Bhikṣuṇī Order at Mathurā up till the 5th and 6th centuries of the Christian era is clearly attested by the testimony of Fa-Hien and that of a Sanskrit inscription. In speaking of *Mo-tu-lo* (Mathurā) Fa-Hien observes: "The *bhikṣuṇīs* principally honour the tower of Ānanda, because it was Ānanda who requested the lord of the world to let women take orders; *śrāmaṇeras* mostly offer to Rāhula."<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Almost all the places were situated near about Sāncī and Bharhut.

<sup>2</sup> Lüders' *List*, Nos. 943, 944.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Nos. 939-42.

<sup>4</sup> Barua, *Gayā and Buddha-Gayā*, Vol. II, p. 67.

<sup>5</sup> Lüders' *List*, No. 1152.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 38.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, Nos. 1223, 1240, 1242, 1252, 1257, 1264, 1280, 1315.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 1223.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 1230.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 1284.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 1240.

<sup>12</sup> Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. I, p. xxxix.

A Sanskrit inscription, dated in the (Gupta) year 230 (=A.D. 549-50), records the religious gift of the Śākya-bhikṣuṇī (Buddhist nun) Jayabhaṭṭā at a monastery called Yaśovihāra.<sup>1</sup>

So far as our present knowledge goes, this is the latest epigraphic record having either mention of or any reference to the *bhikṣuṇīs*.

Hsien Tsang who visited India during the reign of Harshavardhana has nothing whatever to say about the *bhikṣuṇīs* in his *Si-yü-ki*. But Bāṇa in his *Harshacharita* puts the following words in the mouth of Rājyaśrī and Harshavardhana, which may be taken to testify to the existence of the Bhikṣuṇī Order, however lingering it might be :

Rājyaśrī : " Let me therefore in my misfortunes be allowed to assume the red robe ".<sup>2</sup>

Harshavardhana : " At the end, when I have accomplished my design, she and I will assume the red garments (*kāśhāyāni*) together."<sup>3</sup>

Even apart from the evidence of Bāṇa's *Harshacharita* it cannot be doubted that the Bhikṣuṇī Order continued to exist, in some form or another, in India, though not among all Buddhist sects. The continuance of this order is unmistakably proved by the following observation of I-tsing whose visit may be assigned to the last quarter of the 7th century A.D. :

" Nuns in India are very different from those of China. They support themselves by begging food, and live a poor and simple life."<sup>4</sup>

At about this time, or a little later, flourished Bhavabhūti who included the Saugata-Parivrājikā Kāmandakī among the female characters in his famous drama *Mālātī-Mādhava*, together with her three female pupils, Avalokitā, Buddharakṣitā, and Saudāminī, and Subandhu who, in his *Vāsavadattā*, spoke of a *bhikṣukī* as devoted to Tārā and as wearing red garments (*bhikṣukīva Tār-ānurāga-raṭt-āmbara-dhāriṇī*). Bhavabhūti, be it noted, associates these Buddhist nuns with the Śrīparvata in South India, and describes them as female ascetics who put on yellow robes (*chīra-chīvara-parichchhadā*) and lived on *piṇḍapāta* only.

Tatakara Gupta of unknown but late date is the Buddhist author, who, while speaking of Vajrayāna or Agranaya Mahāyāna, observes that this school of Buddhism provided religious training for the *bhikṣus*, the *bhikṣuṇīs*, the *śrāmaṇēras*, the *śrāmaṇēris*, the *upāsakas* and the *upāsikās*.<sup>5</sup> I do not know of any Indian work, Brahmanical or Buddhist, containing references to the *bhikṣuṇīs* in the 9th or 10th century A.D. It would seem that by that time the Bhikṣuṇī Order became defunct in India, or that even if it had continued, it was just dragging its existence here and there among certain sects of the Buddhists.<sup>6</sup> Eventually it ceased to be in India proper even prior to the Muslim conquest.

<sup>1</sup> Fleet, *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 273-74.

<sup>2</sup> *Harshacharita* (ed. S. D. Gajendragadkar), p. 247 : *ataḥ kāśhāya-graṇa-ābhyanujñāy=ānugrihyatām*. Translated by Cowell and Thomas, p. 251.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* (translation), p. 258.

<sup>4</sup> Takakura, *A Record of the Buddhist Practices*, p. 80.

<sup>5</sup> Quoted by Harprasid Śāstri in the *Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Parishat-Patrikā*, 1331 B. S., p. 62, from Tatakara Gupta's *Adikarma-rachanā* : *atra upāsaka-upāsikā-śrāmaṇēra-bhikṣu-śrāmaṇēri-śikṣamānā-bhikṣuṇī-tri-saptānām etrī-ṣu-ush-āśraya-bhīdāt=sapta-saṁvarāḥ*.

<sup>6</sup> This surmise is well borne out by the evidence of the *Mahāvamsa* and the *Chūḍavaṁsa*. These two Pāli chronicles (*Mahāvamsa*, Ch. 18, v. 12; Ch. 19, v. 68; Ch. 20, vv. 21, 22, 49; Ch. 34, v. 36; Ch. 37, v. 43; *Chūḍavaṁsa*, Ch. 39, v. 43; Ch. 46, v. 27; Ch. 48, vv. 36, 139; Ch. 49, v. 25; Ch. 51, v. 47) mention the pious work of erection of nunneries (*bhikkhuni-upasāyā*) in Ceylon from the time of Devānampiya Tissa to that of King Bhūmibhanda (7th century A.D.), and nothing of the kind after that.

## No. 6.—AMBASAMUDRAM INSCRIPTION OF SOLANRALAIKONDA VIRA-PANDYA.

A. S. RAMANATHA AYYAR, B.A., MADRAS.

The subjoined inscription<sup>1</sup> is engraved on the south wall of the *Erichchāvudaiyār* shrine in the Śiva temple, situated on the northern bank of the *Tāmraparṇī* at *Ambāsamudram*, the headquarters of the taluk of the same name in the Tinnevely District. This god who is called *Tirupōt-tudaiya-Bhaṭāra* (the god of the bull-vehicle) in early inscriptions, must have been the principal deity of the temple in the olden days, because several endowments of the Pāṇḍya kings *Māraṇ-Jaḍaiyaṇ* and *Ṣaḍaiya-Māraṇ* are found recorded on the walls of this shrine only.<sup>2</sup> But when the adjacent and more imposing *Kāśī-Viśvanātha* temple came into existence, apparently in the later Pāṇḍya times, this shrine appears to have shrunk into an insignificant auxiliary structure isolated in the north *prākāra* of the bigger temple. Further, during some extensive repairs carried out some fifty years ago, some of the engraved stones belonging to the present record have become disarranged, with the result that one piece containing the ends of lines 9 to 16 is now found embedded in the inner wall of the shrine, while another important slab which must have contained the ends of lines 1 to 8 cannot be traced at all.

The inscription is engraved in clean-cut *Vaṭṭeḷuttu* characters attributable to the 10th century A. D. Grantha letters have been used in the words *Svasti Śrī* (l. 1), *Sūrya-grahaṇa* (l. 11), and *Brahma*<sup>o</sup> (l. 12). The letters *ta* and *ṛa* and consequently *tu* and *ṛu* are written alike, without much differentiation. There are no special orthographic peculiarities noticeable in this record, except that some old forms of words occurring in other early Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya records of this period are also found here, such as, *i-ññādu* (l. 2) for *i-mnādu*; *paḍiṛṇu vēli* (l. 3) for *paṭtu-vēli* and *nāḷi-ūm* (l. 15) for *nāḷiyum*. The Sanskrit words *āchārya* and *śrīkārya* are transformed into *āchārchchiya* (l. 19) and *śrīkārchchiya* (l. 22); the colloquial form *seyśa* for *seyda* is also used (l. 24).

The record is dated in the 15+5th year of the Pāṇḍya king *Śōḷaṇ-ṛalai-koṇḍa Vira-Pāṇḍya*, when an order issued in the 12th year of his reign was engraved on stone on the wall of the temple by his officer *Chōḷāntaka-Brahmamārāya*. It is important in that it mentions the occurrence of a solar eclipse in the month of *Mithuṇa* in the 12th year of the Pāṇḍya king's reign, and enables us to fix that date.

From the inscriptions copied hitherto, it has not been possible to determine the exact years between which *Vira-Pāṇḍya* reigned. All that we know is that the Chōḷa king *Parakēsarivarman Āditya-Karikāla II* claims to have cut off the head of a *Vira-Pāṇḍya*, in the title *Vira-Pāṇḍyaṇ-ṛalai-koṇḍa* assumed by him from the 2nd year of his reign<sup>3</sup>, and that the highest regnal year so far found<sup>4</sup> for *Vira-Pāṇḍya* is 15+5 or 20.

The predecessor of *Rājārāja I* (A.D. 985-1013) on the Chōḷa throne was *Parakēsarivarman Uttama-Chōḷa*, whose date of accession was A.D. 969-70<sup>5</sup>, and as he had a reign of about 16 years,<sup>6</sup> he must have ruled from A.D. 969-970 to 985-986. As both *Āditya II* and *Uttama-Chōḷa* had the same title of *Parakēsarivarman*, it had been inferred that they had ruled jointly in the interval

<sup>1</sup> No. 101 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1905.

<sup>2</sup> Nos. 105 of 1905 and 86 of 1907.

<sup>3</sup> No. 472 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908 (*S. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 199).

<sup>4</sup> No. 474 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909 is dated in the 15+4th year, while the present record quotes the 15+5th year.

<sup>5</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 284 (No. 456 of 1908).

<sup>6</sup> No. 357 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1907 (*S. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 144).

between Rājākēsari Sundara-Chōla and Rājākēsari Rājarāja I. The Uḍaiyārguḍi record<sup>1</sup> dated in the 2nd year of Rājākēsari varman (Rājarāja I) states that the lands belonging to some persons who were implicated in the death of Āditya-Karikāla were confiscated by the king; and it is reasonable to consider, from the trend of political events that attended the succession of Uttama-Chōla, that he had himself countenanced this act of treachery, which led him a step nearer to the Chōla throne. The Tiruvālaṅgāḍu<sup>2</sup> plates while slurring over the actual facts that culminated in Āditya's death make, however, the significant remark that 'Rājarāja did not wish to succeed to the Chōla territory, so long as his uncle Uttama-Chōla coveted it'. These facts suggest that Āditya must have been killed before Uttama-Chōla's actual succession, and so Āditya II must have lived and ruled before A.D. 969-70.

The Leiden plates<sup>3</sup> of Rājarāja I mention that while yet a boy, he (Āditya) 'played sportively in battle with Vira-Pāṇḍya, just as a lion's cub (*does*) with a rutting mad elephant, proud of (*its*) strength' while the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates<sup>4</sup> are more explicit in stating that 'he killed the Pāṇḍya king (who must have been the same Vira-Pāṇḍya) in battle,' and 'having deposited in his (*capital*) town the lofty pillar of victory, (*viz.*), the head of the Pāṇḍya king, Āditya disappeared (*from this world*) with a desire to see heaven'. From these statements, we can infer that Āditya II had won his military spurs even during the reign of his father and that he did not live for a long time after his own independent victory over his Pāṇḍya adversary. Though the title *talai-konḍa* assumed by kings, has, in some rare instances, been interpreted<sup>5</sup> to connote a simple capture of the crown of their opponents, this specific statement in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates warrants the conclusion that Vira-Pāṇḍya literally lost his head, *i.e.*, met his death, in his encounter with Āditya.<sup>6</sup> The highest regnal year found for Vira-Pāṇḍya in the records so far copied is only 15+5, *i.e.*, 20, and it was probably the last year of his reign. As the earliest year in which the title *Vira-Pāṇḍiyan-ṭalai-konḍa* is applied to Āditya is 2, we may assume that the 20th year of Vira-Pāṇḍya coincided with the 2nd year of Āditya's reign.

Of Āditya's father Rājākēsari varman Sundara-Chōla, it is stated in the Leiden plates<sup>7</sup> that he fought a fierce battle with his enemies at Śevvūr (Chēvūra), while the Kanyākumāri record<sup>8</sup> mentions that the Pāṇḍya opponent of this king fled from the field of battle and hid himself in a forest. The earliest record<sup>9</sup> of Sundara-Chōla crediting him with this achievement in the title *Pāṇḍiyanai-chechuram-iṭrakkiṇa* is dated in his 7th year; and as he is considered to have reigned from about A.D. 956 to 973,<sup>10</sup> this conflict with the Pāṇḍya king, who must have been Vira-Pāṇḍya himself, could have taken place only in about A.D. 964. It seems probable therefore that the Pāṇḍya king was then simply defeated and routed, that he actually lost his life in another subsequent near engagement in which Āditya distinguished himself, and that this signal victory gave Āditya the title of *Vira-Pāṇḍiyan-ṭalai-konḍa*, in common with the two feudatories Pārthivēndravarmā<sup>11</sup> and Bhūti-Vikramakēśari<sup>12</sup>, who must have both helped him in this exploit.

<sup>1</sup> No. 577 of 1920 and *ante*, Vol. XXI, p. 163.

<sup>2</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 420.

<sup>3</sup> *Ante*, Vol. XXII, p. 258.

<sup>4</sup> Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastry: *The Cōlas*, Vol. I, p. 169. This is not convincing.

<sup>5</sup> No. 256 of 1907 from Tiruvilaiṁmaruḍūr, dated in the 4th year of Āditya, states that 'he destroyed Vira-Pāṇḍya and took his head' (*Vira-Pāṇḍiyanai erindu talai konḍa*).

<sup>6</sup> *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. III, p. 156.

<sup>7</sup> No. 291 of 1908; *ante*, Vol. XII, p. 126.

<sup>8</sup> *The Cōlas*, Vol. I, p. 180. No. 123 of 1895 is attributable to him and the astronomical details—17th year, Kumbha, Sunday, Rēvaṭī—give the equivalent A.D. 973, February 9, Sunday.

<sup>9</sup> No. 223 of 1915. Pārthivēndravarmā's identity with Āditya II himself or with Prithvipati II seems doubtful.

<sup>12</sup> No. 129 of 1907.

As stated already, a solar eclipse occurred in the month of Mithuna in the 12th year of Virapāṇḍya. In the period from A.D. 930 to 970, the only three years in which a solar eclipse occurred in Mithuna were :—

- (1) A.D. 950, June 18 (Mithuna 26), Tuesday,
- (2) A.D. 959, June 9 (Mithuna 17), Thursday, and
- (3) A.D. 960, May 28 (Mithuna 5), Monday.

If the week-day on which the eclipse occurred or the *nakshatra* which was current on that day had been specified in the present record, it would have been possible to verify the exact date referred to ; but in their absence we shall have to select a plausible equivalent, only by a process of elimination.

If we suppose that A.D. 950 was the 12th year of Virapāṇḍya's reign, it would give A.D. 957 as his final<sup>1</sup> year, and as this will have corresponded to the 2nd year of Āditya, the Chōla king's date of accession would be A.D. 956. This would yield the inconsistent results that Āditya killed him in A.D. 957, and that his predecessor Sundara-Chōla defeated him in A.D. 963 ; so this date of accession for Āditya is not possible. Similarly, A.D. 960 which would yield A.D. 967 as the 20th year of Virapāṇḍya and the 2nd year of Āditya and A.D. 966 as Āditya's date of accession, may have also to be discarded, because in that case Āditya's reign which extended to the 5th year would overlap into the reign of his successor Uttama-Chōla (accession A.D. 969-70), which is not possible, since, as stated already, Āditya II should have passed away before Uttama-Chōla could have succeeded him. On the other hand, if we take A.D. 959 as the 12th year of Virapāṇḍya, his 20th year and Āditya's 2nd year would have corresponded to A.D. 966, giving A.D. 964-5<sup>2</sup> as Āditya's initial year. This date would satisfy the presumption that his fight with Virapāṇḍya could have happened in about A.D. 966, which would be only a year later than the defeat of the Pāṇḍya ruler at Sundara-Chōla's hands in about A.D. 964 before the 7th year of the latter's reign, and that a five-year rule for Āditya II could also be accounted for between A.D. 965 and 969. These results may be tabulated thus :—

	Virapāṇḍya's 12th year.	Virapāṇḍya's 20th year = Āditya's 2nd year.	Āditya's accession.	Virapāṇḍya's accession.
1	950	957	956	938
2	959	966	965	947
3	960	967	966	948

Of these three dates, No. 2 may therefore be considered as the best suited for the record under review, and it would yield A. D. 947 to 966 as the period of reign of Virapāṇḍya. His position in the Pāṇḍyan genealogy may be taken to be between Rājasīṃha<sup>3</sup>, who was defeated by Parāntaka I before A.D. 922, and Amarabhujāṅga<sup>4</sup>, whom Rājarāja claims to have conquered.

The Pāṇḍya king himself claims to have taken the head of a Chōla, as evidenced by the title *Solan-ralai-konḍa* assumed by him from the 6th year onwards (i.e., from A.D. 953-54).<sup>5</sup> Who

<sup>1</sup> As there is only one record of the 15+5th year, it has been inferred that he died in the beginning of that regnal year.

<sup>2</sup> Three records of Āditya II from Uḍaiyāṅguḍi in the South Arcot District furnish astronomical details which would approximately take the date of his accession to the end of A.D. 963. This point requires further examination in the light of future discoveries.

<sup>3</sup> Udayēndiram plates of Prithivīpati II (*S. I. I.*, Vol. II, p. 387).

<sup>4</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 387, where he is taken to be a Pāṇḍya king. We have no means of determining this at present.

<sup>5</sup> No. 163 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1894.



this Chōla king was, who was killed by Vira-Pāṇḍya the Chōlāntaka, has not been specified by name in any of his records. Sundara-Chōla was called 'Ponmāligait-tuñjiṇa-dēva' (the king who died at the golden palace or at Chidambaram known as the *Kanakasabhā* ?)<sup>1</sup>, but he could not have been the victim, because records going up to the 17th year (=A.D. 973) are found for him. Ariñjaya, the predecessor of Sundara-Chōla, was called 'Ārrūr-tuñjiṇa-dēva' (he who died at Ārrūr); but the circumstances that led to his death at that place are not known. As a *paḷippaḍai* was erected for him at Mēlpāḍi<sup>2</sup> in the Chittoor District, it may be inferred that he fell fighting in one of the skirmishes with the army of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III in that locality. There is reason to believe that he lived a few years later than A.D. 953. Gaṇḍarāditya was called 'Mērk-ṭundaruṇiṇa-dēva' (he who proceeded west)<sup>3</sup>, but he could not have been Vira-Pāṇḍya's adversary, because, having probably succeeded as *yuvarāja*-coregent soon after the death of prince Rājāditya in A.D. 949-50 and with records of the 8th year definitely assignable<sup>4</sup> to him, he would have lived up to A.D. 957-8 at least. In addition to all these, there was another Chōla prince of this time called Uttamaśīli, who is mentioned in two records<sup>5</sup> dated in the 24th and 26th years of his father Parāntaka's reign; but we know next to nothing about him and his career, except that a village<sup>6</sup> and a channel in the Trichinopoly District were named after him.

According to the calculation arrived at above, Vira-Pāṇḍya must have assumed the title of *Śōḷaṇ-ṛalai-koṇḍa* from about A.D. 953-54; and this date coincides with the 46th or 47th year of the reign of Parāntaka I. Parāntaka's records of the 46th year are only two in number and none of his 47th year has been discovered yet. It is therefore tempting to conclude that it was the last year of the Chōla king's reign and that it was Parāntaka himself who had lost his life at the hands of Vira-Pāṇḍya,<sup>7</sup> thus giving the latter an opportunity to avenge the defeat and possibly the death of his father (?)<sup>8</sup> Rājasimha at the Chōla king's hands, some years earlier. It was left to Āditya II to follow up the family vendetta by killing Vira-Pāṇḍya in his turn in about A.D. 966. These conclusions appear to be warranted by the sequence of events that happened in the eventful half-a-century preceding the accession of Rājārāja I in A.D. 985. There is, however, one solitary Kannaḍa record<sup>9</sup> at Vanamaladinne in the Punganur taluk of the Chittoor District, situated in the northern-most border of the Chōla dominion of the time, which quotes the 48th year of Parāntaka's reign; and this has perhaps to be explained by supposing that the recent news of the death of the Chōla king had not percolated so far north, at the time that record was incised. This need not surprise us, as such instances are not unknown in the history of this period.

As regards the subject-matter of the record, it is stated that in the 15+5th year of *Śōḷaṇ-ṛalai-koṇḍa* Vira-Pāṇḍya, *Chōlāntaka-Brahmamārāyar*, the officer of the king (*adikāram-śeykiṇṇa*) receiving the royal order relating to a gift of 10 *vēli* of land as *kuḍiṇiṅgā-dēvadāṇam*

<sup>1</sup> That tribute 'he who died in the Ponmāligai' has no point, unless it be that some important fact connected with Sundara-Chōla's death was sought to be expressed by it. Could Uttama-Chōla have had any hand in his removals certainly he must have had in Āditya II's death?

<sup>2</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 17.

<sup>3</sup> No. 540 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1920.

<sup>4</sup> Nos. 570 and 574 of 1908. The dates suggested in *The Chōlas*, Vol. I, have been followed.

<sup>5</sup> Nos. 446 of 1917 and 19 of 1895.

<sup>6</sup> Uttamaśīli-chatur-ṭḍimaṅḡalam (No. 359 of 1924) and Uttamaśīli-vāykkūl (No. 169 of 1907).

<sup>7</sup> Vira-Pāṇḍya must have encountered the Chōla king in some southern campaign only. It may also have to be noted that Vira-Pāṇḍya's records are not found very much to the north of Madura.

<sup>8</sup> In No. 122 of 1905 from Tiruppuḍaimarudūr in the Tinnevely District dated in the 2+18th year of a Saḍaiya-Māraṇ (Rājasimha), a servant of a Vira-Pāṇḍya is mentioned.

<sup>9</sup> This record (No. 200 of 1931-32) reads thus in its date portion—*Madura-koṇḍa Gō-Parakēśari nāḷvattēṇṇāḡe*.

made by the king earlier in his 12th regnal year to the temple of Tiruppōttudaiya-Bhaṭāra, had it engraved on stone in that temple. This officer figures in an inscription<sup>1</sup> of the king dated in the 15+4th year at Suchindram in the Travancore State, where his name has been incorrectly read as Chērāntaka-Brahmārāyar. *Chōlāntaka* (Death to the Chōla) was evidently the title assumed by Vira-Pāṇḍya to commemorate the act of his having cut off the head of the Chōla king (*Śōlaṇ-ṛalai-koṇḍa*), and this may have been adopted by the officer Chōlāntaka-Brahmārāyar, either because he had also taken part in the encounter himself or simply after the title of his master. A liquid-measure called 'Chōlāntakan-nāli' was also current in this period in the Pāṇḍya country. Vira-Pāṇḍya is said to have had also the title of *Pāṇḍyamārtulāṇḍa*,<sup>2</sup> 'the Sun of the Pāṇḍya family'; but this title was in vogue even earlier in the time of Śaḍaiya-Māraṇ<sup>3</sup> (Rājasimha).

The names of the several revenue officials who were cognisant of the endowment made to the temple of Tiruppōttudaiya-Bhaṭāra are enumerated :

1. The officer who was supervising the king's secretariat duties in the 12th year (*en-karṇam=ārāchchi mēl=ēḷuttu śeykṇṇa*)<sup>4</sup> was Tamiḷavēḷān<sup>4</sup> belonging to Kāḍandai community (?) ;

2. the *ēvi-mudal* was Araiyan Mānābharāṇ ;

3. the *ōlai-ēḷuttu* was an officer, whose name is lost ;

4. the *vāykhēḷvi* was [Chū]lāmaṇi-kiḷavan of Mēyūr *alias* Kuvalaiyaśiṅganallūr in Aṇḍa-nāḍu ; and

5. the *baṇḍāra-ppottagam* was Vikramapāṇḍya-Mūvēndavēḷān *alias* Kaṭṭinakkan Iraṇaṇ of Vēḷiyārrūr in Kīl-Kuṇḍāru in Koluvūr-kūṛram.

6. The original document was attested and engraved by Pullaṇ-Korṇan ; and

7. the engraving of the record in the 15+5th year of the king was done under the supervision of Dēvan-Kirinan, the *śrikāryam* of the temple.

From the surnames of two of these officers (Nos. 2 and 5), we can infer that there were Pāṇḍya princes having the names of Mānābharāṇ<sup>5</sup> and Vikrama-Pāṇḍya even before Vira-Pāṇḍya's time. Another record<sup>6</sup> of this king testifies to the existence before this period of another prince Sundara-Pāṇḍya, in whose name a shrine called Sundarapāṇḍyēśvaram was erected at Paḷḷimaḍam in the Ramnad District.

The details of the scale of offerings, etc., that had to be provided for from the endowment registered in this document are given at some length :

For one day—

to god Tiruppōttudaiya-Dēvar . . . . .	32 nāḷi of rice (for four offerings),
for <i>anna-bali</i> . . . . .	6 nāḷi,
for <i>kaṛi-amuḍu</i> . . . . .	1 nāḷi,
to god Tiruvēnkatanilai-Dēvar . . . . .	4 nāḷi,
to god Tirumūlattānattu-Dēvar . . . . .	4 nāḷi, and

<sup>1</sup> *Travancore Archaeological Series*, Vol. III, p. 71. An officer called Chōlāntaka-Pallavaraiyan *alias* Māraṇ-Achchan of Pōlyūr is mentioned in another record from the same place (*ibid.*, p. 72).

<sup>2</sup> *An. Rep. on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1932 3, para. 30 ; and No. 122 of 1305.

<sup>3</sup> The functions of the several officials are not clearly definable.

<sup>4</sup> An officer of the name of Tēnnavan Tamiḷavēḷ figures in records of this king from Kilmāttūr, Madura District (Nos. 624 and 626 of 1926), and he was probably identical with this officer.

<sup>5</sup> No. 26 of 1895 from Tillaisthānam (Tanjore District) mentions a Mānābharāṇa in the 8th year of a Parakēsarvarman. It may be noted that there were also later members of the Pāṇḍya family with the same set of names of Mānābharāṇa, Vikrama-Pāṇḍya and Sundara-Pāṇḍya, who were contemporaries of Rājādhirāja I in A.D. 1046.

<sup>6</sup> No. 421 of 1914 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.





2

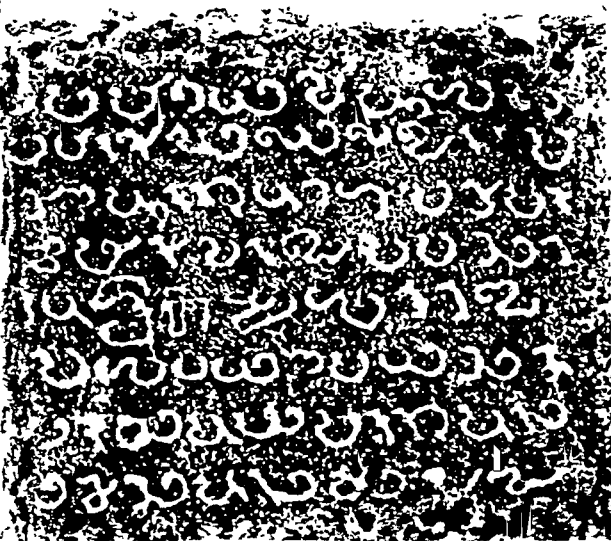
4

6



1

1



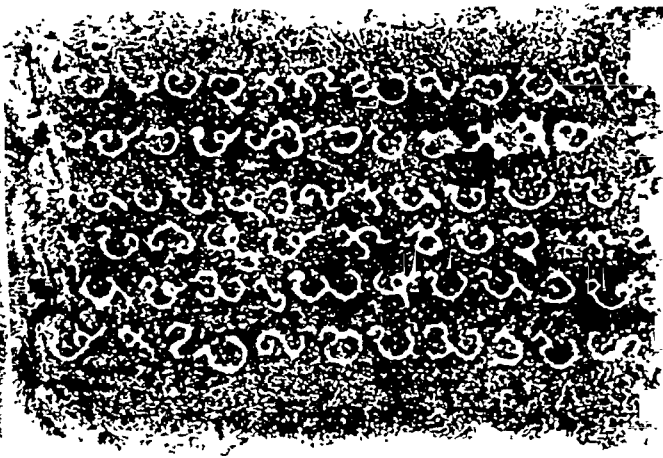
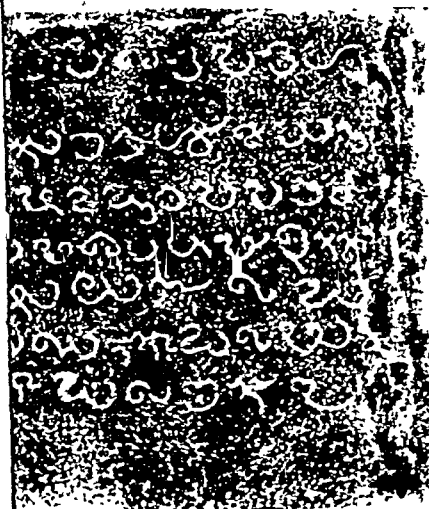
8

10

12

14

16





- 4 tāṇamāga urubu[po]ṇ<sup>1</sup> maṇṇavāri utpaḍa eñ-karmam ārāchchi mēl-eḷuttu-chcheykiṇṇa-  
Ma[ha] . . . . .
- 5 ṇṇattu Kāḍandaikudippādi=tTamiḷavēlāṇ-āyi[ṇa] . . . . .
- 6 nāḍum Maṇalūr-kkuḷakkil Iraṇaśiṅga-maṅgalattu-p . . . . .
- 7 ṇ Araiyaṇ Māṇābharaṇaṇ ēvi-[mu]dal-āgavum Iḍaiyāṇṇu-nāṭṭu . . . . .
- 8 m [ōlai-eḷu]tt-āgavum Aṇḍa-nāṭṭu Kuvalaiyaśiṅganallūr āyiṇa Mēyūr Tiruppattūr . .
- 9 \*āmaṇi-kiḷavaṇ vā[y\*]kēḷvi-āgavum Koḷuvūr-kkūṇṇattu Kil-Kuṇḍāṇṇu Veliyāṇṇūr Vik[kira]-  
mapāṇḍiya-Mūvēnda-
- 10 [vē]lāṇ-āyiṇa Kaṭṭiṇakkaṇ Ira[ṇa]ṇ baṇḍāra-ppottagam-āgavum Iḷaṅgōykkuḍi Tiruppō-  
ttuḍaiya [Pa]ramēśu[ra]-Paḍārar kōyilil irundu
- 11 [pa]ṇṇirandām=āṇḍu Mithuṇa-āyiyṇṇu Sūrya-grahaṇatti[nāṇṇu]<sup>2</sup> ivv=āṇḍiṇ edir=  
āṇḍu-mudal kuḍiṇiṅgā-ttē[va]tāṇa[m\*]-āga kuḍuttōm [\*] tāṇga-
- 12 [lum]<sup>3</sup> idu kaṇḍu pārpaḍuttu-kkuḍukka [\*] Pullaṇ-Kōṇṇaṇ eḷuttu [\*] eṇṇa i-ttirumugappaḍi  
koṇḍu adikāraṇ-śeykiṇṇa Chōḷāntaka-[Bra]hmamārāyar i-ppaḍiṇ-
- 13 ṇu vēliyaḷi nivandam aḍaiḷchapaḍi kalmēl eḷuttu vēṭṭuga eṇṇu paḍiṇ-añjām yāṇḍiṇ  
edir añjām yāṇḍu śrīkārya[m\*] peṇṇa Ba-
- 14 . . māṇaṇukku amachchu i-tTiruppōttuḍaiya-Dēvarkku śrīkārya[m\*] śeykiṇṇa Dēvaṇ-  
Kiriṇaṇ ḷolla kalmēl[\*] eḷuttu vēṭṭiṇapaḍi [\*] Tiru-
- 15 ppōttuḍaiya-Dēvarkku nāṇḍu-pōḍaḷḷu ari[śi\*] muppattiru-nāḷiūm aṇṇa-balikku ariśi aṇu-  
nāḷiūm kaṇi-amidukku ari-
- 16 [śi] nāḷiūm Tiruvēṇkaṭaṇilai-tTēvarkku niśadi ariśi nā-nāḷiūm Tirumūlattāṇattu-  
tTēvarkku niśadi ariśi nā-nā-
- 17 [li]ūm Gaṇavatiyārkkku ariśi iru-nāḷiūm ē[r]ri niśadi ari[śi\*] nāṇṇatt-onpadi-nāḷiūm āga-  
o<sup>5</sup> . . . . .
- 18 . . . . . kku nel=kkalanēy onbadin-kuṇṇi iru-nāḷiy=uri ōr=āṭṭaḷḷu nel a[ṇunū]ṇṇu-  
eṇbat-te<sup>6</sup> . . . . .
- 19 \*yeṭṭu mā-kkāṇiyum āchārchchiyaṇ Munṇūṇṇuvaṇ-Śēṇḍaṇukku nilaṇ araiyum [\*] kaṇakka-  
baṇḍāram śeykiṇṇa Śōlai-Viru . . . . . periyāṇukku nilaṇ araiyu [m|\*] [mā]-
- 20 ṇ eṭṭiṇukku nilaṇ oṇṇ=araiyē yiraṇḍu-mā [\*] ivarṇuḷ Munṇūṇṇuvaṇ-Śēṇḍaṇ-uḍaiya māṇ  
mūṇṇum Munṇūṇṇuvaṇ-Periyaṇ māṇ=oṇṇum Kaśanāk-<sup>8</sup>
- 21 kalaṇ-uḍaiya mā=ṇāḷum [\*] Dēvar paduvāram ēḷill-oṇṇu uvaichchagaḷukkum puḍavai-  
mudal-āgavum [\*] aṇu-kūṇṇum eṭṭu-māṇukkuṇṇu puḍavai-mudal-āgavum [\*] uvaich[cha]-

<sup>1</sup> This expression is not understood. Can it be *ūriḍu poṇ*?

<sup>2</sup> The full name probably is Chūḷāmaṇi.

<sup>3</sup> An alternative reading is *\*atti[n pōḍu]*.

<sup>4</sup> This was read on the stone.

<sup>5</sup> The missing letters are probably *\*ru nāḷṭṭēvai*.

<sup>6</sup> There is some discrepancy in the calculation of the annual requirements.

<sup>7</sup> Between lines 18 and 19 are visible the syllables *Śvasti śrī* apparently belonging to another record, which apparently had been erased so as to make room for the present inscription.

<sup>8</sup> This word is written over an erasure.

- 22    ṇ Gaṇapati Kumāraḍi mudal pattā[ukku nilam oṇṇe-kāl [\*] śrikā[r\*]chchhiyam āraivāṇukku  
       niyadam ariśi nā-nāliyiṇāl nilam eḷu-mā [\*] kuśavaṇukku ni-
- 23    lam iraṇḍu-mā [\*] viṇakiḍuvāṇukku nilam=iraṇḍu-mā [\*] tirume[ukuppura[m\*] nilam=  
       iraṇḍu-mā [\*] irai[ko]llukku nilam=ira[ṇ]ḍu-mā [\*] tiruviḷāppuraṁ ni-
- 24    laṇ vēli [\*] pudukkuppura[m\*] i-ttirukkaṇṇalai śeysa āchāriyaṇ Mānābharaṇaṇ- Śēṇḍaṇukku  
       nilaṇ kālum āga nilaṇ paḍirru-vē-
- 25    liyum chandir-āḍittavalaṇ chelvadāga vaittāṇ **Chōḷāntakadēvar** [||\*] Idu paṇ-Māhēśvaraṇ  
       rakshai [||\*]

# No. 7.—KANTERU PLATES OF SALANKAYANA VIJAYA-ŚKANDAVARMAN.

BY R. S. PANCHAMUKHI, M.A., MADRAS.

In 1924-25, the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, secured three sets of copper-plates belonging to the family of Śālaṅkāyana-Mahārājas, of which two were received from Mr. Challa Jagannatha Pantulu, Assistant Editor, *Andhra-Patrikā*, Madras and the third from Mr. M. Somasekhara Sarma of the Telugu Encyclopedia office.<sup>1</sup> The first two are stated to have been found buried underground in the village called **Kantēru** in the Guntur taluk, Guntur District, while the third was discovered underground at Pedda-Vēgi near Ellore in the Kistna (now West Godavari) District. Of the two records discovered at Kantēru, one is a charter of *Mahārāja* Vijaya-Skandavarman and the other of *Mahārāja* Nandivarman. The Pedda-Vēgi copper-plates belong to the Śālaṅkāyana-Mahārāja Nandivarman and give the genealogy of the king for three generations before him. This last-mentioned charter has been published with plates in the *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*<sup>2</sup> as well as in the Telugu monthly *Bhārati* for Raktākshin, Śrāvana (1924) in which the genealogy of the Śālaṅkāyanas is discussed at some length. The two Kantēru plates have been published by the late Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao in the *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*<sup>3</sup> but without facsimiles of plates and seal. None of the seals of this family known so far contains a clear relief figure of the emblem, and the quadruped faintly seen on the seal of the Ellore Prākṛit Plates of Vijaya-Dēvarman has been surmised to be a tiger. But the seal of the present grant is fairly well-preserved and shows distinctly the figure of the animal on it as a couchant bull. As the genealogical arrangement and to a certain extent also the text of the inscription given by Mr. Rao require revision, I re-edit the Kantēru plates of Vijaya-Skandavarman with the kind permission of the Superintendent for Epigraphy.

While editing the two sets of Kantēru plates in the *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society* Mr. Lakshmana Rao who was the first to examine the plates, with seal, assigned the seal of the present grant to the set of king Vijaya-Nandivarman instead of to that of Vijaya-Skandavarman as noticed in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1924-25. This raised a doubt about the correctness of the description given in the *Annual Report* and to clear it and make a comparative study of the known seals of the family, I obtained on loan, through the kind

<sup>1</sup> Nos. 1-3 of Appendix A of the *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1924-25.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. I, pp. 92 ff. An indistinct plate of the seal of the present record is published here. But see foot-note 1, p. 43, below.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. V, pp. 21 ff.

offices of the Superintendent for Epigraphy, the original plates with seal of the two Kantēru sets as well as the Ellore Prākṛit Plates of Vijaya-Dēvavarman from the Superintendent, Government Museum, Madras. On examination I found that the seal attached to the plates of Vijaya-Skandavarman bore the distinct figure of a couchant bull with a partially indistinct legend which, as stated below, indisputably mentions *Mahārāja* Skanda[varman]. Hence the description given by Mr. Lakshmana Rao has to be revised since the legend conclusively proves that the seal belonged to Vijaya-Skandavarman and not to Vijaya-Nandivarman.<sup>1</sup> It may be observed here that the seal of Nandivarman of the Kantēru plates though badly worn out can be made out to represent a couchant bull with a seated figure at the top which looks like Śiva wearing a crown and with four (?) arms, while the figure on the seal of the Ellore Prākṛit plates looks like a tiger or lion. The wavy line representing the clouds which is prominently visible in the present grant is partially seen below the bull in the seal of the Kantēru plates of Nandivarman described above.

The subjoined grant consists of four thin copper-plates strung together on a ring of the same metal passing through a narrow hole at the proper right margin of the plates. To the ring is firmly attached a circular copper seal with the figure of a couchant bull facing the proper right cut in relief on its slightly concave face. At the top of the bull is seen what looks like a *liṅga* sheltered by a triple-hooded serpent, with an *aṅkuṣa*-like object to the proper left and a lamp-stand and a fly-whisk (?) to the proper right. Below the bull is a wavy line which may be taken to represent a cloud line as is conventionally done in sculptures and paintings. In the right portion of the seal along the fringe are some worn-out letters in relief of which the syllables *Mahā[rā]ja* [S]kanda can be made out.<sup>2</sup> The plates are damaged on account of age and the first line at the top of the second plate has broken away. Also some small holes are found on the plates owing to the corrosion of the metal. The plates measure  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inches long and  $1\frac{3}{4}$  inches broad. The hole through which the ring passes has a diameter of  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch and the diameter of the ring holding the plates is 2 inches. The diameter of the seal is also 2 inches. The plates with ring and seal together weigh  $36\frac{1}{2}$  tolas. They are now purchased and deposited in the Government Museum, Madras.

The alphabet belongs to an archaic variety of the Kanarese and Telugu script prevalent in the east between 3rd and 6th centuries A.D. In general appearance, it resembles the one found in the Ellore Prākṛit plates<sup>3</sup> and the Ōṅgōḍu grant<sup>4</sup> of Skandavarman II and is more archaic than the writing of the three grants<sup>5</sup> of Simhavarman. The following are a few noteworthy points in the palæography of the record : (1) there is no loop to distinguish *t* from *n* which is generally found in the three grants of Simhavarman, the Pedda-Vēgi plates of Nandivarman II and the Viṣṇukunḍin charters. As in the Hirahadagalli<sup>6</sup> and Ellore Prākṛit plates the *t* is distinguished from *n* by a slight curve at the right ; cf. *pādānudyātasya* (l. 2), *°nupālītā* (l. 15), *tāny=ēva* (ll. 18 f.), etc. The Kantēru plates of Nandivarman, however, mark the loop both for *t* and *n* without distinction. As first members of a consonant group, both *t* and *n* of the present grant look the same as in the Hirahadagalli and Ellore plates, see for instance, *dattā* (l. 15) and *°mantā* (l. 18). (2) The exceptionally looped archaic *y* from which the one with a small circle or curve at

<sup>1</sup> Mr. R. Subba Rao who has published an indistinct print of this seal along with his article on the Pedda-Vēgi plates of Nandivarman in the *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Vol. I, pp. 92 ff., follows Mr. Rao and wrongly considers the seal as that of Nandivarman of the Kantēru plates.

<sup>2</sup> [Except the syllables *mahā* and the bull and the line beneath it nothing else, including the name of the king, is visible in the photograph of the seal.—Ed.]

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. IX, pp. 56 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. XV, pp. 249 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Pikira (above, Vol. VIII, p. 159), Uruvupalli (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 50) and Māṅgaḷūr (*ibid.*, p. 154) grants.

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol. I, pp. 2 ff.



the left is apparently derived is found here alongside the unlooped linear  $\gamma$  as in the plate of Vijaya-Dēvarman; cf. *Śālaṅkāyana* (l. 3), *Śivāryyāya* (l. 8), *maryyādayā* (l. 10), *vishaya* (l. 12) and *sagōlrāya* (l. 7), *vāstavyāya* (l. 8), *niyukt-āyuktaka* (l. 11). The plates are numbered like the pages<sup>1</sup> of a modern book with the numerical symbols for 2 to 6 on the left margin, the first side of the first plate being marked with the symbol for *om* as in the Ellore plates of Vijaya-Dēvarman. The numerals 1, 2 and 3 appear also in the three grants of Simhavarman where they indicate a definitely later development in their shape. In the present set, each engraved side contains three lines of writing except that the first and the last plates are engraved on one side only, the latter having four lines.

The record is written in Sanskrit prose with two of the usual imprecatory verses at the end. The language is simple and business-like and the formula or the draft of the preamble, e.g., the passage *Mahārāja-śrī-Vijaya-Skandavarmanāḥ vacanēna Kudrāhāra-Chintapurē grāmēyakāḥ vaktavyāḥ* (ll. 3-5), resembles closely that employed in the Ellore Prākṛit plates of Dēvarman<sup>2</sup> and the Maṭṭēpād plates of Dāmōdaravarman<sup>3</sup> belonging to the period of transitional Prākṛit, as well as the one found in the Ōṃgōḍu grant of Vijaya-Skandavarman II<sup>4</sup> and the Uruvupalli grant of Yuva-Mahārāja Vishṇugōpavarman,<sup>5</sup> which are assigned to the time of the earliest Sanskrit charters of the Pallavas. The inscription is dated on the full-moon day of Vaisākha in the first year (in words, ll. 13 f.) of the *Mahārāja Vijaya-Skandavarman* (ll. 3 f.) who issued this grant from *Vōṅgī* (l. 1) and addressed it to the villagers of *Chintapura* in the district of *Kudrāhāra* (ll. 4-5).<sup>6</sup> The donee was one *Śivāryya* of the *Maudgalya-gōtra*, a resident of the village *Lēkumārī* (ll. 7-8), who received the village (i.e., *Chintapura*) exempt from all imposts (ll. 8-9). The king is described as the *Śālaṅkāyana*, the meditator on the feet of the holy *Chitrarathasvāmin* and one devoted to the feet of *Bappa-bhaṭṭāraka*. He does not bear the epithet either *Parama-Māhēśvara* borne by Dēvarman or *Parama-Bhāgavata* assumed by Nandivarman of the *Kantēru*<sup>7</sup>, *Kollēru*<sup>8</sup> and *Pedda-Vēgi* plates.

Of the five copper-plate records of the *Śālaṅkāyana* family known so far, the *Pedda-Vēgi* plates of Nandivarman alone give the genealogy for four generations as follows :—*Hastivarman-Mahārāja*, his son *Nandivarman-Mahārāja*, his son *Chandavarman-Mahārāja* and his eldest son *Mahārāja Nandivarman II*, *Parama-Bhāgavata*. Since the *ājñapti* in these as well as in the *Kollēru* plates is the same person *Mūlakura-bhōjaka*, the two Nandivarmans might be identical with each other. Now, Nandivarman of the *Kantēru* plates (Set II) may, from the likeness of names, be identified with either Nandivarman I or Nandivarman II of the above genealogy, preferably with the former, since the script employed in his charter is more angular and antique than the one found in the *Pedda-Vēgi* and *Kollēru* plates, which is rounded and more developed. *Vaiṅgēyaka* *Hastivarman* mentioned in the *Allahābād* pillar inscription as the contemporary of *Samudragupta* (middle of the 4th century A.D.) might be *Hastivarman*, the great-grandfather of Nandivarman II mentioned above. He must have been preceded by *Vijaya-Dēvarman*

<sup>1</sup> Other instances bearing numerical symbols on the margin of plates are : (1) The British Museum plates of *Chārudēvi* (above, Vol. VIII, p. 143) of which *iia* and *iib* are marked by 2 and 3 like the pages of a book, (2) The Ellore Prākṛit plates (*ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 56), and (3) the Maṭṭēpād plates of Dāmōdaravarman (*ibid.*, Vol. XVII, p. 327).

<sup>2</sup> Text, lines 6-8.

<sup>3</sup> Text, lines 3 and 4.

<sup>4</sup> Text, lines 8-10.

<sup>5</sup> Text, lines 16-17.

<sup>6</sup> [See f. n. 5 on p. 46.—Ed.]

<sup>7</sup> *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Vol. V, pp. 27 ff.

<sup>8</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 175.

whose grant is worded in Prākṛit since the inscription of Samudragupta whose contemporary Hastivarman was, is couched in chaste classical Sanskrit. From the similarity of script and phraseology adopted in the present grant with those found in the Prākṛit plates of Vijaya-Dēvavarman and the Ōṃgōḍu grant of Vijaya-Skandavarman II as well as the Uruvupalli grant of Siṃhavarman II, it may safely be said that **Vijaya-Skandavarman** of the present record flourished close after Vijaya-Dēvavarman and some time during the period of the above-mentioned Pallava Sanskrit charters, and was evidently a predecessor or an elder contemporary of Hastivarman.<sup>1</sup> The arrangement of the Śālaṅkāyana genealogy given in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1924-25 which follows the one worked out by the late Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao is not tenable since Vijaya-Nandivarman (correctly Vijaya-Skandavarman) and Yuva-mahārāja Buddhavarman of the so-called Elliot's unpublished grant<sup>2</sup> accommodated in it, do not belong to the Śālaṅkāyana family.

The territory of the Śālaṅkāyanas consisted of Kudrāhāra-vishaya and Vēṅgī which lay to the north of the Kṛishṇā river. We know from the Mayidavōlu plates that Dhañṇakaḍa was included in the kingdom of Pallava Śivaskandavarman. The two Ōṃgōḍu grants of Skandavarman II and Siṃhavarman respectively and the Chendalūr plates of Kumāra-Vishṇu mention Kammarāshṭra in which some lands were granted, while according to the Māṅgaḍūr grant of Siṃhavarman, the Pallava territory contained a division called Vēṅgōrāshṭra. It is quite likely that during the time of Śivaskandavarman of the Mayidavōlu plates also, the Andhrā-patha comprised the two divisions Vēṅgōrāshṭra and Kammarāshṭra. If Vēṅgōrāshṭra is identical with the Vēṅgī-vishaya of later inscriptions, the Pallava territory would, then, include the modern districts of Kistna, Guntur and Nellore, while the country to the north of the Kṛishṇā was for some time at least ruled by the Śālaṅkāyanas. The fact that Vijaya-Dēvavarman calls himself the performer of a horse-sacrifice points to his having raised himself to the status of an independent monarch after overcoming all his enemies among whom the Pallava must have been included. The rebellion of the Śālaṅkāyana king against the Pallava overlord appears to have synchronised with the rise of Kadamba Mayūrasarman in the vicinity of Śrīśailam and his carving out a semi-independent kingdom at Vaijayantī in the beginning of the 4th century A.D.

Among the places mentioned in the record, **Vēṅgī** is generally identified with Pedda-Vēḡi<sup>3</sup> near Ellore; **Kudrāhāra** which is probably the same as Kudrāhāra of the Koṇḍamuḍi plates

<sup>1</sup> [As the paleography of the present plates of Skandavarman closely resembles that of the Pedda-Vēḡi plates of Nandivarman II, Mr. Panchamukhi's arguments, mainly based on paleography, for placing Skandavarman long before Nandivarman cannot be accepted as certain. Until more reliable evidence can be found, it will not be possible to determine the position of Skandavarman in the genealogy of the Śālaṅkāyana family. (See also Mr. D. C. Sircar's 'Successors of the Śātavāhanas', pp. 59-60, in the *Journal of the Department of Letters of the University of Calcutta*, Vol. XXVI.)—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> While editing the Kollēru plates (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 175), Fleet considered it as a Śālaṅkāyana grant. But subsequently he edited it in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 100, where he corrected his first mistake by stating that Vijaya-Buddhavarman was a Pallava king and had, therefore, 'no genealogical connection with Vijaya-Nandivarman of the Vēṅgī grant (*Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 175) who was of the Śālaṅkāyana gōtra'. The grant has since been published in this *Journal* (above, Vol. VIII, p. 143) by Dr. Hultsch under the caption "the British Museum Plates of Chārudevi". Dr. Dubriol and the late Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao have, without noticing the subsequent corrections, followed Fleet's original suggestion (*Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 89; *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. V, p. 27) and this mistake has crept into the writings of Mr. M. S. Sarma (*Bhārati* for Raktākshin, Śrāvapa), Mr. R. Gopalan (*Pallavas of Kāūchi*, p. 74) and Mr. K. R. Subrahmaniam (*Buddhist Remains of Andhradēśa and Andhra History*, p. 89, f. n. 4 and p. 91). Mr. Sarma's placing Hastivarman before Vijaya-Dēvavarman, it may be observed, cannot be accepted since the latter, as stated above, lived during the period when Prākṛit was the documentary language before Sanskrit began to be used in inscriptions.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. IX, p. 58.

of Jayavarman<sup>1</sup> was the name of the district with its headquarters at Kudūra mentioned in the same plates and in the Amarāvati Buddhist sculpture inscription.<sup>2</sup> The district was apparently named after Kudūra the modern Kūḍūru in the Bandar taluk of the Kistna District; Chintapura may be identified with Chinnāpuram in the Bandar taluk and Lōkumārī with Lōkamūḍi in the Kaikalūr taluk of the same district.<sup>3</sup>

TEXT.<sup>4</sup>*First Plate.*

- 1 स्वस्ति(स्वस्ति) [॥\*] विजयवेङ्गाः [१\*] भगवच्चित्रयस्वामि-
- 2 पादानुध्यातस्य वप्पभट्टारकपादभ-
- 3 त्तस्य शालाङ्गायनस्य महाराजश्रीविजय-

*Second Plate ; First Side.*

- 4 स्कन्दवर्मणो [वचनेन कुद्राहा]<sup>5</sup>रविन्तपुरे
- 5 ग्रामेयकाः वक्तव्याः अस्त्यस्माभि[र]<sup>6</sup>स्म-
- 6 क्तुलगोवश्रीयशोभिहृदये [एतस्मै]

*Second Plate ; Second Side.*

- 7 मौहल्यसगोत्राय [ले]कुमारीयामवा-
- 8 स्तव्याय शिवार्याय सर्वपरि[हा]रेण
- 9 सा पक्षिका दत्ता [१\*] [तद्विदित्वा भवद्भिः] पूर्व-

*Third Plate ; First Side.*

- 10 मर्यादया साधु प्रेमणा(प्रेमणा) कर्त्तव्यमिति [१\*]
- 11 अपि च स[र्व]नियोगनियुक्तायुक्तक-
- 12 विषयपतिमित्रैः सा पक्षिका परिहा(ह)र्त्तव्या [१\*]

*Third Plate ; Second Side.*

- 13 प्रवर्त्तमान]श्रीविजय[रा]ज्यसंवत्स[र]े प्र-
- 14 थमे वैशाखपौ[र्ण]मास्यां दत्ता पट्टिका [॥\*]

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. VI, pp. 315 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Lüders' *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions*, No. 1295.

<sup>3</sup> *An. Rep. on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1924-25, p. 73.

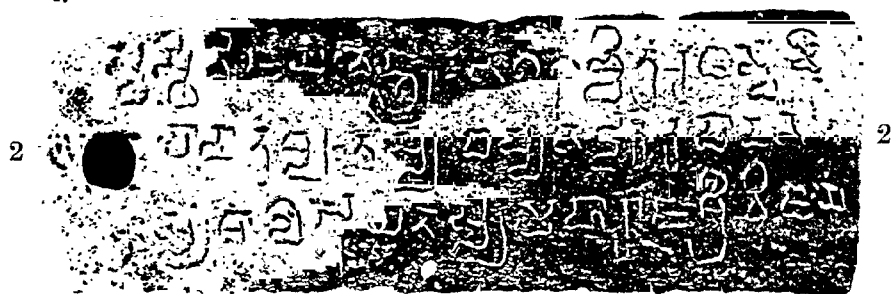
<sup>4</sup> From ink-impressions.

<sup>5</sup> The letters enclosed within the brackets are partly preserved but they can be made out with certainty on the original. [I am not able to read the syllables *Kudrā* in the impression.—Ed.]

<sup>6</sup> The letter *ra* is very much worn out.

KANTERU PLATES OF SALANKAYANA VIJAYA-SKANDAVARMAN.

i.



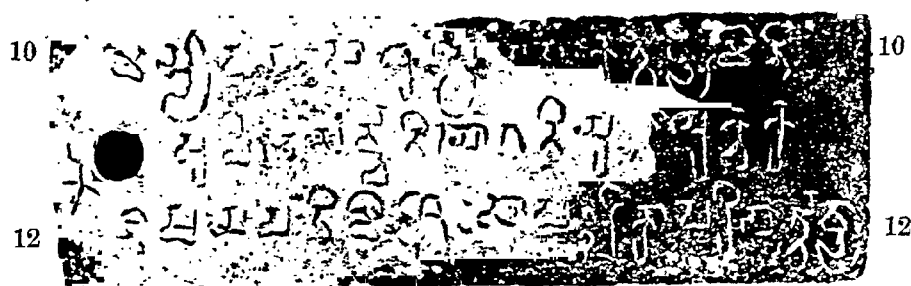
ii, a.



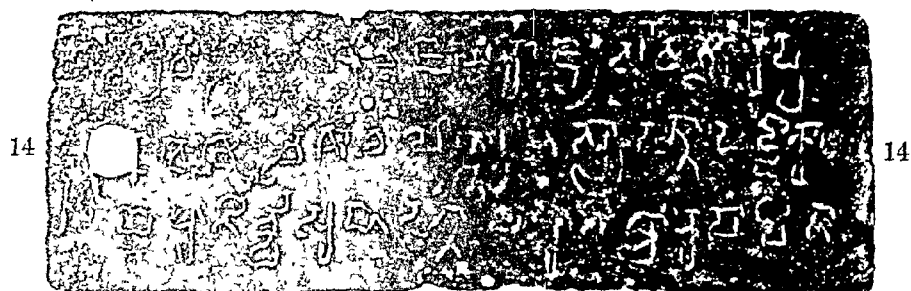
ii, b.



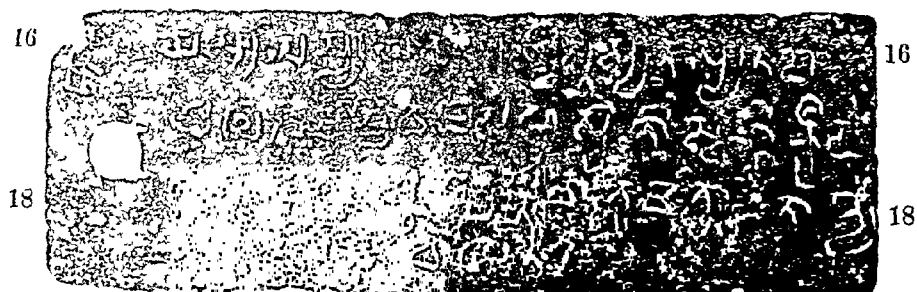
iii, a.



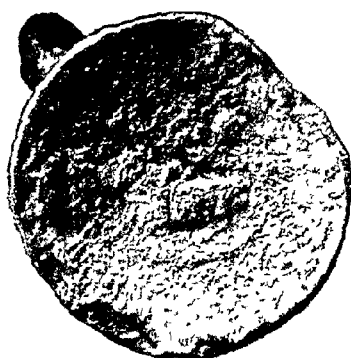
iii.b.



iv.



Seal.



(From a photograph).

15 बहुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता बहुभिःपुनःपालिता [1\*]

Fourth Plate.

16 यस्य यस्य [यदा भूमि]स्तस्य तस्य त[दा]

17 फलम् [1\*] षटिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गं त्रीड-

18 [ति भूमिदः] [1\*] आक्षेप्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्ये-

19 [व नरके] वसेत् ॥

#### TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1-5) Hail! From the victorious (*city of*) *Vēṅgi* by the word (*of command*) of the illustrious *Mahārāja Vijaya-Skandavarman*, a *Śālaṅkāyana*, a meditator on the feet of god *Chitrarathasvāmin* and one devoted to the feet of *Bappa-Bhaṭṭāraka* (*i.e.*, father), the villagers of *Chintapura* in *Kudrāhāra* should be informed thus :

(Ll. 5-9) That small village (*paṭṭikā*, *i.e.*, *Chintapura*) has been granted by Us to this<sup>1</sup> (*Brāhman*) *Sivāryya* of the *Maudgalya-gōtra*, a resident of the village *Lēkumāri*, free from all imposts, for the increase of the prosperity and fame of our family (*kula*) and clan (*gōtra*).

(Ll. 9-12) Knowing this, you should behave well (*with the donee*) with affection as hitherto (*pūrvva-maryyādayā*). Further, that village should be exempted (*from imposts*) by all the pre-siding officers appointed to carry out (*Our*) command, agents (*āyuktaka*) and heads of districts.

(Ll. 13-14) The (*copper-plate*) charter<sup>2</sup> was issued on the full-moon day of *Vaiśākha* in the first year of Our ever-increasing, illustrious and victorious reign.

(Ll. 15-19) [Two imprecatory verses are cited here.]

#### No. 8.—EPIGRAPHICAL NOTES.

By RAO BAHADUR C. R. KRISHNACHARLU, B.A., MADRAS.

#### NIBINNĀ AND NIVINĀ.

In the *Nibinnā* charter of *Mahā-Sivagupta* edited by Mr. B. C. Mazumdar,<sup>3</sup> the name of the gift village is given in two different forms, *i.e.* (i) *Nibiṇḍā* in l. 5 and (ii) *Nibinnā* in l. 17 of the text.<sup>4</sup> It is thus evident that even at the time of the charter the name of the village was spelt in two different ways. Though there is no special necessity for it, Mr. Mazumdar reads *bi* where the original contained only *vi*, both *v* and *b* being indicated in this record only by the sign for *v*. Consequently the place might also be called *Niviṇḍā* or *Nivinnā*. It was attached to the *Ganutaṭpāṭa-maṇḍala* of the *Kōśala-dēśa* (text, ll. 4 f.). We are now confronted with a possibility of this village being identical with the village *Nivinā* the gift of which is recorded in the *Nivinā* grant of the *Śailōdbhava* king *Dharmarājadēva* published by Dr. N. P.

<sup>1</sup> The donee had evidently been introduced to the royal presence at the time of the grant. Cf. *elassa...* *Gaṇasammassa* (ll. 8-9) of the *Ellore Prākṛit* plates.

<sup>2</sup> The word *paṭṭikā* is used in this sense in other copper-plate grants of this early period, *viz.*, the *Hirahadagalli* plates (text, l. 51), *Mayidavōlu* plates (text, l. 28), *Koṇḍamuḍi* plates (text, l. 40), *Matṭēpād* plates (text, l. 14), and *Kūdagere* plates of *Kadamba Śiva-Māndhātṛivarman* (text, l. 18, above, Vol. VI, p. 14).

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. XI, p. 95.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 96.

Chakravarti.<sup>1</sup> In the latter record Nivinā is stated to be attached to the Kḥiṅgahāra-*vishaya*. But it is likely that this village which was originally attached to this *vishaya* in Dharmarāja's reign was later on included in the Kōśala-*dēśa*. Kḥiṅgahāra has been identified by Dr. Chakravarti with Kḥiṅgi and Nivinā with Nimminā<sup>2</sup> in the Kudala *taluk* of the Ganjām District. I think that Gaṇuṭapāṭa-*maṇḍala* or Gaṇuḍapāṭi-*maṇḍala* in which Nibiṇḍā or Nibinnā of the other charter was situated is identical with Gaṇṭhapadā, a Zamindari village of the same *taluk*. Moreover, since the Sonepur Feudatory State attached to the district of Sambalpur is a part of the Chhatisgarh division which roughly corresponds to the ancient (Southern) Kōśala-*dēśa* in which Nibiṇḍā or Niviṇḍā (with its variant names) lay and the Ganjām District in which the Nivinā grant of Dharmarāja was found is adjacent to that tract, the possibility of the identity of both the villages is strengthened. This is also confirmed by the form of the name Nivinā in which it occurs in the latter grant.

If the suggested identity could be granted it follows that the gift village Nivinā changed ownership in the interval between the reigns of Dharmarāja and Mahā-Sivagupta and that the latter monarch granted it afresh to a Brāhman of a different family from the original donee's.

Dr. Bahadur Chand Chhabra suggests the identification of the village Nibinnā with Nimna about 15 miles south-east of Binka, a town in the Sonepur State. This is not altogether impossible though we can take it only as an alternative. In this case the headquarters of the Gaṇuṭapāṭa-*maṇḍala* in which the village was located must be identified with the modern Gaṇṭapara on the right bank of the river Tel one of the tributaries of the Mahānadi in the Baud State. (*Vide Imp. Gaz. Atlas*, 1909, Plate 29, A 4.)

#### URUVUPALLI.

In the Uruvupalli grant of Pallava Yuvamahārāja Viṣṇugōpa issued in the reign of Simhavarman (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, pp. 50 f.) the boundaries of the 200 *nivartanas* of land actually given are enumerated in detail very much in the style of the Redḍi copper-plates of a later period. Among these boundaries occur the names of the villages Kaṇḍukūra, Kurupūra, and Koṇḍamuruṇḍu and the river Suprayōgā. The grant was intended for the benefit of the Viṣṇu-hāra temple founded by the *Sēnāpati* Viṣṇuvārman at Kaṇḍukūra. So it is evident that we have to look for the villages mentioned in the grant in the vicinity of modern Kandukūru in the Nellore District. A reference to the *taluk* map shows that Uruvupalli must be identical with Ulavapāḍu which lies east-south-east of Kandukūru. Of the other villages, Kurupūra would correspond to modern Kared *alias* Kurvaḍe in the eastern direction of Kandukūru, and Koṇḍamuruṇḍu would be the modern Koṇḍamuḍusupāḷem due south of Kandukūru. Since the lands are stated to lie adjacent to those of Kaṇḍukūra, the river Suprayōgā which lay to the south of the gift-lands would be identical with the modern Mannēru flowing in a north-easterly direction between Kandukūru and Ulavapāḍu. Ulavapāḍu is a station on the Madras-Calcutta line of the M. & S. M. Railway.

#### VIRIPARA.

This village in Andhrāpatha (*i.e.* the Telugu country) the grant of which is recorded in the Prākṛit Mayidavōlu plates of Śivaskandavarman could not be identified by Dr. Hultzsch. He, however, rightly suggests that it must have been situated near Amarāvati, (formerly Kistna now)

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXI, p. 34.

<sup>2</sup> The *List of Villages* gives the name as Nimina. There are two villages of this name one in the Khallikōṭa and the other in the Athagada Zamindari of the Ganjām District. The district Map shows also a third Nimina village on the bank of the Mahānadi canal in the Aska *taluk*.

Guntur District.<sup>1</sup> The plates were found in a *pāḍu* (old village site) near Mayidavōlu, a village in the Narasaraopet *taluk*.<sup>2</sup> There can be the least doubt that the gift village Viripara is identical with the modern Vipparla in the same *taluk* situated at about 8 miles west-north-west of Narasaraopet.<sup>3</sup> It is to be noticed that the village possesses not only some pre-historic remains like dolmens,<sup>4</sup> etc., which prove its great antiquity but also that an inscription of the early Eastern Chalukya king Sakalalōkāsraya Jayasiṅgha-Vallabha and another of Viṣṇuvardhana Vijayāditya dated in Ś. 996 (=A.D. 1074) have been found here.<sup>5</sup> In the former the village is called Vitparī and in the latter Virppaṛu. In still later times it was called Vipparu.<sup>6</sup> These facts go to prove definitely that the village mentioned in the copper-plates must be identical with Vipparla.

#### Dattānuṃyōga and the village Kōlāla.

In his article on 'Two Kadamba Grants' (above, Vol. VI, p. 15, n. 6) the expression Dattānuṃyōga is rendered by Prof. Kielhorn in the sense of an *āchārya* (*anuyōga-kṛit*). From the context we must expect the term to refer to a concrete or proper attribute of the donee Dēvaśarman and not to a general attribute, viz., an *āchārya*, especially as the expression occurs between his *gōtra* and his *sākhā*. We should therefore naturally expect in the middle of these two epithets a reference to the donee's school of philosophy. We know that Datta is the name of an Upanishad, and the donee must have been a student or professor of that Upanishad.<sup>7</sup> *Dattakasūtras* are mentioned in Western Gaṅga copper-plates.

The land gifted was in the village of Kōlāla as read by Kielhorn. It might be read as Kōlāla also in which case there can be no objection to our identifying it with Kōlāla, the Kōlālapura or Kuvaḷālapura of the Gaṅga inscriptions and identified with the modern Kolar.

#### Śemponṃmāri.

In his article on the Śendalai pillar inscriptions (above, Vol. XIII, pp. 134 ff.) Mr. K. V. S. Aiyer notices the mention of Śemponṃmāri as one of the places where king Perumbiḍugu Muttaraiyaṅ gained his victories. Regarding the identification of the village Mr. Aiyer suggested that it was probably situated in the Pudukkōṭṭai State. I would identify it with the village Śemponṃmāri of the Tiruvadanai *taluk* of the Ramnad District. The present village is divided into two units one called Kiḷ-Śemponṃmāri and the other Mēl-Śemponṃmāri.

#### Tāmbṛāpa-ssthāna.

This is the place from which the Pallava king Vijaya-Skandavarman issued the Ōṃgōḍu grant (above, Vol. XV, pp. 250, 251, etc.). This can very well be Dāmaramaḍugu in the Kovur *taluk*, Nellore District. *Maḍugu* represents a pond and Tāmbṛāpa might be the modern corrupt Dāmaramaḍugu. This lies in the ancient Pallava country and is not very far from Vavvēru where the Viḷavattī grant of Siṃhavarman<sup>7</sup> of this family was recently discovered.

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. VI, p. 85.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 84.

<sup>3</sup> Sewell, *List of Antiquities*, Vol. I, p. 73.

<sup>4</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. VI, Nos. 584 to 586.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 588.

<sup>6</sup> [This argument is not convincing to me. The full name of the Upanishad is *Dattātṛēya*. Moreover, *Datta* or *Dattātṛēya* being a minor Upanishad it is doubtful if proficiency in it should be regarded as a high distinction. I also do not know of any other inscriptions where a donee is mentioned as a student or a professor of a particular Upanishad alone. After *gōtra* usually comes the *pravara* of the donee which is not specified in the present record. Can the expression under consideration not simply mean 'who is given to meditation' (*anuyōga*)? It may also be pointed out that the *Dattaka-sūtra* occurring in the Western Gaṅga copper-plates has been taken to be a work on erotics—see *J. R. A. S.*, 1911, pp. 183 ff.—Ed.]

<sup>7</sup> See above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 296 ff.



## No. 9.—NALANDA PLATE OF SAMUDRAGUPTA: THE YEAR 5.

By A. GHOSH, PATNA.

This copper-plate, edited here for the first time, was unearthed at Nālandā in 1927-28 in Monastery Site No. 1, near the copper-plate of Dēvapāla.<sup>1</sup> In 1935 it was transferred to the Archaeological Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta, where it is at present housed. A preliminary note on it was published by Dr. Hirananda Sastri<sup>2</sup> and it is also summarized by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar in his *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*.<sup>3</sup>

The copper-plate measures  $10\frac{1}{2}'' \times 9''$  and weighs 45 *tolās*. No seal was found along with the plate, but it is not unlikely that one was originally attached to it in that portion of the proper right side of the plate which is now broken. The inscription is neatly engraved and runs to 12 lines, but owing to the much damaged condition of the plate large portions, including nearly the whole of l. 7, have either broken away or are utterly obliterated. The whole of the text, however, can be restored by a reference to the spurious Gayā plate of Samudragupta<sup>4</sup> except the place-names and the adjectives of the donee.

The palæography of the inscription shows Gupta forms throughout and has the same features as the early Gupta records, with the exception of *y*, which is bipartite in the present record. *S* is of the looped or so-called eastern variety, but *śh* is unlooped. *H* is of the same type as appears on the Allahābād pillar inscription of Samudragupta,<sup>5</sup> and presents a contrast to the form that we come across in the central and western records of the age.<sup>6</sup> The average length of letters is  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch. As regards orthography, mention may be made of the use of the *upadhāniya* in such cases as *utpannaḥ=parama*<sup>o</sup> (l. 4) and *ch=ētaḥ=prabhṛiti* (l. 8), the doubling of consonants in *sarva* (l. 1, etc.), *medh-āhartur=mmahārāja* (l. 3), *dauhitṛasya* (l. 4), *tṛaivīdya* (ll. 8 and 9), etc. Another feature, remarkable for the Gupta period, is the indiscriminate use of *b* and *v*, as exemplified in *viditām bō* for *viditām vō* (l. 6), *sambat* for *samvat* (l. 10) and *mahāvalādhiḥṛita* for *mahābalādhiḥṛita* (l. 11).

The inscription records the grant of two villages to a Brāhmaṇa Jayabhaṭṭi by name, who is called *tṛaivīdya* in the subsequent lines, by the *mahārājādhirāja* Samudragupta, whose usual adjectives are given,<sup>7</sup> from the victorious camp at Ānandapura in the year 5. The grant was written at the orders of Gōpasvāmin, the *akshapaṭalādhiḥṛita*, *mahāpīlūpati* and *mahābalādhiḥṛita*. At the end the name of the prince Chandragupta occurs, possibly as the *Dūtaka*.

I am not sure of one of the names of the villages that were granted: the first is Bhadrāpushkaraka in the *Vaiva(?)—y.-vishaya*, while the second is Pū[rṇa(?)—nā(?)ga] in the *Kṛimilā-vishaya*. *Kṛimilā* as the name of a *vishaya* also appears in the Monghyr grant of Dēvapāla, where it is stated to have been situated in the *bhukti* of Śrīnagara or Patna.<sup>8</sup> The same place-name occurs as *Kṛimilā* on a Nālandā sealing (Site No. 1, Reg. No. 824), reading *Kṛimilā-*

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XVII, pp. 318 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *An. Rep. A. S. I.*, 1927-28, p. 138.

<sup>3</sup> *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, p. 290, No. 2075.

<sup>4</sup> Fleet, *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 254 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 1 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Mathurā and Sānchi Inscriptions of Chandragupta II, *ibid.*, pl. iii.

<sup>7</sup> Among the adjectives occurs *parama-bhāgavata*, which is absent in the Allahābād pillar inscription.

<sup>8</sup> Above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 304 ff.

*vishaya-Kāchāla*<sup>1</sup>-*grāmē mahattama-Narasvāmīnaḥ* in 8th century characters. I cannot propose any identification of this place.

The only other copper-plate purporting to belong to Samudragupta<sup>2</sup> is the Gayā copper-plate, but as Fleet pointed out the plate cannot be regarded as genuine<sup>3</sup> on the following grounds: (1) in the genealogical portion of the inscription the adjectives of the king are in the genitive, while the name of the king is in the nominative—which shows that the drafter of the inscription was copying this portion from some grant of one of the successors of Samudragupta, and (2) while some of the letters are antique others are more modern. This shows that there was a deliberate attempt on the part of the scribe to imitate the old script, which also explains the halting nature of the writing; when the difference between the earlier and later forms of a particular letter is only slight, the scribe has betrayed himself, *cf. ś*, in which the right vertical member invariably projects above the upper horizontal member of the letter—a feature which is definitely later than the early Gupta times.

If the present document can be proved to be genuine, it would rank as the earliest record of the Guptas and also the earliest copper-plate grant in Northern India. This fact makes the task of determining the genuineness or otherwise of the grant all the more difficult, as we have no means to ascertain whether it conforms to the genuine records of the age. The two scholars who have previously noticed the record have opined differently, Dr. Sastri rejecting it as spurious and Dr. Bhandarkar leaving the matter open. The question has, therefore, to be considered afresh.

A perusal of the text given below will show that the present record is similar to the Gayā plate in that it has the same ungrammatical construction of the genealogical portion (...*uchchhētutuh...apratirathasya...prapauttrasya...puttrasya ... dauhittrasya ... utpannaḥ Samudraguptaḥ*). If the plate be regarded as genuine, it is puzzling why the secretariate of Samudragupta should have committed such a silly error in giving the genealogy of its master. I find it difficult to explain away this error as accidental and am, on the whole, inclined to think that the genuineness of the present plate is not above suspicion. This will also explain why the inscription is full of mistakes, *e. g.*, the dropping of *pta* in *Gupta* (l. 3), *ēshau* for *ētau* (l. 6), *śrōttavyam* for *śrōtarīyam* (l. 8), *grāpratīyā* for *grāma-pratīyā* (l. 8) and the lengthening of the vowel in *ma* in *niyatam=āgrahār-ākshēpaḥ* (l. 9). One can legitimately expect greater care in a real state document of the mighty Samudragupta. It cannot be denied, however, that the document was forged in early Gupta times, as there is no trace of any late forms in the morphology of the letters. And as the texts of the Nālandā and Gayā plates are *mutatis mutandis* identical, it is very likely that both of them were copied from some genuine Gupta grant.

<sup>1</sup> Or *vishyak-Āchāla*.

<sup>2</sup> In Cunningham's *A. S. R.*, Vol. XIX, p. 60, Garrick speaks of a copper-plate of Samudragupta, said to be in the possession of a Pandit of Benares. "The inscription", he adds, "had been sent to Bengal, and therefore I was unable even to get a look at it".

<sup>3</sup> R. D. Banerji, on the other hand, says: "The Gayā copper plate of Samudragupta, issued in the 9th year of his reign, was regarded as spurious by the late Dr. J. F. Fleet. When his work was published our knowledge of Indian Epigraphy was not so extensive as it is now. Our knowledge of the form of Imperial Gupta land-grants was limited to the Indor-khera inscribed copper plate of the time of the emperor Skandagupta in 1833. The Natore or Dhanaidaha plate of Kumāragupta I, the six Damodarpur plates of the emperors Kumāragupta I, Budhagupta and Bhānugupta and finally the three Faridpur plates of the kings Dharmāditya and Gopachandra have thrown a flood of light on the procedure of issuing grants of land or deeds recording transfers of the same. In the face of this mass of new evidence it is impossible to believe at the present day that the Gayā copper plate grant of the 9th year of Samudragupta is forged. It cannot be regarded as spurious in the same light as the Sudi plates and in the writer's opinion it is genuine." (*Age of the Imperial Guptas*, pp. 7-8.)

The inscription is dated in the year 5, 2nd day of Māgha, followed by the word *niva(ba)-ddha[m\*]*. So far as I am aware, this word does not appear with a date in any other Gupta record, but is found in some Pratihāra grants.<sup>1</sup> The date of the Gayā plate, year 9, was referred to the Gupta era by Fleet,<sup>2</sup> which would mean that Chandragupta I had died by A. D. 328. If the date of the present record too be referred to the Gupta era, his life is further shortened by 4 years, leaving him a reign of only 4 or 5 years, assuming that the year 5 of the Gupta era was the first regnal year of Samudragupta. It is unlikely that he could have created an empire within such a short time, so that we are forced to meet another alternative that the years are in reality the regnal years of Samudragupta himself. But as the Gupta era is universally regarded as having been established by Chandragupta I, it is difficult to understand why Samudragupta should have reverted to the practice of using regnal years in state documents. Was Samudragupta himself then the author of the Gupta era? It must be admitted that this conjecture is not *primā facie* impossible, as the ascription of the era to the first *mahārājādhirāja* of the dynasty is only a plausible conjecture which does not conflict with any known facts. But if Samudragupta really founded the era, we have to distribute 136 years (A. D. 319 to 455)—an abnormally long period—among three generations, viz., Samudragupta, Chandragupta II and Kumāragupta I. We are therefore inclined to think that both being spurious documents, the dates on the Nālandā and Gayā plates need not be taken seriously for historical purposes.

The text given below is transcribed from a set of photographs of the copper-plate kindly supplied to me by the Superintendent, Archaeological Section, Indian Museum. I found that some portions were more legible on another photograph of the plate before it was chemically treated, belonging to the office of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of India, Central Circle. In deciphering the text I have received much valuable help from Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, Government Epigraphist for India.

#### TEXT.

- 1 Ōm svasti [[\*] mahā-nau-hasty-aśva-jaya-skandhāvār-Ānandapura<sup>3</sup>-vāsakāt=[sa]-  
rvva-rā[j]-ōchelhett[ū[h]-prithivyām=apratirathasya chatur-udadhi-sali[1-āsvā].
- 2 dita-yaśasō Dhanada-Varuṇ-Ē[ndr-Ā]ntaka-samasya Kṛitānta-parasūr=nyāy-āgat-ānēka-  
gō-hiranya-kōṭi-pradasya chirōtsa[nn-ā].
- 3 śvamēdh<sup>4</sup>-āha<sup>5</sup>rttur=mmah[ārā]ja-śrī-Gu[pta\*]-prapauttrasya mahārāju-śrī-Ghaṭōtkacha-  
pauttrasya mahārā[jādhi]rāja-śrī-Chan[drag]up[ta]-puttra-
- 4 sya Lichchhavi-dau[hi]tttrasya mahādēvyān=Kumārādēvyām=uptanna[ḥ]=parama<sup>6</sup>-bhāga-  
vatō [mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Samudragu]ptaḥ Vai(?)va(?)<sup>7</sup>-y.-
- 5 vai[shayika]-Bhadrapushkaraka - grāma - Krimilā - vaishayika - Pū[rṇa(?)nā(?)ga - grā  
[mayōh brāhmaṇa-purōga]<sup>6</sup>-grāma-va[la]tkauśabhyā(?)m<sup>7</sup>=āha [[\*]

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dighwa-Dubauli plate of Mahēndrapāla and A. S. B. plate of Vināyaka-pāla, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, pp. 112 and 140.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Banerji, *loc. cit.*, p. 8: "According to the established custom to be found in Gupta inscriptions, we should regard the date of the inscription as one expressed in the Gupta era; i.e., it was issued in 328-29 A. D."

<sup>3</sup> Read as *Nṛipura* by Sastri, who evidently reads the portion as *skandhātūrāna(n)=Nṛipura*.

<sup>4</sup> At first *mā* was written which was then changed into *mē*.

<sup>5</sup> The left extremity of the subscript *u* of the following letter appears after *ha* and looks like a separate letter.

<sup>6</sup> Restored from the Gayā plate.

<sup>7</sup> The word is spelt with *sha* in the Gayā plate. The letter *bhyā* is doubtful both here and in the Gayā plate.

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- 6 Ēva ch=ā[rttham] vīditam<sup>1</sup> =bō(vō) bhavatr=ēshan(au) grā[m]au [mayā mā]tā-pitrōr=ā  
[tmanas=cha] pu[ny-ābhivṛiddha]yē Jayabhaṭṭi-svāminē
- 7 .....<sup>2</sup> [s-ōpari]kar-ō[ddēsēn=āgra]hā[rat]v[ēn=ātisṛish]ṭaḥ tad=yushmā-  
bhir=a[s]ya
- 8 ttraividyasya śrōtta(ta)vyam=ājñā cha kartta[v]yā[sa]rvvē [cha sa]muchitā grā[ma\*]-pratyā  
(pratyayā) mēya-hiraṇy-ādayō dēyā na ch=ētaḥ=pra.<sup>3</sup>
- 9 bhṛity=anēna ttraiv[ī]dyēn=ānya-grām-ādi-karada-kuṭumbi-[kārūk]-ādayaḥ=pravēśa[yita]-  
vyā [a]nyath[ā] niyatam=ā(a)grahār-āk[sh]ēpaḥ
- 10 syād=iti<sup>4</sup> samba(sarṇva)t 5 Māgha di 2 niva(ba)ddha[m\*] [i\*]
- 11 [Anyā]<sup>5</sup>-grām-ākshapaṭālādhi[kṛi]ta-mahāpīlūpati - mahāva(ba)lādhi[kṛi]ta - Gōpasvām[y\*]-  
ādeśa-likhita[m\*] [i\*]
- 12 [Kumā]ra-śrī-Chandraguptaḥ [i\*]

## No. 10.—A COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF MUMMUNIRAJA ; SAKA 971.

By S. C. UPADHYAYA, M.A., LL.B., BOMBAY.

This set of three plates was first handed over to the Curator, Archaeological Section, Prince of Wales Museum, for decipherment by one Hasan Razak, a Muhammadan water-diviner. The Curator after carefully examining these plates kindly passed them on to me for decipherment in details. I am highly obliged to him for the kind permission to edit the same in this journal.

The grant consists of three plates. Each plate is 11"×9"× $\frac{1}{8}$ " in size. The written space in each plate measures 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ "×10". The first and last plates bear writing on one side only while the second has writing on both the sides. A circular hole of about  $\frac{3}{4}$ " in diameter runs through them. The circular ring which holds the plates together, has got a seal (at present with the owner) with the figure of Garuḍa. The whole grant runs into 94 lines.

The characters are similar to those found in the other Śilāhāra copper-plates of the same period. However, they differ to some extent from those in the Ambar Nātha temple stone inscription of the time of Māmvaṇi dated Śaka 982,<sup>6</sup> the chief reason of the difference being either the roughness of the material or possibly the inefficiency of the engraver.

The language of the grant is Sanskrit. As regards orthography, a consonant following *r* is sometimes doubled and sometimes left single, e.g., *Kapardāi* (l. 8), *svargga*, *mārgga* (l. 13), *karmmaṇi* (l. 15), *saṃvarāddhanūl* (l. 29) as against *dōr-daṇḍa* (l. 17), *yathārtha* (l. 20), *Nāgārjuna* (l. 31), etc. The dental sibilant is often used for the palatal one (ll. 8, 9, etc.), but in certain cases what has been read as *s* may be a badly written *ś*.

In the benedictory verses Gaṇeśa and Śiva are invoked. The genealogy begins with the well known mythical story of Jīmūtavāhana, the son of Jīmūtakētu, who offered himself as a prey to Garuḍa in place of the serpent Saṃkhachūḍa.

<sup>1</sup> There is a hole due to damage over *ta* which in the photograph looks like an *anusvāra*.

<sup>2</sup> The portion that is lost here no doubt contained adjectives of the donee, of which one must have been *traividyā*, as he is referred to in the following lines.

<sup>3</sup> The Gayā plate reads *na ch=ētat-prabhṛity=* etc.

<sup>4</sup> After this follow four short horizontal strokes.

<sup>5</sup> Restored from the Gayā plate. D. R. Bhandarkar conjecturally reads *Nālandā*. [In the present record the second syllable seems to be *nu*.—Ed.]

<sup>6</sup> J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XII, pp. 329 f.

In his family was born Kapardin (I) who was adventurous like Sāhasānka<sup>1</sup> and was the forehead-mark (*tilaka*) of the Silāra line. His son Pulaśakti who was well versed in politics and who conquered his enemies is then mentioned.<sup>2</sup>

Next comes his son Laghu-Kaparddi.<sup>3</sup> He is described in the usual poetical and vague manner. His son Vappuvanna is next mentioned in the usual way.<sup>4</sup> His son Jhañjha is then mentioned. That he erected twelve Śiva temples is particularly mentioned here as in the Khārepāṭa plates.

Nothing particular is said of his brother Gōggirāja and his son Vajjaḍa, except that the former was valorous like Bhishma, Drōṇa and Arjuna. Vajjaḍa's son Aparājita who was benevolent, truthful and brave is then mentioned. He is given the title *Śaraṇāgata-rajapañjara* and the record particularly mentions the facts that he helped a king named Gōmma, and made firm the rule of Aiyapadēva. He is also said to have protected Bhillama and two other kings whose names seem to be Amma and Maṇaivuva.<sup>5</sup> His son Vajjaḍadēva (II) and his younger brother Arikēsarin are then mentioned.<sup>6</sup> The latter had been on a pilgrimage to the temple of Sōmēśvara.

Then his nephew Chhittarāja (son of Vajjaḍa II) is mentioned as in other inscriptions. Next comes his younger brother Nāgārjuna.<sup>7</sup> His younger brother Mummuni is then mentioned.<sup>8</sup> He vanquished his foes and ruled over 1,400 villages the chief of which was Puri. At the time of this grant his *Mahāmātya* was śrī-Daddapaīya and the *Mahāsāndhivigrahika* śrī-Viṭṭha-paīya, who along with other officers were in charge of the *Śrīkaraṇa*. The writer of the document was Nāgalaiya.<sup>9</sup>

The grant was given on Friday, Śuddha 15, Bhādrapada in the year 971 of the Śaka era, corresponding to Tuesday the 20th August 1049 A.D.<sup>10</sup> There was a lunar eclipse at that time.

<sup>1</sup> The Khārepāṭa plates, Śaka 1016 (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 33) also do not give any further information about this prince. His adventurous nature might have enabled him to be a valuable lieutenant of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Emperor Gōvinda III and hence he might have been his feudatory ruling over North Koṅkaṇ (Altekar, *Indian Culture*, Vol. II, p. 403).

<sup>2</sup> The Kañhēri inscriptions of Amōghavarsha, Śaka 765, describes Pullaśakti as a Rāṣṭrakūṭa feudatory and lord of the Koṅkaṇ, ruling in Puri (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 134-36).

<sup>3</sup> The Kañhēri inscriptions of Amōghavarsha, Śaka 775 and 799 (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 134 ff.), describe Kapardin (II) as the Rāṣṭrakūṭa feudatory and master of Koṅkaṇ.

<sup>4</sup> The Bhāṇḍūp plates (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 277, ll. 7, 8) describe him as *bhuvanaikavira* and name him Ghayuvanta but on comparing the reading (in facsimile, *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. I, p. 313) Vappuvanna seems to be the right name as has already been suggested by Bühler.

<sup>5</sup> These names are also found in the Khārepāṭa plates. Nowhere else do we meet with the verse containing these names. This Bhillama might be the same as Bhillama II of whom we know from his Saṅgamnēr plates, Śaka 922 (above, Vol. II, p. 272). The Bhādāna plates of Aparājita, Śaka 919 (above, Vol. III, p. 272), give him the title of Mṛigānka.

<sup>6</sup> According to Bhāṇḍūp plates, the word *agraja* would go with Arikēsarin. But on the evidence of other documents Vajjaḍa was the elder brother of Arikēsarin. The Vaḍavalli plates of Aparāditya, Śaka 1049 (*J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XXI, p. 508), confirm this.

<sup>7</sup> He is mentioned in the Khārepāṭa and Vaḍavalli plates. Altekar's suggestion (*Indian Culture*, Vol. II, p. 410) that he died before Chhittarāja seems to be baseless.

<sup>8</sup> For another spelling, Māmvūni, cf. *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XII, p. 329.

<sup>9</sup> According to the Ambar Nātha temple inscription (*ibid.*, pp. 329-30) these officers in Śaka 982 were different persons.

<sup>10</sup> *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. III, p. 101. [The corresponding date in Christian era is Tuesday the 15th August (not the 20th which was a Sunday and when there was no lunar eclipse), A.D. 1049, when there was a lunar eclipse. The week day seems to read *Sutē* and not *Śukrē* as Mr. Upadhyaya reads. Probably *Suta* here stands for *Mahānta* (Tuesday).—Ed.]

The village granted was *Kiichchhita*. It was in the *Mandaraja* district. To the east there was the *śrī-Ēnara*<sup>1</sup> hill and rivulets running from it. To the north was the *Nīmva* village, to the west the *Mātara* village and to the south the *Sāmva* river. None of these places can be identified at present.

The grant was made to twelve Brahmins (a list of whom is given below) to enable them to carry on their religious duties. Among the donees there were Brahmins who had emigrated from *Gauḍa*, *Madhyadēśa* and *Lāṭa*. They belonged to various *gōtras* and *śākhās*. Some of these names are given in the vernacular ending in *aiya*. The grant contains towards the end the approval of *Mummunirāja*, son of *Vajjaḍadēva*.

*List of the Brahmin donees.*

Name.	Father's name.	Country of origin.	Gōtra.	Śākhā.
Kōkō Paṇḍita . .	Pitāmaha . . .	Gauḍa . . .	Śāṇḍilya . .	Kauthuma.
Dēvadhara Dikshita .	Yajña Dikshita . .	Mumjasthāna in Madhyadēśa.	Vatsa . .	Bahvṛicha.
Dāmōdara . . .	Kēśaiyā Dikshita . .	....	Bhāradvāja . .	Mādhyandina.
Sūdanaia . . .	Sōmēśvara Upādhyāya .	....	Bhārgava . .	Bahvṛicha.
Dāmōdara . . .	Sūdana Dikshita . .	Bhṛigukachcha in Lāṭadēśa.	Upamanyu . .	„
Nārāyaṇa . . .	Dāmōdara Upādhyāya .	....	Ātrēya . .	Rāpāyanī.
Śrīpati . . .	Kēśava . . .	....	Kuśika . .	Bahvṛicha.
Śrīpati . . .	Dugaiya . . .	....	Ātrēya . .	„
Kanakēśvara . . .	Velāditya . . .	....	Jamadagni . .	„
Velaiya . . .	Dighaiya . . .	....	Ātrēya . .	„
Sarvvadēvaiya . . .	Īśvara . . .	....	Lōkāksha . .	Yajña.
Viṭṭhapaiya . . .	Sōḍhalaiya . . .	....	Ātrēya . .	Bahvṛicha.

TEXT.

[Metres :—*Anushṭubh*, vv. 1, 2, 11, 12, 19, 24, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38; *Vasantatilakā*, 3, 4, 5, 15, 18, 39; *Prithvī*, 6; *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*, 7, 9, 10, 14, 16, 20; *Sragdharā*, 8; *Gīti*, 13; *Indravajrā*, 17, 26, 33; *Mālinī*, 21, 22; *Vamśasthāvila*, 23; *Śālinī*, 32.]

*First Plate.*

1 ॐ<sup>2</sup> जयञ्चाभ्युदयश्च ॥ लभते सर्वकार्येषु पूजया गणना यकः । विघ्नं निघ्नन्त वः  
2 पायादपायाद्गणनायकः ॥[१]\* स वः पातु शिवो नित्यं यन्मौलौ भाति  
जाङ्गवी । सुमेरुसिख-

<sup>1</sup> [See p. 62 n. 3 below.—Ed.]

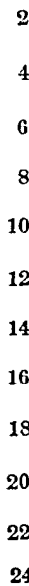
<sup>2</sup> Denoted by a symbol.

<sup>3</sup> Read *śikhārō*.

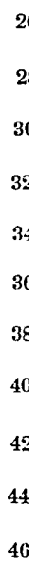


- 3 रोहच्छदच्छचद्रकलोपमा<sup>1</sup> ॥[२॥\*] जीमूतकेतुतनयो नियता<sup>2</sup> दयालुर्जीमूतवाहन  
इति विजगत्प्रसिद्धः ॥(1)
- 4 देहन्निज<sup>3</sup> हणमिवाकलयन्<sup>4</sup>रात्र्यं यो रक्षति स्म गरुडात्खलु सं(शं)खचूडम् ॥[३॥\*]  
तस्यान्वये निखिलभूष-<sup>5</sup>
- 5 तिमौलिभूतरत्नद्युतिच्छुरितनिर्मलपादपीठः । श्रीसाहसांक इव साहसिकः कपर्दी  
सीलारवंस(श)-<sup>6</sup>
- 6 तिलको नृपतिर्व्व(र्व्व)भूष ।[1४॥\*] तस्मादभूच्च तनयः पुलस(श)क्तिनामा सीमा-  
समः सुरगुरुदितराजनीतिः ।
- 7 निज्जित्य<sup>7</sup> संगरमुखेखिलवैखिर्गन्निःकंटक<sup>8</sup> जगति राव्यमकारि येन ॥[५॥\*]  
ततोपि ममभूत्सुतो नृप-<sup>9</sup>
- 8 सि(शि)रोविभूषामणिः ।<sup>10</sup> सितः सृण्णिरिवापरोरिकरिणां कपर्दी लघुः । यदीययस(श)-  
सा जगत्यतिश-
- 9 येन सु(श)क्लोकते न भाति सुरवारणो न च ससी(शशी) न दुग्धाम्बु(म्बु)धिः  
।[1६॥\*] तस्मादप्यभवद्विभूतिपदवीपाट<sup>11</sup> पावत्री<sup>12</sup> ।<sup>5</sup>
- 10 कृताशेषश्चावलयो महीपतिलकः श्रीवपुवन्नः सुतः । संश्रामांगणरंगिणसिलतया  
लून्नैक<sup>11</sup>दन्ता
- 11 हठात्खर्व्वं येन विनायका विरचिता विदेषिणां दन्तिनः ।[1७॥\*] तस्माज्जात-  
स्तानूजो<sup>12</sup> र[ज\*]निकर इवानंदिताशे-
- 12 पल्लोकश्लाघ्यः श्रीहंसराजो दिवसकर इव ध्वस्तनिःसि(शि)षदोषः ॥(1) सं(शं)भोयी  
द्वादसा(शा)पि व्यरच-<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Read *chandra*-.  
<sup>2</sup> Read *niyatam*.  
<sup>3</sup> Read *dēhan=niyam*.  
<sup>4</sup> Read *parā*°.  
<sup>5</sup> Here a stroke has been used to show that the word is continued in the next line.]  
<sup>6</sup> *Danḍa* or *dayḍas* unnecessary.  
<sup>7</sup> Read *nirjitya*.  
<sup>8</sup> Read *nishkaṇṭakam*.  
<sup>9</sup> Read *pātram*.  
<sup>10</sup> Read *pavitrī*°.  
<sup>11</sup> Read *lān-aika*°.  
<sup>12</sup> Read °*tanūjō*.



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- 13 यदचिरात्कीर्त्तनानि स्वनाम्ना सोपानानीव मन्थे प्रणततनुभृतां स्वर्गमार्गोद्यतानां  
(नाम्) ॥८॥<sup>१</sup>] भ्राता तत्र<sup>१</sup> ।<sup>२</sup>
- 14 ततस्ततोन्व(ज्ज्व)लजसौ(यशो)रासिः(शिः) प्रकासौ(शी)कृताग्निपद्मावलयो व(व)ली  
व(व)लवतां श्रीगोगिराजोऽभवत् ।
- 15 चपा<sup>३</sup>कर्षणकर्मणि प्रवणतां यस्मिन्गते भूपतौ भीषद्रोणपृथासुतप्रभृतयश्चित्ते<sup>४</sup> चम-  
त्कारिताः ॥९॥<sup>\*</sup>]
- 16 तस्मादिह्मयकारिहारिचरितपक्षात्कीर्त्तिः सुतः श्रीमान्वज्जडदेवभूपतिरभूद्भूचक्रचूडा-  
मणिः । दी-
- 17 दण्डैकव(व)लेन यस्य सहसा संग्रामरंगांगणे राज्यम्भीः स्वयमेव वक्षसि राति<sup>५</sup>  
चक्रे मुरारिव ॥१०॥<sup>\*</sup>] जय- ।<sup>६</sup>
- 18 त इव वृचारेः पुरारिव<sup>७</sup> षण्मुखः । ततः श्रीमानभुत्पुत्रः सच्चरितोपराजितः  
॥११॥<sup>\*</sup>] कर्णस्थ्याग्नि
- 19 यः साक्षात्सत्येन च युधिष्ठिरः । प्रतापाद्दीप्तिमार्त्तण्डः कालदण्डश्च यो द्विषां(षाम्)  
॥१२॥<sup>\*</sup>] स(श)रणागतसा-
- 20 मता<sup>८</sup>ऽपराऽपि<sup>१०</sup> जगति रक्षिता येन । स जयति यथार्थनामा संरण<sup>११</sup>गतवज्रपंजरो  
देवः ॥१३॥<sup>\*</sup>] ये-
- 21 न स्वागतमागताय विहितं गोम्नाय नानाविधं येनैवैयपदेवनान्नि चलितं राज्यं  
स्थिरं कारितं(तम्) ॥१४॥<sup>\*</sup>] भि-<sup>७</sup>
- 22 क्षमाम्ममणवुवक्षितभृतां दत्तं च येनाभयं तस्य श्रीवि(वि)रुदंकरामनृपतेरन्या(न्यत)  
किमा[व\*]र्ण(ण्यते) ॥१४॥<sup>\*</sup>] श्री-
- 23 मानभूतदनु वज्जडदेवनामा भूपालमस्तकमणिस्तनयो नयन्नः [१\*] अद्यापि यस्य च- ।<sup>७</sup>
- 24 रितानि जनाः समस्ता रोमांचकंचुकिताग्रावला[ः] स्तुवन्ति ॥१५॥<sup>\*</sup>] तद्भाताय  
ततोऽरिकेसरि-

<sup>१</sup> Read *tasya*.<sup>२</sup> *Danda* or *dandas* unnecessary.<sup>३</sup> Read *chāpā*.<sup>४</sup> Some Śilāhāra records have *sarvā tiraskāritāḥ*.<sup>५</sup> Read *prakhyaṭa*.<sup>६</sup> Read *ratim*.<sup>७</sup> Here a stroke has been used to show that the word is continued in the next line.<sup>८</sup> Read *Purārē=iva*.<sup>९</sup> Read *sāmānta*.<sup>१०</sup> Read *aparē api*, the absence of *sandhi* being in favour of the metre.<sup>११</sup> Read *śaraṇā*.

## Second Plate ; First Side.

- 25 नृपो जातः सतां सम्मती दृष्टारातिकुलाचलैकदलने दंभोलिलीलां दधत् । गत्वा  
सैव'एव सै- ।<sup>2</sup>
- 26 न्यसहितो दृष्टा च सोमेस्त्र(श्च)रं तस्याग्रे पितुराज्ञया जगदलं यः कौलायित्वा<sup>3</sup>-  
गतः ॥[१६॥\*] तङ्गादजो
- 27 वज्रडदेवसूनुः श्रीच्छित्तराजो नृपतिर्व(र्व)भूव ॥(1) सीलारवंसः(शः) सिंसु(शिशु)-  
नापि येन नीतः परामुन्नतिमुन्नतेन ॥[१७॥\*] लं-
- 28 वा(वा)लकानि कुचकुंभतटोपकंठप्रभ्रष्टहंरलतिकानि निरंजनानि ॥(1) उत्प्लाततीक्ष्ण-  
कं(क)रवालविदारितस्य
- 29 योऽन्तःपुराणि परिपंथिजनस्य चक्रे ॥[१८॥\*] हृताग्निरीनेत्राभः<sup>4</sup>सैकसम्बर्द्धनादिव ।  
ब्र(ब्र)ह्माण्डमण्डपं य- ।<sup>2</sup>
- 30 स्य कीर्तिवत्य(इय)धिरोहति ॥[१९॥\*] दृष्टारातिषु कोपकालदहनः सीभाग्यनारायणी  
वारसौ(स्त्री)षु ततोनुजः सम-
- 31 भवन्नागार्जुनः क्षापतिः । यस्यामानुषसूजित<sup>5</sup> भुजव(व)लं दूरान्निसत्वा<sup>6</sup> ' द्विषां  
निद्रातौव रणांगणव्यसनि-
- 32 नी दोर्दण्डकटूलता<sup>7</sup> ॥[२०॥\*] यदसमसि(शि)विरान्तर्मत्तगंधेभदानप्रसरदनिलसु(शु)ष्यत्प्रो-  
तसो दिग्गजेन्द्राः ।
- 33 अग्निगर्निदाहोद्दामदिग्ब्यापिधूमप्रसरभयनिमोललोचना नोन्मिषन्ति ॥[२१॥] तदनु  
तदनुजम्भा सू-
- 34 त्तिमान्मोनकेतुः क्षत्रेषु<sup>8</sup>विभवोभून्सुम्मुणिक्षोणिपालः । विवृत<sup>9</sup>धनुषि यस्मिन्वाजिनीरा-  
जनाति व(व)ल-

<sup>1</sup> Read *śaiśava*.<sup>2</sup> Here a stroke has been used to show that the word is continued in the next line.<sup>3</sup> Read *Lilayitv*.<sup>4</sup> The syllable *rī* in *nārī* should ordinarily be short.<sup>5</sup> Read *°m=ūrjjitam*.<sup>6</sup> Read *°n=niśamya*.<sup>7</sup> Read *-kaṇḍūlatā*.<sup>8</sup> Read *-ripu-*.<sup>9</sup> Read *-vīdhrīta-*.

- 35 भिदपि व(व)लौयान्वापिंकां चापसौज्कत् ।[1२२॥\*] अथ स्वकायपुखोपचया <sup>1</sup>समधि-  
गतासे(शे)षपंचमहाशब्द(ब्द)महा- ॥<sup>2</sup>
- 36 सामन्ताधि<sup>3</sup>तगरपुरपरमेस्व(श्व)रश्चासौलाहारनरेन्द्रजीमूतवाहनान्वयप्रसूतसुवर्णगरुडध्वजाभि-  
मान-
- 37 महोदधिन्यागजगज्जम्पक्षपडाचायेस(श)रणागतवज्रप्रंजरप्रभृतिसमस्तुराजावल्लोविराजितम-
- 38 ह्यामण्डलेस्व(श्व)राधिपतित्योमन्मुमुणिराजदेव(वा) निजभुजोपाज्जित(ता)नेकमण्डलसहि-  
तपुरौ- ॥<sup>4</sup>
- 39 प्रमुखचतुर्दस(श)ग्रामस(श)तौषमन्वितकौकणमण्डलयनु<sup>5</sup>शासति । तथैतदोयराज्यचिन्ता-  
भर(भारं) नि-
- 40 — — —<sup>6</sup> महामाल्यश्रोदपैय(य)महासांघिविग्रहिकश्रोविट्टप्रेयेत्यादिश्राकरणे स च  
महा- ।<sup>7</sup>
- 41 मण्डलेस्व(श्व)राधिपतित्योमन्मुमुणिराजदेवः सर्वानेव स्वसस्व(स्व)ध्यमनिकान<sup>8</sup>न्यान-  
पि समागा-
- 42 मिराजपुत्रमंत्रिपुरोहितामाल्यप्रधानाप्रधाना(न)नियोगिकानियोगिकांस्तथा राष्ट्रपतिविष-
- 43 यपतिनगरपतितगरपतींश्च<sup>9</sup> ।<sup>10</sup> तथा हंजमननगरपौरत्रिवर्गप्रभृतींश्च प्रणतिपूजास- ।<sup>7</sup>
- 44 त्कारादेस(श)पूर्वकं संवो(बो)धयत्यस्तु वः ।<sup>10</sup> सन्विदितं यथा ॥ चला विभूतिः  
क्षणभंगि यौवनं क्त- ।<sup>7</sup>
- 45 तान्तदन्तांतरवर्ति जीवितं(तम्) । तयाप्यवन्ना परलोकसाधने नृणामहो विस्मयकारि चे-।<sup>7</sup>
- 46 टितं(तम्) ।[1२३॥\*] तथा चान्तर्ज्ञानिजरा(राक्षसोप्राख्य(व्य)ग्रासं यौवनं ।<sup>10</sup> स्वर्गा-  
वासाद्वरकपातसममिष्टस- ।<sup>7</sup>
- 47 मागमवियोगमवियोगदुःखं ।<sup>10</sup> कदलीकाण्डगर्भवदसारः संसारः ।<sup>10</sup> सहजजरामरण-

<sup>1</sup> Read °yāt=samādhi°.

<sup>2</sup> Here two strokes have been used to show that the word is continued in the next line.

<sup>3</sup> Read °dhipati.

<sup>4</sup> Mark of punctuation unnecessary. There is inscribed a *chha* before this which is redundant.

<sup>5</sup> Read °m=anu°.

<sup>6</sup> These three letters cannot be read definitely.

<sup>7</sup> Here a stroke has been used to show that the word is continued in the next line.

<sup>8</sup> Read °mānakān=.

<sup>9</sup> Read *nagara*- and correct it into *grāma*-.

<sup>10</sup> *Danḍa* unnecessary.

## Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 48 व्याधिसाधारणकं स(श)रीरं<sup>1</sup> । पवनचलितकमलिनीदलगतजललघतरले धनायुषोति-  
(पी इति) मत्वा दृढतरविर-
- 49 त्तिबुध्या(वृद्ध्या) संगृह्यतेच्छदानफलं । कृतचेतादापरसु(षु) तपोन्यर्थं प्रस(श)स्यते ।  
सुनयोऽत्र प्रसं(शं)सन्ति दानमे-<sup>2</sup>
- 50 कं कलौ युगे<sup>3</sup> [॥२४॥\*] न तथा सफला विद्या न तथा सफलं तपः ।  
यथाऽत्र सुनयः प्राहुर्दानमेकं कलौ युगे [॥२५॥\*]
- 51 तथा चीतं भगवता व्यासेन । अग्नेरपत्यं प्रथमं सुवर्णं भूर्वैष्णवी सूर्यसूताश्च  
गावः । लोकाचर्यं तेन भ-
- 52 वेदि दत्तं यः कांचनं गां च महीं च दद्यात् [॥२६॥\*] आसीदयन्ति पितरः  
प्रवृत्तान्ति पितामहाः । भूमिदोष<sup>4</sup>स्मकुले<sup>5</sup>जा-
- 53 तः स नस्तान(नः संता)रयिष्यति [॥२७॥\*] भूमिदानं सुपात्रेषु सुतीर्थेषु सुपर्वसु ।  
अगाधारा<sup>6</sup>पारसंसारसागरोतार-<sup>7</sup>
- 54 णं भवेत् [॥२८॥] धवलान्यातपत्राणि दन्तिनश्च मदीडताः [॥२९॥\*] भूमिदानस्य  
पुषाणि<sup>8</sup> फलं स्वर्गसुरदत्तः<sup>9</sup> [॥३०॥\*] इति
- 55 धर्माधर्मविचारचतुरचिरंतनमुनिवचनान्यवधार्य मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च श्रेयोर्थिना मया  
स(श)कन्त्य-
- 56 कालातीतसम्बत्सरस(श)तेषु नवसु एकसप्तत्यधिकेषु विरोधी(धि)सम्बत्सरा[न्त\*]र्गत-  
भाद्रपदसु(शु)वर्षचदस्यां(श्यां) यत्ना-
- 57 कतोपि सम्बत्<sup>10</sup> ८७१ भाद्रपदसु(शु)व १५. <sup>11</sup>सुक्ते संजान(त)सोमग्रहणपर्वणि  
सुतीर्थे स्नात्वा गगनैक-

<sup>1</sup> *Danda unnecessary.*<sup>2</sup> Here a stroke has been used to show that the word is continued in the next line.<sup>3</sup> The first *pāda* of this *śloka* does not conform to the ordinary rules of *Anuṣṭubh*.<sup>4</sup> This letter is redundant.<sup>5</sup> Read *smat-kulē*.<sup>6</sup> This letter *rā* is redundant.<sup>7</sup> Read *ātāraṇam*.<sup>8</sup> Read *puṣhpānti*.<sup>9</sup> Read *svargāḥ Purandara*.<sup>10</sup> Mark the way of writing *t* in the plate.<sup>11</sup> Read *Śukrē*. [See p. 54 n. 10 above.—Ed.]

- 58 चक्रचूडामणये कमलिनीकामुकाय भगवते भास्कराय न(ना)नाविधरत्नज्ञाध्यमर्ष्य  
दत्वा(च्वा) भगवंतं सु-
- 59 रासुरगुरुं त्रिलीकौपतिमुमापतिमभ्यर्च यजनयाजनादिषट्कर्म्मनिरतिभ्यः क्रतुक्रियाकाण्ड-
- 60 शौण्डेभ्यः महामात्यश्रीदृष्टपैयविरचितव्र(त्र)ह्मपुरीविप्रेभ्यः । यच्चप्रत्येकं नामगोत्रा-  
दीनि ॥
- 61 गौडदेस(श)विनिर्गतसा(शा)ण्डिल्यगोत्रकोयुमसाखा(शाखः) कोकोपण्डितः पितामह-  
पण्डितसुतः मध्यदे-
- 62 सा(शा)न्तप्याति<sup>1</sup>मंजुस्थानविनिर्गतवत्सगोत्रव(व)हृचसाखा(शाखः) देवधरदीक्षित[:] यज्ञ-  
दीक्षितसुतः तथा
- 63 भरद्वाजगोत्रमार्थ्यदिनसाखा(शाखः) दामोदर[:\*] केशैयादीक्षितसुतः तथा भार्गवगोत्र-  
व(व)हृचसा-
- 64 खा(शाखः) सूदवैय सोमेश्व(श्व)रेंयोपाध्यायसुतः लाटदेसान्तप्याति<sup>1</sup>भृगुकच्छविनिर्गतउप-  
मन्युगो-
- 65 त्रव(व)हृचसाखा(शाखः) दामोदर[:\*] सूदनदीक्षितसुतः तथा आत्रेयगोत्राणायनीसा-  
खा(शाखः) नारायणोपासनी दा-
- 66 सोदरीपाध्यायसुतः तथा कुसि(शि)कगोत्रव(व)हृचसाखा(शाखः) श्रीपति[:\*] अग्निहोत्री  
केश(श)वीपाध्यायसुतः त-
- 67 था आत्रेयगोत्रव(व)हृचसाखा(शाखः) श्रीपतिभट्ट[:\*] दुर्गैयाउपासनीसुतः तथा य(ज)-  
मदग्निगोत्रव(व)हृचसाखा-
- 68 (शाखः) कनकेश्व(श्व)र[:\*] वेलादित्योपाध्यायसुतः तथा आत्रेयगोत्रव(व)हृचसाखा-  
(शाखः) वेलैयाउपासनी दी-
- 69 ग्वैयाअग्निहोत्रीसुतः तथा लोकाक्षगोत्रयज्ञसाखा(शाखः) सर्वदेवैय ईस(खा)रोपाध्याय-  
सुतः तथा
- 70 आत्रेयगोत्रव(व)हृचसाखा(शाखः) विद्वपैयोपाध्याय[:\*] सोदलैयापाध्यायसुतः एवमा-
- 71 दिभ्यः यजनयाजनादिषट्कर्म्मकरणाय व(व)लिचरुकअ(का)ग्निहोत्रक्रतुक्रियाद्युप-

<sup>1</sup> Read °ntahpāti. [What has been read as sh may be the upadhmanīya sign.—Ed.]



## Third Plate.

- 72 समर्पणाय<sup>1</sup> च मंदरजविषयां [तःपाति कि] इच्छिताग्रामः समस्तपत्निकामहितः आराम-  
 73 कप्तगीसणिका<sup>2</sup> समन्वितश्च [।\*] यस्य चाघाटनानि ॥ पूर्वतः श्रौणनर<sup>3</sup> पर्वतीय-  
 पाणीवाडसीमा ॥  
 74 उत्तरतो नौस्वाग्रामसीमा ॥ पश्चिमतो सातरग्रामसीमा ॥ दक्षिणतः मास्विनन-<sup>4</sup> ॥  
 75 दी सीमा । एवं चतुराघाटनोपलक्षितः खसीमापर्यन्तः सवृणकाष्ठोदकोपेतः पूर्व-  
 दत्तदेवदायत्र(त्र)ह्लादा-  
 76 यवर्जः अनादेस्यः (श्र्यः) अनासेध्यः समु[त्पद्य]मानद्रुमपंचदशस(श)तश्रा(ता)यस्थान[।\*]  
 यत्तांकोतो- ॥<sup>5</sup>  
 77 पि द्रुमाः १५०० पर्वतक्षितिसमकालीनं आचंद्रार्कं यावदुदकातिसर्गेण परमया  
 भक्त्या  
 78 सा(शा)सर्न[न] प्रतिपादितः । तदयं(दिषां) भुंजतां भोजयतां कृपतां कर्षयताम्वा  
 न केनापि परिपंथना करणी-  
 79 या । यदुक्तं पुरातनमहामुनिभिः । व(व)हुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः ।  
 यस्य यस्य यदा भूमि- ।<sup>6</sup>  
 80 स्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) । [।३०\*] सद्यो दानं निरायासं सायस<sup>7</sup> दीर्घपाल-  
 नं(नम्) । अत एव मुनयः प्रहु<sup>8</sup> र्दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपा-  
 81 लनं(नम्) । [।३१\*] दत्त्वा(त्त्वा) भूमिं भाविनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान्भूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः ।  
 सामान्योयं धर्मसेतुर्नराणां का-  
 82 ले क(का)ले माननीयो भव[ज्ञिः] । [।३२\*] यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रेर्दानानि  
 धर्मयै<sup>9</sup> यस(श)स्कराणि । निर्मात्यवान्तप्र-

<sup>1</sup> Read 'dy-ut sarppanāya.<sup>2</sup> Reading is doubtful. [Reading appears to be *ārāmala-pūgi-khaṇi(ni)lā*.—Ed.]<sup>3</sup> [Reading seems to be *śrī-Nēra*.—Ed.]<sup>4</sup> Here two strokes have been used to show that the word is continued in the next line.<sup>5</sup> Here a stroke has been used to show that the word is continued in the next line.<sup>6</sup> Read *s-āyāsam*.<sup>7</sup> Read *ata'ēva=rahayaḥ* or *ēvaṁ tu munayaḥ prāhur=* as in other inscriptions.<sup>8</sup> Read *dharm-ārtha*.

- 83 तिमरिनि तानि को नाम साधुः पुनराददौत ॥[३३]\*] इत्यवधार्य समागामिभिर्नृ-  
पतिरन्यैर्वा धर्मपालनफललो-
- 84 भ एव करणीयः । न पुनस्तस्मिन्पनापकलंकाशेसरिण केनापि भवितव्यं ॥ एवम-  
भ(भ्य)र्थितोपि लोभादज्ञान-
- 85 तिमिरपटलावृ(वृ)तमतिराच्छिन्नादाच्छिद्यमानादनुमोदयति<sup>१</sup> । स्वयं च महापातकैरुप-  
पातकैर्वा लिप्यते ।
- 86 रौरवमहारौरवाधतमिसादिनरकांश्चिरमनुभविष्यति । उक्तं च भगवता व्यासेन ॥  
स्वदत्तां परदत्ताम्वा यो
- 87 हरद्व(हरित व)सुंधरा । स विष्टायां कृमिर्भूत्वा कृमिभिः सह पच्यते ॥[३४]\*]  
विन्ध्याटवीष्वतोयासु सु(शु)ष्ककोटरवासिनः ।
- 88 [म]हाहयो हि जायन्ते भूमिदायं हरन्ति ये ॥[३५]\*] गामिकां स्वर्णमेकं  
वा भूमेरप्येकमंगुलं हरन्नरकमा-॥<sup>२</sup>
- 89 प्रोति यावदाहृतसंज्ञवं(वम) ॥[३६]\*] आरामाणां सहस्रेण तडागानां स(श)तेन  
च [१]\* गवां कोटिप्रदानेन भूमि-<sup>३</sup>
- 90 हर्ता न सु(शु)ध्यति ॥[३७]\*] षष्ठिर्वर्षसहस्राणि<sup>४</sup> स्वर्गे तिष्ठति मानवः ।  
आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके ।<sup>५</sup>
- 91 विशेत् [३८] — — — — —<sup>६</sup> ॥ मर्दस(श)जाः पर\*]महीपतिवंस(श)-  
जा वा पापादपेतमनसो भुवि भाविभूपाः ।
- 92 ये पालयन्ति मम धर्ममिम(मं) समस्तं तेषां मया निरती<sup>७</sup>जलिरेष सूध्ना ॥[३९]\*<sup>८</sup>  
यथाचैतदेवं दाप-<sup>९</sup>
- 93 को लेखकहस्तेन स्वकीयमतमारोपयति । सतं मम महामण्डलेख(श्व)राधि-  
[पति\*]श्रीमन्मुमुषिरा-<sup>४</sup>
- 94 जदेवस्य महामण्डलेख(श्व)राधिपतिश्रीमद्वज्रदेवसूतोः । लिखितं चैतन्नागलैर्येनेति ॥ छ ॥

<sup>१</sup> Read *nripatibhir=anyair=vā*.

<sup>२</sup> Read *°mānam=anu°*.

<sup>३</sup> Here two strokes have been used to show that the word is continued in the next line.

<sup>४</sup> Here a stroke has been used to show that the word is continued in the next line.

<sup>५</sup> Read *shashṭīṁ varsha-*.

<sup>६</sup> *Danda unnecessary*.

<sup>७</sup> About seven letters are indistinct here.

<sup>८</sup> Read *virachitū=mijalir=*.

## No. 11.—TIRUPPUVANAM PLATES OF JATAVARMAN KULASEKHARA I.

By K. V. SUBRAHMANYA AIYER, B.A., COIMBATORE.

**Tiruppūvaṇam**, a village in the Śivaganga Zamindari of the Rāmnād District and a station on the Madura-Rāmnād section of the South-Indian Railway, is situated on the south bank of the river Vaigai, called Vēgavatī in Sanskrit. It is 12 miles south-east of Madura and 16 miles west of Śivaganga.<sup>1</sup> The Pushpavanēśvara temple of the village is an ancient one : it is celebrated in the hymns of the three Tamil Śaiva saints Tirujñānasambandha, Appar and Sundaramūrti-Nāyaṇār.<sup>2</sup> Invited by Kulachchirai-Nāyaṇār, the Pāṇḍya minister, and Maṅgaiyarkkaśi, a Chōla princess and queen of the Pāṇḍya king known in Tamil literature as Nelvēli-pōrveṇṇa-ṇiṇṇāśir-Neḍumāraṇ, saint Tirujñānasambandha is said to have gone to Madura, and to have overcome the Jainas under whose influence the king had become a staunch supporter of their cause. He brought the king back to the Śaiva faith, and on this occasion, after accomplishing the mission for which he was sent, the saint, accompanied by Neḍumāraṇ, his queen and minister, visited thirteen other places in the Pāṇḍya country which were held sacred by the Śaivas and sang hymns on them.<sup>3</sup> From the hymns on Tiruppūvaṇam, it is gathered that it was, in those days, a flourishing city with palatial buildings, fine gardens and broad streets and contained residences of wealthy families of weavers.<sup>4</sup> The Śiva temple of the place is stated in the hymns to have been worshipped by 'the three kings of the South', i.e., the Chēra, Chōla and Pāṇḍya.<sup>5</sup> Sundaramūrti-Nāyaṇār is also stated to have visited the place in company with the three contemporary sovereigns of the same three families.<sup>6</sup> The Pāṇḍya king of his time, we are told, was a son-in-law of the Chōla. It was at a spot near the city of Tiruppūvaṇam that the Jainas had been impaled in the days of Māravarman, the victor of the Nelvēli.<sup>7</sup>

The Tiruppūvaṇam temple is in possession of **twelve copper-plate**<sup>8</sup> leaves. Having learnt through the kind offices of the Brahmin lady trustee of the Tiruppūvaṇam temple residing in Madura, that the plates in question are safely preserved in the *karivēlam* of the temple, I went to the place and made a fruitless attempt to get the plates for comparing the published text and correcting it *in situ*. Frustrated in my endeavour I wrote to the Government Epigraphist for India to obtain the plates on loan and take their impressions and supply me with one set of them for editing the inscription in the *Epigraphia Indica*. He took prompt action on my

<sup>1</sup> Sewell's *List of Antiquities*, Vol. I, p. 298.

<sup>2</sup> Tirujñānasambandha has contributed 'Aṇaiyār puṇalū' 11 verses and 'Mādamar mēṇṇaiyāṇāgi' 11 verses, while Appar has sung 'Vaḍivēru tiriśūlam' 11 verses. Of Sundaramūrti's decade of verses, two are lost; the first verse of his *paḍiḡam* commences with 'Tiruvuḍaiyār'.

<sup>3</sup> These fourteen places are Tiruvālavāy, Tirupparaṅkunṇam, Tiru-Āppaṇūr, Tiruvēḍagam, Tirupputtūr, Tirukkoḍuṅkunṇam, Tirukkāpappēr, Tiruppūvaṇam, Tiruchchuliyal, Tirukkuṟālam, Tiru-Nelvēli, Tiruvirā-mēśvaram, Tiruvāḍānai and Tiruppuṇavāśal.

<sup>4</sup> 'Tērār vidī māda-niḍu teṇ-Ṭiruppūvaṇamē'.

<sup>5</sup> 'Muraiyāṇ muḍi-tēr Teṇṇar Śērar Śōlarga-ḍām vaṇaṇṇum tiraiyār-oli-śēr śemmaiy-ōṅgu teṇ-Ṭiruppūva-ṇam'; 'Mārv-aṇbir-Ṭeṇṇar Śērar Śōlargaḷ pōṟriśaippa'.

<sup>6</sup> P. 1123 of *Periappurānam*, 1934 edition.

<sup>7</sup> 'Būsurargaḷ paṇind-ēltum Pūvaṇa-naṇṇagar-maruṅgir-kāśiṇimēl viḷaṅgiyadu kaḷuvar-paḍaividēṇavē'. (*Tiruvālavāyūḍaiyār-Tiruvilaiyāḍarpurānam*, 38, v. 50).

<sup>8</sup> About them Sewell wrote as follows in his *List of Antiquities*, Vol. I, p. 298 :—

"A copper-plate grant of ten leaves belonging to the temple has been published by Bishop Caldwell in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VI, p. 142, together with a supplementary plate of two leaves."

The writer must have meant 'sides' by 'leaves', for Burgess and Natesa Sastri correctly note "Five plates only of the *kāśanam* are there (i.e., in the *Indian Antiquary*) given in *fac-simile* from Sir Walter Elliot's impressions. The whole is here given translated from new impressions obtained with considerable difficulty owing to the ignorant stupidity of the Temple guardians" (*A.S.I.*, Vol. IV, p. 21).

suggestion and on 31st January 1939 placed at my disposal two excellent sets of impressions from which I now edit the plates. Dr. Chakravarti took the measurements of the plates and found that what was given in the *Archæological Survey of South India*, Vol. IV, was incorrect. His note is given below :—

“ Of the first set, the first ten plates measure approximately 16½” in length (the plates are not of exactly equal size) while their breadth is roughly 5½” except of the 4th and 10th which are 6” and 6½” respectively. The eleventh plate is 17½” long and 6½” broad. The plate of Kōnēriṇ-maikōṇḍāṇ (supplementary plate) is 17½” long and 6 ” broad.”

All the plates bear writing on both sides and the lines run from edge to edge in some of them without leaving any vacant margin.<sup>1</sup> There are 15 lines on each of the plates I, II, III, IVa, VIb, VIIb, VIIIb, and Xb; 16 lines on IVb, V, VIa, VIIa, VIIIa, IXa, Xa, and XIa; and 17 lines on IXb and XIb. On the whole there are 343 lines of writing in the first set of eleven plates. A ring-hole is bored in the centre of the left side about an inch and a half from the left edge. Though the plates have not got raised rims to protect the writing, the inscription is fairly well preserved excepting some portions of the last four lines of the first face of the sixth plate. A few letters on Va, IVa and b and Xa are also damaged. The existence of the hole is an indication that the plates must have been strung on a ring bearing perhaps a seal also, though there is none at present. In all probability it must have been lost years ago.

The text and translation given in volume IV of the *Archæological Survey of South India* require revision. There are serious misreadings especially in proper names. To point only a few, the volume gives *punarātō* for °s=tata imē (l. 3), *grāmasy=āvadhik-āptim* for *grāmasy=āghāṭa-kṣiptim* (l. 4), *Kakaṇēri* for *Nakkaṇēri* (l. 33), *pāśakappaḍi* for *pāḍagappaḍi* (l. 38), *janamikaḷ* (*jananikaḷ* ?) for *jaṇmigaḷ* (l. 44), *Kakekuḍi* for *Kaḍukkuḍi* (l. 47), *Sembāṇēri* for *Seṭṭāḷēri* (l. 48), *Tiruppu* for *tiṛappu* (l. 49), *ivūr-pārttanṇaṇ* for *ivūrpār-Chundaṇ* (l. 60), *Narimaṇṇamānum-Kaṇḍanallūrum* for *Narimaṇṇam-āṇa Varagaṇḍa-Nallūrum* (ll. 60f.), *ivūr Maḍār-Silaiyaṇ* for *ivūrrppār-Chilaiyaṇ* (l. 61), *paśalaiyūr* for *Pālaiyūr* (l. 90), *tōḷarum* for *dēvarum* (ll. 91f.), *Mahā-vidhinallūr* for *Kāvidinallūr* (l. 112), *Puliśāni* for *Pullāṇi* (ll. 119f.), *Kēśavaṇum* for *Kōvaṇum* (l. 128), *Kēśavaṇ* for *Āḍuvāṇ* (ll. 130f.), *Sidayil-araya-Baṭṭaṇ* for *Śi-Kayilāya-Baṭṭaṇ* (l. 135), *Valliyaṇ piḍittalai* for *Villiy-āṇa Muḍittalai* (l. 137), *maruvāy-ikkarrūḍē* for *maruvāy-iḍukkār-ūḍē* (l. 191), *vaḍakku varayum* for *vaḍavāyum* (ll. 195f.), *Paḷaṇḍiyai* for *paḷaṇ-ḷōyilaḍiyai* (ll. 197f.), *i-n* for *te* (l. 200), *maralāra* for *Mālār* (l. 219), *Seyyai* for *śevvai* (l. 235), *kkāra* for *kār* (l. 242), and *kavāyil* for *agavāyil* (l. 243).

As only the first five plates are numbered, it is not possible to say definitely whether the numbering was done when the plates were engraved or at a subsequent date. The caligraphy of the numerals seems to indicate that the numbers must have been incised at a somewhat later date. It behoves us therefore to see if the rest of the plates are in order and whether the set is complete.<sup>2</sup> On examination, we find that the face commencing with the line *nōkki* of the seventh plate is the second, for it reads well with the syllables at the end of the other face *karaiyē-te* which must therefore be the first face of that plate. And the first line of the first face has the syllables *l-karaiyē* which reads in continuation of the last syllables of the sixth plate, viz., *ikkālīṇ-mē*. In volume IV of the *Archæological Survey of South India*, by reading the second face of the seventh

<sup>1</sup> [Like Leiden Plates the writing on these plates also seems to have been done by the process known as *à cire perdue*. (See above, Vol. XXII, p. 213).—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> This is easily done by reading through the first and last lines of each face of the plates and marking out the second face by the fact of the first line reading in continuation of the syllables at the end of the other face. This done, we know the first face of each plate. Then we have only to see where the syllables at the end of the second face of one plate run on with the first syllable of the first face of another.

plate after the end of the sixth plate and then reading the first face after the second, a mistake has been committed.<sup>1</sup> The order of the rest of the plates as given there is correct and none of the plates is missing. Another defect in the published text is that it has omitted to give one full line found on the second side of the ninth plate. This mistake has occurred as two consecutive lines (ll. 272-3) commence with the same syllables *ku nōkki=chchenru Mīlaganū-ku*. There are many instances where final consonants have been treated as the first combined consonant and *vice versa*. These defects and the summary treatment of the contents in the *Archæological Survey of South India*, Vol. IV, make the re-publication of the inscription a great desideratum.

Excepting the first five lines of the first plate, first side, which are in **Sanskrit** verse written in **Grantha** characters, the rest of the inscription is in **Tamiḻ** language and alphabet. Though the orthographical peculiarities found in the record are common to the epigraphs of this period, a few of them deserve to be noted here. There are numerous instances where the *sandhi* rules are not observed. In the Tamiḻ portion Grantha letters are used in many places where Sanskrit words occur. For instances see *Vēda*, *Sāstra* (l. 16) and *brahmādēya* (l. 19). The superscript *r* is marked by a short slanting stroke engraved on the top of the letter, e.g., *rū* (l. 2), *m̐ma* (l. 13). Punctuation is denoted by what is called single or double *pillaiyār-śūli* and *visarga*-like mark; see, for example, lines 3 and 5. Medial long *ī* is well distinguished from the short by being given a closed loop on the right of the concave curve on the top of the letters (ll. 5, 6, 9, 12, 39, 40, 42). *Ṛk* and *ṛ* are often used for *rkk* and *rtt*: see, for example, *Mīlaganūrku* (ll. 272-3), *Māraṅkīrti* (l. 270) and *Karpakīrti* (l. 269). The words *mūlaiyīr-tiru* (l. 288), *ellaīyīr-tiru* (l. 284) and *ēmbarten* (l. 309) ought to be *mūlaiyīr-riru*, *ellaīyīr-riru* and *ēmbar=ṛṇ*. There are instances of doubling of consonants where unnecessary and of omission to double them when necessary; e.g., *chenru-kKaṭṭi*<sup>2</sup> (l. 281). Another noteworthy feature is the use of the accusative for the locative in words like *vāykkālaiy-īrandu* and *kālaiy-īraṅgi*. In these cases, Tamiḻ would require *°kālil*. Influence of Sanskrit has perhaps to account for the departure in these cases.

The inscription is in **two parts** of which the **first**, which is very brief, is in Sanskrit and covers only five lines. It gives the mythical genealogy of the Pāṇdyas traced from Hari (Vishṇu) through Atri, Moon, Budha and Purūravas, and states that Rājagambhīradēva, in the **25th year of his reign**, on the day of Svāti, corresponding to a Sunday and the eleventh *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the month in which the Sun was in Dhanush, ordered the determination of the boundaries of the village which was called after his name, by circumambulating it with a female elephant. It is to be noted that not even the king's immediate ancestors are mentioned in the record. The king is said to have been apprised of the formation of the new village by Sundarēsa. Who this person is it is not possible to say definitely, as the corresponding Tamiḻ portion omits this fact altogether. Since the formation of the kind is generally conveyed to kings by officials such as Secretaries and Ministers and sometimes even by princes who were in attendance on them, we may not be wrong in thinking that Sundarēsa was one such person of distinction. We know from a record of Jaṭūvarman Kulasekhara I (with *Pūvīṅkilatti* introduction) found at Chaturvēdimāṅalam<sup>2</sup> that the king had a brother-in-law by name Aḷagapperumāl, and our plates also enable us to gather that Pīḷaiyār Aḷagapperumāl held a high position, for a person under him bearing the official designation *adigāram* acted as *kaṇkāṇi* in the settlement of boundaries

<sup>1</sup> This defect was noticed by me when I arranged the plates in order and got them strung on a wire. It was independently noticed by Dr. Chakravarti also when he had the impressions taken of the inscription on the plates.

<sup>2</sup> No. 298 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1927-28.

of the new village. It is not unlikely that *nachchunāṇār* Aḷagapperumāḷ and *Piḷḷaiyār* Aḷagapperumāḷ indicate two different persons. Sundarēśa being a good Sanskrit rendering of the name Aḷagapperumāḷ, there is a possibility of one of the two persons of that name being referred to. But of this we cannot be certain. If a prince is meant, can it refer to Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I who, at the time of the record, might be supposed to have been serving the king? The **second part** which is in Tamil, opens with the usual eulogy of king Jaṭavarman Kulaśekhara commencing with the words *Pūvinḱilatti* and runs to the end of the eleventh plate. It consists of two principal sentences, the first beginning from the end of line 5 (plate Ia) and ending with the beginning of line 139 (plate Vb) with *śavadu*, and the second commencing with the words *paḍiṇ-mūṇṇ-āvaḍiṇ-edir* in line 139 (plate Vb) and ending with the word *niṇṇadu* in line 338 (plate XIb). These two sentences are followed by the names of the writer of the document and the signatories who attested it and these cover up lines 338 to 343 in the last plate. The composing of this Tamil part of the inscription consisting of 338 lines of writing and covering nearly all the 22 sides of the plates, obscures the clear understanding of the various transactions involved and detailed in it. The main sentence, which gives the principal and **immediate object** of the inscription is *Kulaśēkaraḍēvaṛḱku yāṇḍu 13-vadu nāl nāl-āyirattu muṇṇūṇṇu arupa-dipāl* (ll. 14f.) *piḍi-naḍanda ellaikkur* or *°paḍiḱku arav-ōlai seydu kuḍutta paṇiśāvadu* (l. 73 and l. 138) meaning "this is the deed drawn up and given in the thirteenth year and four thousand and three-hundred and sixtieth day of the reign of Kulaśēkaraḍēva (*embodying*) the boundaries as circumambulated by the female elephant". The noting down of the boundaries of the entire village from point to point is thus the main object of this set of eleven copper-plates; and it may be said that it is the last of a series of actions involved in the constitution and grant of the new village of Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimaṅgalam as *brahmadēya*. The document was drawn up by the persons authorised in the royal order issued on the day specified in the Sanskrit portion as *nijē vatsarē pañcha-vimśē Chaṇḍāṁśāv-ātta-chāpē Kanakapati-tithau kṛṣṇa-pakṣh-Ārkivāra-Svāti-yōgē* and repeated in the Tamil portion in the words *paḍiṇ-mūṇṇ-āvaḍiṇ-edir paṇṇiraṇḍām-āṇḍu Dhaṇu-nāyāṇṇu nālān-tiyadiyum apara-pakṣhattu ēkādaśiyum Śaṇi-kkiḷamaiyum peṇṇa Sōdināl* (ll. 139ff.). This earlier date had been calculated by the late Professor Kielhorn and found to agree with **Saturday, 29th November A. D. 1214**. As such, the 13th year and 4360th day of the king's reign (=the 26th year, or more correctly 25 years and 40 days) which relates to the drawing up of the boundary deed, must be later than A. D. 1214, November 29, by such number of unexpired months and days as remained in the 25th year (i.e., 12th current year after the 13th) of the king's reign *plus* 40 days of the 26th year (i.e., 13th year opposite the 13th). The formation of the *brahmadēya* and the grant of it had already been effected when the order for the *kariṇi-bhramaya* was given on the 29th November A.D. 1214. This is plain by the statement *nikki uḷḷa nilam muṇṇuḍaiyārum paḷam pērum vellāṇ-vagaiyum mudalun-taviṇṇu oru-nāḍum or-ūrum oru puravum āḱḱi Rājagambhīra-vaḷanāṭṭu Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimaṅgalam=ēppun=tirunāmatṭāl brahmadēyañ=cheydaruḷi* (ll. 70-72) meaning 'the remaining lands had been constituted as the *brahmadēya* village of Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimaṅgalam so called after the sacred name (*of the king*) and included in Rājagambhīra-vaḷanāḍu: the previous owners, old names, the classification as *vellāṇ-vagai*, cultivating ryots and *mudal* of the lands removed and classed under one *nāḍu*, one *puravu* and one village'. We shall refer to the significance of this in the sequel. With regard to the royal order issued on the 29th November A.D. 1214, it must be said that while the Sanskrit portion stops with mentioning the immediate circumambulation of the village which was called after the king's name (*sv-ābhidānasya grāmasy=āghāta-kṛiptim=prati sapadi karēṇum gamayitum=avadat Rājagambhīraḍēvaḱ*), the Tamil portion is more explicit and states what ought to be done further. It tells us that the circumambulation of the four boundaries of the said village must be effected in the presence of the superintendents (appointed for the purpose), and,

for the boundaries thus gone round, a deed also must be drawn up and given. This is clear from the passage *ivvūr nāṅg-ellaiyūṇ=kaṇkāṇigalōḍuṇ=kūḍa=ppiḍi-sūḷṇdu piḍi naḍanda ellaikkū aṟav-ōlai śeydu kuḍukkav-eṟru tiruvāy-moḷindaruḷiṇamaiyil* (ll. 72-74).

We have referred above to three dates that occur in the inscription and have shown that two of them are identical and relate to the day on which the boundaries of the new village were ordered to be determined by the king and that the third, which is expressed in years and days, and which is later than the other two was the day on which the document was drawn up. The identical nature of two of the dates being assured by the details, the mention of the year in two ways, viz., *pañcha-vinśe* (the 25th) and *paḍiṇ-mūṇṇāṇḍu-ēdir paṇṇiraṇḍu* (the 12th year opposite the 13th) shows that the number of years given after the word *ēdir* must be added to the number expressed before it. Two other dates occur in the inscription, viz., *paḍiṇ-mūṇṇāṇḍu-ēdir paṭṭām-āṇḍu-varai* (up to the 10th year opposite the 13th) and *paḍiṇ-mūṇṇāṇḍu-ēdir paḍiṇ-on-ṇām-āṇḍu-mudal* (from the 11th year opposite the 13th), in connection with the clubbing together of the villages and lands in the new village and the grant of it as a *brahmadēya*. The first refers to the state of the items of lands as they stood up to the 23rd year and the second refers to the fact that the *brahmadēya* had to take effect from the next year, i.e., the 24th year. Evidently the omission to recognise this particular fact, viz., that the 25th year of the king's reign is expressed by *paḍiṇ-mūṇṇāṇḍu-ēdir paṇṇiraṇḍu*, though recognising the identical nature of the astronomical details given both in the Sanskrit and Tamil portions, has led the late Pandit Natesa Sastri, who seems to have taken all the years to be one and the same, to postulate the following theory:—

“Nothing definite can be made out of this phrase (*paḍiṇ-mūṇṇāṇḍu-ēdir paḍiṇ-on-ṇām-āṇḍu*) for the present. Some are of opinion that one of them refers to the age of the king and the other to the number of years he had reigned, but this *Śāsanam* contradicts that theory; for in IIa, l. 10, we have the 10th year opposite the 13th year, and in Vb, l. 2, the 12th year opposite the 13th year. The following theory may be suggested:—The description of the day of letting loose of the elephant in Ia and of the day in Va (correctly Vb) exactly coincides; and fortunately in Va (Vb) instead of merely stating in the 13th year, it is said in the 12th year opposite the 13th year; from these and bearing in mind that at the commencement of the *Śāsanam* it is stated “in the 13th year, 4364th day”, and that according to the rough Hindu calculation of 360 days for every year, 4364 days come to  $\frac{4364}{360} = 12$  years and 44 days, I think that “in the 12th year opposite the 13th year”, may mean, after the completion of the 12th year in the 13th year of the reign. Similarly “11th year opposite the 13th year” may mean after the completion of the 11th year, i.e., in the 12th year of the reign. Similarly 10th, in each case the present year of the reign is also added”.<sup>1</sup>

Against this, Burgess noted: “This theory of the Pandit's is ingenuous, but will not do: the 13th year *cannot* coincide with parts of three years. Can it be 1310, 1311, and 1312 Śaka that is meant by the dates? If so, the number of *days* may refer to the reign”.<sup>2</sup>

Except in showing the difficulties felt in explaining the double dates, these theories have no value whatsoever to us now, and we pass on with the remark that the singling out of a particular year—in this case the 13th year—still remains to be definitely and satisfactorily made out.

That the determination of the boundaries commenced on the very day the order was given might be inferred from line 140. I would consider that there is an omission of the words-‘*piḍi naḍappittu*’ after ‘*sūḷṇdu*’ in the extract given above for the reason that the document, while repeating the same in another place, has the phrase ‘*piḍi naḍatta=ppiḍi naḍandaṇḍaḍikkū*’ (l. 138). There are still other defects in this part of the document. It omits to state to whom the order

<sup>1</sup> A. S. S. I., Vol. IV, p. 30, n. 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

was issued and what formalities were observed by the recipients. Judging from other copper-plates it may be said that the order must have been addressed to the assembly of the district of Rājagambhīra-vaṇaṇḍu. It could not have been issued to the assembly of any of the sub-divisions in it, for the villages and lands that had been clubbed to form the new village of Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, belonged to more than one sub-division. Then again, the inscription does not state to whom this document of boundaries was ordered to be given or was granted. The verb *kuḍukka* (shall be given) in the passage extracted above, has no object. But it may be reasonably presumed that it should have been directed to be given to the donees and must have been left in the possession of the *sabhā* of Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimaṅgalam representing the vast number of one thousand and eighty donees. If this was the case, there arise the questions as to how the Tiruppūvanam temple has come to be in possession of it, whether it is the original document that was granted, or only a copy, and if a copy, whether such a copy could not be found elsewhere. The answer to these questions is given below in the introduction to the article on the supplementary plate.

The inscription tells us that eleven persons were appointed to superintend the settlement of boundaries. Their names (ll. 74-93) are given in Appendix A, I. Of these eleven persons, one (No. 4) was the agent of the *Tiruvāyakkēlvi* officer Poṇṇaṇ Sūriyadēvaṇ *alias* Jayadhara-Pallavaraiyaṇ, another (No. 5) was the *kaṅkāṇi* of Poyyāmolidēvar, a third (No. 6) was the *kaṅkāṇi* of Śrīrāmaṇ Tiruvuḍaiyaṇ *alias* Pottappichchōlar, the fourth (No. 7) was the *kaṅkāṇi* of the *māligaittaṇam* officer Śivalavaṇ Aḷagiyaṇaṇavālaṇ *alias* Kāliṅgarāyaṇ, the fifth (No. 8) was the *kaṅkāṇi* of Maḷavarāyaṇ, the sixth (No. 9) was the *adiḡaram* of Pīḷaiyār Aḷagapperumāl and the seventh (No. 11) was one of the *aṇukkar* of Aḷagiyaṇāṇḍiyanār, who was scrutinising the affairs of the District of Śōlapāṇḍiya-vaṇaṇḍu. Along with the 11 *kaṅkāṇis*, 65 others representing the villages adjacent to Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, most of them being connected with the formation of the new village, went with the elephant and fixed the boundaries. Their names and their native villages and *nāḍu* (Appendix A, II to XVI) are given in plates IVa (l. 93) to Vb (l. 138). The details of the boundaries from point to point commencing with a spot on the north-eastern corner and ending with the same spot are set forth in plates Vb (l. 140) to XIb (l. 338). This document mentioning the details of boundary of the village, *i.e.*, this inscription, was drawn up by one of the officials (No. 1 of App. A, I) and was attested by three others (Nos. 2 to 4 of the same Appendix) (ll. 338-343).

The duty of the eleven superintendents, who were mostly officials drawn from various parts of the country and were unconnected with the villages that were combined together to form the *brahmadēya*, must have been to see that the procedure was correctly observed. The actual work was left to be done by the local people. Of the sixty-five others, seven including one who was a resident of Tiruppūvanam, led the elephant, while the others showed the boundaries of their respective villages. The ceremony of circumambulation with seventy-six responsible persons going with an elephant and covering a large area, must have been an imposing one : and by the very nature of the troubles involved in the execution of the task, it must have been done in several stages and taken a long time to finish. The wide extent which was covered by the newly constituted village may, to some measure, be conceived by the fact that it included in it as many as one hundred and forty old villages and lands which lay not in one sub-division but in five separate divisions, *viz.*, Kiraṇūr-nāḍu, Panaṅgalūr-nāḍu, Tiyaṇḍaikkuḍi-nāḍu, Mērkkuḍi-nāḍu and Puṇḍarālai-nāḍu (Appendix B). The party for the settlement of boundaries had to pass through a number of roads, rivers, and canals on their way. From Śey-yakulattūr there passed three roads, one to Vēmbaṅguḍi (ll. 333f.), another to Kaḍambaṅguḍi



(l. 142), and the third to Mūvaraiyarkōṭṭai (l. 145). From Mānavīramadurai there were roads running to Vēmbaṅguḍi (ll. 143f.), Mūvaraiyarkōṭṭai (l. 147), Neṭṭūr (l. 154), and Piḍāvūr (ll. 149f.). Between Kaṇṇaṇūr and Dēḍa(va)koṭṭai (l. 225), there was another road. From the village of Miḷaganūr there were roads leading to Iruñchirai (l. 258) and Koṭṭakīrti in Kāñai-Irukkai (ll. 244f.). Two other roads connected Vēlāṇēri and Aravaṅkuḍi (ll. 205f.), and Iḍaikkāṭṭūr and Vēmbaṅguḍi (ll. 319 & 330).

The inscription may be said to express in action the abstract laws laid down by the ancient law-givers in the determination of boundaries of villages and lands. The number of villages that were directly concerned in this matter were as many as sixteen.<sup>1</sup> As I have already discussed the laws to be observed in such cases it is needless to reiterate them here.<sup>2</sup>

The early part of this inscription, which forms as it were the preamble of this document of boundaries, informs us how the new village of Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimaṅgalam came to be formed and what old villages and lands were taken up to constitute it. On a date, which is not specified, while the king was sitting on the seat called Maḷavarājaṇ in the hall of the bed-chamber of his palace at Madurai, situated in the sub-division of Māḍakkulam, he ordered that a village called Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimaṅgalam after his name, should be formed consisting of one thousand and two hundred shares and be given as a *brahmaḍēya*, with effect from the eleventh year opposite the thirteenth of his reign, to one thousand and eighty Brāhmaṇas, who were versed in the *Vēdas* and *Sāstras* and were capable of expounding them, each being given one share, and the remaining one hundred and twenty shares being set apart for the temple and for those that had to do service. The date that is not specified here may be taken to be the tenth year opposite to the thirteenth of the king's reign, since it is stated that the grant had to take effect from the eleventh year opposite the thirteenth. The names of the lands and villages that had been taken up and included in Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimaṅgalam as given in lines 19 to 69 are noticed in a separate appendix (B). This list of villages ends with the remark *āga ivvūrgaḷiṟ=paḷan-dēvadāṇam paḷlichchandum kārāṇmai-y-āṇa nilam nikki*, i.e., 'excluding from these villages such lands as are old *dēvadānas*, *paḷlichchandas* and *kārāṇmai*'. This general remark applies to all villages other than the ones which, though being *dēvadānas*, etc., had been specifically stated in the body of the list as having been taken up for inclusion in the new village. Such are the three *dēvadāna* villages, Vāgaikuḍi (l. 20), Muttūranāroṭṭai (ll. 59f.), and Śīrukiḷāṅkāṭṭūr (l. 68) which belonged to the temple of Tiruppūvaṇamuḍaiyār. Some of the villages and lands of this list find mention in the description of boundaries, being situated on the boundary line. We learn from the description of boundaries that Marudūr lay just to the west, and Śaṅkaramaṅgalam just to the south of Mānavīramadurai, that Nirambaiyūr was to the east of Sōmāttūr, that Vēlāṇēri was to the south of Karuṅgulam, that Miḷaganūr was to the north of both Koṭṭakīrti and Kāñai-Irukkai, that Kaṇṇakīrti in Kāñai-Irukkai was situated just to the west of Mēṟ-Chēḷi, and to the south of Puvaṇinallūr, that Neṟkuṇṇam was immediately to the east of Kuvaḷaivēli, that Vāgaikuḍi was to the north of both Tirumāliruñjōlainallūr and Śīrukuḍi *alias* Virakāmugamaṅgalam, and to the east of Veḷḷūrkuṟuchchi and to the south of Mānūbharāṇa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam which lay to the north of Tiruvāvaṇam situated just to the east of Veḷḷūrkuṟuchchi, and lastly, that Kuḍaiṇāḍi was to the south of Sundankuṟuchchi. From the boundaries given, we also learn that Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimaṅgalam had on its west Kīraṇūr-nāḍu,

<sup>1</sup> Mānavīramadurai, 2. Marudūr, 3. Mēṟ-Paśalai, 4. Kīṭ-Paśalai, 5. Poliyūr, 6. Kaḷḷikuḍi, 7. Iruñchirai in Kāñai-Irukkai, 8. Miḷaganūr, 9. Mālaṅguḍi, 10. Śīrukiḷāṭṭūr, 11. Śīrakuḍi, 12. Viḍattal, 13. Veḷḷūrkuṟuchchi, 14. Perumpuliyūr, 15. Vēlūr and 16. Tiruppūvaṇam.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 30ff.

on the north Paṇaṅgalūr-nāḍu, on the east Tiyandaikuḍi-nāḍu, and on the south Puṇapparaḷai-nāḍu. The inscription mentions the rivers Vaigai *alias* Śrīvallabhappērār (l. 161), Paraḷaiyāru (l. 198), Kaḷavaḷināḍaṇāru of Paṇaṅgalūr (l. 318) and Paraḷaikkāl (l. 193) and states that three of the *dēvadāna* lands of the temple of Tiruppūvaṇamuḍaiyār, named Muttūranāroṭṭai, Vāgaikuḍi and Śīrukiḷāṅkāṭṭūr, had been added on to the new village of Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimaṅgalam as well as certain specified lands which formed the *dēvadāna* of the temples of Paṣalaināthar and Śrī-Vaikunda-Viṇṇagar-Ālvār of Mēṇ-Paṣalai *alias* Śrīvallabha-chaturvēdimaṅgalam (ll. 48—51).

Like the three *dēvadāna* villages of Vāgaikuḍi, Muttūranāroṭṭai and Śīrukiḷāṅkāṭṭūr, the whole village of Miḷagaṇūr had been taken up and included in Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimaṅgalam. In exchange for the last, the following other villages were given, *viz.*, Kuvaḷaivēli, Pudukkuḷam, Māraṇkīrti, Kāvidinallūr, Kaḍambamaṅgalam, Śāttiyār-ēmbal in Achchāṅkāṭṭirukkai, and that part of Araiyaḷuḷam in Kāṇai-Irukkai which remained after removing the holding (*kāṇi*) of Mandari Rāman *alias* Pallavaraiyar (ll. 110—114). Care was taken to have the previous owners of these villages removed, their old names changed and the original constitution altered and the whole, like the lands and villages that were included in Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, grouped together and the newly formed village of Miḷagaṇūr was given the name Rājendraśiṅganallūr. It was placed under the division Achchāṅkāṭṭirukkai and entered as such in State accounts (ll. 114—116). The persons that were entrusted with the formation of this new village are given in group IX of Appendix A : they were among the party that accompanied the female elephant. It is worthy of note that in the constitution of this village also, which was not a Chaturvēdimaṅgalam, the same precaution was taken, as in the other, to bring the different units under one control and to make it homogeneous. The words used, *viz.*, *oru-nāḍum or-ūrum oru-puravum ākki*, clearly indicate that it became a distinct constituency with single class of interest as Chaturvēdimaṅgalam was.

With the aid of this and a few other allied records, we propose to consider here firstly the constitution of the Chaturvēdimaṅgalam referred to in the preamble and what it implies, secondly whether the king represented in the plates had any other introduction than the one beginning with *Pūviṇkiḷatti* and thirdly the geography of the districts and divisions of the Pāṇḍya country mentioned in the plates. On all these matters the existing notions seem to need correction.

Like the founding of temples, construction of tanks, provisions made for the requirements of various shrines, the opening of educational institutions with competent teachers in various branches, erection of feeding houses for the poor and the learned, and provisions made for doctors and hospitals to minister to the needs of the sick,—furthering the cause of the study of the *Vēdas* and *Śāstras* was considered a meritorious act by South Indian kings and chiefs and it found a tangible expression in the form of Chaturvēdimaṅgalams, *brahmadēyas*, *agaras* or *agrahāras* and the like. One can easily pick out the names of hundreds of Chaturvēdimaṅgalams by running through the inscriptions contained in the volumes of *South Indian Inscriptions* ranging from the seventh century A.D. to the time of the Vijayanagara kings. If it is remembered that each one of this class of villages had been originally granted to a very large collection of eminent men who had studied the *Vēdas* and *Śāstras* and that each one of the villages had an administrative body called the *sabhā*, as we know from numerous instances, consisting of several committees and a general body of representative members, whose number in some cases was very large and who, by the qualifications insisted on, always kept up a high standard of Vedic learning, there could be no denying the fact that in South India, at any rate, there was a regular and systematic study of the *Vēdas* and the branches of subjects connected with them, and there were

hundreds of thousands of persons who carried the torch of Vedic learning in the way it used to be handed down. We would like to point out that the donees of the newly constituted *brahmadēya* village of Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimaṅgalam numbered as many as one thousand and eighty and that they had not only studied the *Vēdas* and *Śāstras* but were capable of expounding them. The cumulative conjunction *um* in the phrase *Vēdamum śāstramum pōy* and the use of the adjectival phrase *vyākhyātākkaḷāy irukkum* qualifying *Chaturvēdi-Bhaṭṭarga!* leave no doubt that the subjects of the *Vēdas* and *Śāstras* were studied not only with a view to grasping their meaning but in such a thorough manner as to entitle the votaries to be styled *vyākhyātās*, i.e., exegetes. Though these phrases are sufficient in themselves, we would point out some further instances from inscriptions which more clearly explain that these subjects were thoroughly studied in those days. These inscriptions use the additional word '*poruṭpaḍa*', i.e., 'with meaning' before the verb '*pōy*' 'had gone through'. One of the inscriptions of Tiruttaṅgāl,<sup>1</sup> dated in the 9th year and 216th day of the reign of Jaṭāvarman Kuḷaśekhara with *Pūvṇkilatti* introduction (the same king that figures in the large Tiruppūvaṇam plates), registers a royal order issued on the representation of the king's officer Kāliṅgarāyar for creating a *brahmadēya* village called Kuḷaśekhara-chaturvēdimaṅgalam by joining together four *dēvadāna* villages about Tiruttaṅgāl with lands and house-sites allotted to 54 Brāhmaṇas who were versed in the *Vēdas* and *Śāstras* and were capable of expounding them. The village-site where the Brāhmaṇas had to reside was named 'Pugalōgagaṇḍanallūr'. We may refer to another inscription<sup>2</sup> dated in the 8th year and 215th day of the reign of Māḡavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II with the introduction *Pūmalar-tiruvum* which tells us that the great-grandfather of Śrī-Rāmaṇ Aḷagaṇ *alias* Aḷagiyaṇḍiya-Brahmādhiraṇ had originally established, in the name of Vēṇāḍuḍaiyār, a village called Ravivarma-chaturvēdimaṅgalam and settled in it forty-eight Chaturvēdi-Bhaṭṭas who had learnt with meaning (*poruṭpaḍa*) the *Vēdas* and *Śāstras* and were capable of expounding them (*vyākhyātākkaḷāy-irukkum*), and twelve Bhaṭṭas who had to recite the *Vēdas* in the temple of Uḍaiyār Tirunelvēli-Uḍaiyār, thus making in all sixty persons. On the representation of these sixty persons and on the recommendation of the officer Ayyaṇ Maḷavarāyar, the king granted all the lands situated in Kaṇṇaṇūr *alias* Mānābharanappāḍi, within certain specified boundaries, excluding from them the old *dēvadānas* and *paḷlichechandas*, to be included in Ravivarma-chaturvēdimaṅgalam in order that the sixty persons settled in the village may get sixty shares, the temple of Śrī-Rāma-Viṇṇagar-Ālvār may have two shares, Pāṇḍimāḍēviśvaramuḍaiyār may have two shares and Toṇḍaimāṇ-Viṇṇagar-Ālvār may have one share. It is expressly stated that in this case, as indeed in others, the prior owners of lands as well as the classification under other heads had been removed and the whole constituted as one village with one *puravu*, one classification, etc. The point for note is that the Chaturvēdimaṅgalam was entirely a Brāhmanical village. And as we know that the *sabhā* was the functioning body in such a village, there is no room for thinking that the members in it could be of any other class. The inscription clearly tells us that the interest in the constituency vested with one class of people, all others being expressly stated to have been removed and changed. One of the inscriptions of the time of the Chōḷa king Rājarāja I gives the names of as many as 144 Brāhmanical Villages (*brahmadēyas*), which had to supply persons for the post of treasurers, temple-servants and accountants to the Rājarājēśvara temple at Tanjore.<sup>3</sup> Without even a single exception, each one of these villages is stated to have had a *sabhā*. Numerous transactions of the *sabhā* are

<sup>1</sup> No. 543 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1922.

<sup>2</sup> No. 446 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. V.

<sup>3</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, No. 69

recorded in inscriptions giving the names of the members present in the meetings, numbering in some cases thirty and forty, and all of them are Brāhmaṇas<sup>1</sup> as the titles and the *gōtras* show.

Still another mediæval Pāṇḍya inscription<sup>2</sup> dated in the 13th year of the reign of Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, with the characteristic title Ellāntalaiyāṇa-Perumāḷ, gives very interesting details regarding the formation of another similar village called Vikramapāṇḍya-chaturvēdimaṅgalam to settle down 108 Brāhmaṇas, many of whom were well-versed in the *Vēdas* and *Śāstras* and were capable of expounding them. For the housing accommodation of these and their families, as well as the men who were in charge of the village library and the village servants, four *vēlis* of land were purchased and set apart as village-site and it included in it the temple premises also. In purchasing the lands, the rights and privileges of the old tenants and title holders were completely bought up. Land for grazing the cattle was also provided for. For the maintenance of the 108 Brāhmaṇa families and others, 147½ *vēlis* of land in the village of Rājāsikhāmaṇinallūr *alias* Puḷyaṅguḍi were acquired. The following *vr̥ttis* were also provided for :—three for teachers of the *Vēdas*, one for teachers of the *Sūtras*, one and three-fourths for two doctors, half for *ambāḍiṇas*, half for the village accountant, one-fourth for a drummer, one-fourth for a blacksmith, half for carpenter, one-fourth for goldsmith, three-eighths for *iraṅkolli*, three-eighths for barber, one-fourth for a washerman, three-fourths for a village watchman, and one-eighth for *veṭṭiyāṇ*. Further, it is said that three-fourths of the *nattam* land outside the Brāhmaṇa quarter, was set apart for *Vellāṇ-kāṇṇyāḷar* and the remainder for other professional people. All taxes were remitted and it was stipulated that from the 14th year of the king's reign, *i.e.*, from the first year of the constitution of the new *agrahāra* village of Vikramapāṇḍya-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, 500 *kalam* of superior paddy had to be measured out every year to the temple at Chidambaram.

The contents of this inscription, as well as those of others of this class, some of which we have noticed above, show clearly that the constituency of Chaturvēdimaṅgalam was purely one of Brāhmaṇas, self-sufficient in every way ; and other classes of people were given separate accommodation in the *nattam* lands and were there for performing specific acts. In this limited constituency having a fixed extent of land, be it great or small, which had been completely bought up with all rights, and with their old names, prior holdings and different heads of classification entirely removed, and vested with and owned by one class of people as one unit under the different and distinguishing name Chaturvēdimaṅgalam, there is absolutely no room for thinking that in the *sabhā* which, as we know from numerous inscriptions, was the administrative body functioning in such a village, there could have been any member that belonged to any other class of people. Though from the qualifications laid down in the two Uttaramallūr inscriptions for membership in committees and from the actual names of persons that are mentioned as members of *sabhās* in numerous other epigraphs, we could gather that the *sabhā* was the administrative body functioning in Brāhmaṇical villages and that it had only Brāhmaṇa members, more direct evidence is afforded in No. 3 of *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. VIII. This inscription states that a royal order having been issued by the Chōḷa king Rājādhirāja I to the officer Śōḷa-Pāṇḍya-Mūvēndavēḷar to the effect that from the interest to be given in paddy by *Brāhmaṇa-ūrgaḷ* (Brāhmaṇical villages) on sums received by them on loan from the treasury of the temple at Conjeevaram provision may be made for two Śivabrāhmaṇas performing worship and four Śivabrāhmaṇas performing *parichāraka* work, he directed the person that was looking after the

<sup>1</sup> Nos. 986 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. V ; No. 133 of Vol. IV ; and 231 of Vol. VIII.

<sup>2</sup> Nos. 277 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1913 ; and the review in part II of the *Madras Epigraphical Report*, 1914, p. 92.

temple affairs (*Kōyil-Śrīkūryam*) to make the *nimandas*. In the *nimanda* that was actually made in pursuance of this order, instead of '*Brāhmaṇa-ūrgaḷ*' as at first mentioned, we find the '*sabhās*' of the five villages Śirukachchippēḍu, Uttamaśōla-chaturvēdimāṅgalam, Parāntaka-chaturvēdimāṅgalam, Miḷalaimāṅgalam and Aparāyita (Aparājita)-chaturvēdimāṅgalam. The substitution of the '*sabhās*' of these five villages for '*Brāhmaṇa-ūrgaḷ*' makes it plain that the *sabhā* was the functioning body in Brāhmanical villages. This class of constituency, as indeed any other such as *ūr*, *nagara*, etc., was not a promiscuous jumbling of varied interests as one finds at present. Unless one confounds ancient institutions with modern ones, no different and contrary view could be validly put forth. The different appellations such as *ūr*, *nagara*, *sabhā*, etc., by which the administrative bodies of villages were called, show the different nature of their constitution. If the village was one of Vellāṅṇ landlords with the necessary families of farmers, artisans, barbers, potters, washermen, doctors, etc., it had the assembly of the *ūr*, the members of which body were Vellāṅṇ landlords. If the village was one of merchantmen, traders and men engaged in manufacture and industry, it was subject to the assembly of the *nagara*. And if it was a Brāhmanical village having in it mostly Brāhman landlords with such families of farmers, etc., as were necessary for the well-being of the village and the cultivation of the lands in it, it had the *sabhā* for its management. The very formation of the different kinds of villages and the different appellations by which the functioning bodies, viz., *ūr*, *nagara* and *sabhā*, were chosen to be so termed sufficiently indicate that there was no admixture of all classes of men in any one of them. Some of the functions discharged by the various assemblies might be similar and even identical; but it cannot account for a medley of members in any one of them. To judge from the transactions that have come down to us it seems that each one of the functioning bodies known by the different names which they bore, was a pure and unadulterated assembly functioning for a particular group or constituency. It will be unreasonable to think that in the council of the *ūr* or the *sabhā*, the landlords were represented by the potter, barber, washerman and the *ryots* who cultivated their lands and did some kind of work or other receiving the *vritti* assigned therefor. Though in the generality of cases, a village is described as being situated in a sub-division of a district there were some which were directly under a district. These villages appear to have been considerably big towns having in them several large quarters and hamlets subject to the control of various constitutional bodies; they may be likened to Presidency towns like Madras, Bombay, etc. Even here, the different bodies functioned for different classes.

Though the inscription under publication does not throw light on the political history of the time to which it relates, the information which this and the allied records cited above furnish, viz., that the class of villages going by the name-ending Chaturvēdimāṅgalam consisted exclusively of Brāhman land-owners and had an administrative body known by the special term *sabhā*, has been shown above to be of great value. The further information contained in the inscription that the donees who numbered one thousand and eighty were reputed for knowing 'with meaning' the *Vēdas* and *Śāstras* and were capable of expounding them, and this especially in the century that preceded the advent of Sāyana, is sure to be welcomed by scholars. We need hardly say that by *Śāstras* are meant the subjects forming the *Vēdāṅgas*.<sup>1</sup> Had the inscriptions cited above not stopped with mentioning the fact that the Chaturvēdimāṅgalams referred to therein were divided into shares and given to the number of Brāhmins specified, viz., 1080, 108 and 60 who had studied the *Vēdas* and *Śāstras* and were *vyākhyātās* of them, but had furnished also their names, we would be in a position to know their attainments. The Tanḍantōṭ-

<sup>1</sup> The author of the *Amaralōka* (3, 3, 170) defines *Śāstras* as *Nidēśa* and *granthas*, and the commentary of Mahēsvara adds that by *granthas* are meant *Tyākaraṇādayaḥ* (Nirṇayasāgar Edition, 1907, p. 327).

tam plates,<sup>1</sup> though incomplete, besides saying that the chief Dayāmukha after duly informing the Pallava king Nandivarman Pallavamalla<sup>2</sup> got the village which acquired the name Dayāmukhamāṅgalam granted to no less than 308 Brāhmaṇa scholars of *Vēdas* and *Smṛitis*, give us the names of the donees. The list of persons,<sup>3</sup> though only partially preserved, gives the names of 108 *Chaturvēdins*, 28 *Trivēdins*, 24 *Shaḍaṅgavids* and about ten *Kramavids*, all of whom must have known the meaning of the hymns. It will be strange if a *Shaḍaṅgavid* did not know the import of the *mantras* for the very object of the *Niruktabhāṣya*, one of the *Shaḍaṅgas*, was to fit a student to easily grasp the sense of the hymns.<sup>4</sup> As the first part of the name of each one of the villages of this class is a sure indicator of the name of the king or chief that founded the village and thus points also to the time when it came into being, and as the second part testifies to the attainment in the Vedic lore of the donees of the village, we are enabled to say from the names of Chaturvēdimāṅgalams preserved in inscriptions that in different parts of South India there were large numbers of Vedic scholars from the 7th century down to the 13th. The names *Sinhavishṇu-chaturvēdimāṅgalam*,<sup>5</sup> *Mahēndravarma-chaturvēdimāṅgalam*,<sup>6</sup> *Naraśiṅga-chaturvēdimāṅgalam*,<sup>7</sup> *Paramēśvara-chaturvēdimāṅgalam*,<sup>8</sup> *Śivachūlāmaṇi-māṅgalam*,<sup>9</sup> *Vijayāṅkura-chaturvēdimāṅgalam*,<sup>10</sup> *Avaninārāyaṇa-chaturvēdimāṅgalam*,<sup>11</sup> *Ēkadhīra-chaturvēdimāṅgalam*,<sup>12</sup> *Vayiramēga-chaturvēdimāṅgalam*,<sup>13</sup> *Mārapiḍugudēvi-chaturvēdimāṅgalam*,<sup>14</sup> *Vidyāvinita-chaturvēdimāṅgalam*,<sup>15</sup> *Pallavaṇmahādēvi-chaturvēdimāṅgalam*,<sup>16</sup> *Aparājita-chaturvēdimāṅgalam*<sup>17</sup> and others establish the patronage extended by the Pallava kings to men of Vedic learning from the 7th to the 9th century A.D. That the same spirit animated the Chōlas who were the political successors of the Pallavas, accounts for the foundation and grant of villages and cities going by the names *Viśaiyālaya-chaturvēdimāṅgalam*,<sup>18</sup> *Kōṇḍarāma-chaturvēdimāṅgalam*,<sup>19</sup> *Parāntaka-chaturvēdimāṅgalam*,<sup>20</sup> *Jananātha-chaturvēdimāṅgalam*,<sup>21</sup> *Gaṇḍarāditya-chaturvēdimāṅgalam*,<sup>22</sup> *Aṇṇigai-chaturvēdimāṅgalam*,<sup>23</sup> *Sōlamārttāṇḍa-chaturvēdimāṅgalam*,<sup>24</sup> *Rājāsraya-chaturvēdimāṅgalam*<sup>25</sup> and those that were called after the Chālukya-Chōlas that followed Adhijēndra, and for the continuance of the study of the *Vēdas* and *Vēdāṅgas* from the eighth century to the thirteenth, patronised as it was by the kings and chiefs who had high regard for it.

<sup>1</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, pp. 517 f.

<sup>2</sup> These plates were at first relegated to Nandivarman III (*S. I. I.*, Vol. II, pp. 517 f.), but while editing the *Paṭṭattālamangalam* grant, I pointed out that they must correctly be assigned to Nandivarman Pallavamalla (above, Vol. XVIII, p. 117).

<sup>3</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, pp. 531-535.

<sup>4</sup> The selection of *riks* for comment is supposed to have been made with such care that with a perfect understanding of their significance and with a thorough grasp of the lucid etymological explanation of the words occurring in them as furnished by the author of the *Nirukta*, it was believed that the student of the *Vēdas* would be able to know the meaning of other *mantras* without difficulty. The hymns and words treated in the *Nirukta* and the comment offered on them were considered sufficient to form a ready reference for other *mantras*. *Ētēshu pariṇūatēshu śakyatē mantrārthaḥ pariṇūatūn tē ēva jñāpakā bhavanti*. (Durga's commentary on the *Nirukta*: Introduction).

<sup>5</sup> No. 265 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1907.

<sup>6</sup> No. 9 of the same collection for 1930-31.

<sup>7</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, pp. 402, 404, 405.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 229.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. [28].

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. [23].

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 325.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 529n.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. [27].

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 337.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. [28].

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. [22], 321.

<sup>17</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 3.

<sup>18</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, p. 327.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 321.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 76.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 74.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 103.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. [23]n. and No. 20 of 1928-29.

<sup>25</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, p. 228.

In some cases, the term Chaturvēdimāṅgalam seems to have been contracted into Maṅgalam and such are those that had for their functioning body the *sabhā*. As instances may be cited Varaguṇamaṅgalam, Triyambakamaṅgalam, Kaṭṭāraimaṅgalam, Paraiṣumaṅgalam, Māramaṅgalam, Avanipaśēkaramaṅgalam and Kaḍuṅgōmaṅgalam mentioned in a Pāṇḍya grant of the time of Varaguṇa II.<sup>1</sup> All these places were in the Tinnevely District and their foundation by Pāṇḍya kings takes us from the sixth to the ninth century A.D., when Kaḍuṅgō, Māravarman, Varaguṇa and Śrīmāra flourished. The Pāṇḍya king Parāntaka Neḍuñjaḍaiyan (A.D. 770) is said in the Vēlvikuḍi plates to have founded Śrīvaramaṅgalam,<sup>2</sup> so termed after one of his surnames. Maṅgalam was further contracted into Maṅgai as in Varaguṇamaṅgai and Śrīvaramaṅgai.

If we carefully study the constitution of Dayā mukhamaṅgalam as detailed in the Tanḍantōṭṭam plates of Nandivarman Pallavamalla<sup>3</sup> of the 8th century A.D. and compare it with what is said about the constitution of the villages as described in the mediæval Pāṇḍya inscriptions cited above, we can clearly see that the principles followed were the same both in the 7th and 13th centuries A.D.

i. The newly constituted village was, in each case, divided into a number of shares, the number being some more than the number of donees intended to be provided for. In the Tiruppuvaṇam plates, the principal donees numbered 1,080 and the shares made were 1,200. In the grant of Ravivarman-chaturvēdimāṅgalam, the principal donees numbered 48 while the actual number of shares made were 65. In the case of Vikramapāṇḍya-chaturvēdimāṅgalam, the principal donees numbered 108 and the actual number of shares made were 147. In the earlier Tanḍantōṭṭam plates it was intended to provide chiefly for 308 persons but extra shares are actually mentioned.

ii. The donees in all the grants of Chaturvēdimāṅgalams (or simply Maṅgalams in the earlier grants) were Brāhmanas well versed in the *Vēdas* and *Sāstras*. While some of the mediæval Pāṇḍya records speak of the donees as *Vēdamum Sāstramum pōy vyākhyātākkaḷāy irukkum*, others add the word *poruṭpaḍa* before *pōy*. In place of this description, we have in the earlier Tanḍantōṭṭam plates: *Vēda-traya-smṛiti-jushām vidushām dvijānām*.<sup>4</sup> In the list of donees, we notice there were more persons styled *Chaturrēdī* than *Trivēdī* or *Shaḍaṅgavid*.

iii. All the records state that the villages had temples in them, or contemplate the construction of temples in them, meant for the use of the donees and make provision for them.

iv. In the Tiruppuvaṇam plates, the extra shares, numbering 120, are stated to be for *dēva-dāna-panīsey-virutti-panṅu*. Here *dēvadāna* may either be taken independently or as qualifying the next *panīsey*. The phrase may be construed in two ways, viz., (i) 'shares meant for the *dēvadāna* and shares for the maintenance of those who had to render service or (ii) shares for the maintenance of those that had to render service pertaining to the *dēvadāna*'. The former meaning is obtained by taking *dēvadāna* and *panīsey-virutti* as separately qualifying *panṅu*, and the latter is obtained by considering *dēvadāna* as qualifying *panīsey-virutti* which qualifies *panṅu*. As it is seen from the other records cited above that the extra 'shares' were meant both for the temple and for the various kinds of servants, we think it better to adopt the former view. The grant of Ravivarman-chaturvēdimāṅgalam provides 12 shares for 12 Bhaṭṭas who had to recite the *Vēdas* in the temple of Uḍaiyār Tirunelvēli-uḍaiyār and two shares each for the

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXI, p. 114.

<sup>2</sup> K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer's *Historical Sketches of Ancient Dehkan*, p. 132.

<sup>3</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, pp. 517 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, p. 520, V. 9.

temples of Śrī-Rāma-Viṇṇagar-Ālvār and Pāṇḍimādēviśvaramuḍaiyār and one share for Toṇḍaimān-Viṇṇagar-Ālvār. The earlier Dayāṁkhamāṅgalaṁ grant provides five shares for Tiruvaḍigal, i.e., Viṣṇu, and two shares for Mahādēva.

v. The grant of Vikramapāṇḍya-chaturvēdimaṅgalaṁ provides three *ṛittis* for the teachers of the *Vēdas*, one for the teachers of the *Sūtras*. one and three-fourths for two doctors, half for *ambadiyas*, half for village accountants, one-fourth each for drummer, potter, blacksmith, goldsmith and washerman, half for carpenter, three-eighths each for *īraṅkolli* and barber, three-fourths for village watchman and one-eighth for *veṭṭiyāṇ*. The earlier Taṇḍantōṭṭam plates provide one share each for the reader of the *Mahābhārata* and the drummer, one share for each of the three *madhyasthas*, two shares for a doctor, three shares for the maintenance of the head-sludge and the village reservoir, besides some shares allotted to a number of persons who appear to be servants and performers of worship in temples.

vi. Other *ṛittis* such as those for doctors, watchmen (or police), library, etc., provided for in the constitution are of wider interest meeting as they do the requirements of health, education, police, etc.

To an earlier date belong the Kūram plates of the Pallava king Paramēśvaravarman I. The village of Kūram in the Chingalpet District bore the surname Vidyāvinīta-chaturvēdimaṅgalaṁ<sup>1</sup> evidently so named after the donor Vidyāvinīta, a Pallava chief and subordinate of Paramēśvaravarman I. The same chief built the Śiva temple of Vidyāvinīta-Pallava-Paramēśvara in the centre of the village of Kūram and requested the king to make a grant to it. In compliance with this request, Paramēśvara I made the gift of the village of Paramēśvaramaṅgalaṁ divided into 25 shares of which 20 shares were given to 20 Brāhmaṇas versed in the four *Vēdas*, 3 shares to two persons who had to perform the divine rights and look after the temple repairs, one share was set apart for supplying fire and water to a *maṇḍapa* and one share for the reading of the *Bhārata* in that *maṇḍapa*.<sup>2</sup> Though the grant relating to the constitution and gift of the village of Vidyāvinīta-chaturvēdimaṅgalaṁ has not come down to us, yet a reference found in the Paramēśvaramaṅgalaṁ grant, which was issued in the reign of the same king, i.e., Paramēśvaravarman I, indicates that it was bestowed on 108 families of Brāhmaṇas that were studying the four *Vēdas*.<sup>3</sup> The Udayēndiram plates of Nandivarman register the grant of the village of Udayachandramaṅgalaṁ to 108 Brāhmaṇas: In it provision is made for a physician and for one that had to perform worship (in temple).<sup>4</sup>

The foundation of the numerous Chaturvēdimaṅgalams and the grant of them as *brahma-dēyas*, or *agrahūras* by successive generations of kings of various dynasties that held sway in South India, as evidenced by the names of villages noticed above, though the grants relating to them have not yet come to light, are sure indications of the progress of the Vedic culture and testify to the increase in the numerical strength of the Vedic exegetes from the end of the sixth century to the end of the thirteenth,—the three Pāṇḍya grants of the reign of Jaṭavarman Kulasekhara I (A.D. 1190-1215), Maṅavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II (A.D. 1235-1251) and Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I (A.D. 1251-1271) taking us almost to the time of the advent of Śāyaṇāchārya, the prodigious commentator on all the *Vēdas*, and reflect on the mass of material that must have been available in his day and the number of scholars that must have existed then.

<sup>1</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. VII, Nos. 32 and 33-A.

<sup>2</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, p. 147 and text-lines 51-2. Provision for fire and water corresponds to 'hot and cold weather charges'.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 150, text-line 49 f.

<sup>4</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, pp. 372-3.



Besides the grant of *brahmadēya* villages of the description given above, the kings and chiefs also provided richly for colleges wherein the *Vēdas* were taught.<sup>1</sup> Rural administrative assemblies and even private individuals were not wanting in making contributions, according to their might, to the cause of Vedic learning.<sup>2</sup> The charities of the Vaiśya Dāmaṇṇ Mādhavaṇ recorded in the Tirumukkūḍal inscription of Virarājendra included provision for the teaching of the *Vēdas*. One of the early epigraphs of Uttaramallūr,<sup>3</sup> which is partially built in, makes provision for a *Bhaṭṭa-vṛitti* by a lady named Saṇṇaichchāni also called Uttaramallūr-Naṅgai, stipulating that the holder of the *vṛitti* must be one that has no share in the village but is well versed in at least one of the *Vēdas*, in the *Vyākaraṇa* and the two *darśanas* of the *Mīmāṃsā* as well as the *Nṛitta* (*Nirukta*)-*bhāṣhya* and is capable of expounding the *Vyākaraṇa*, *Nyāya-bhāṣhya* with *vṛttikas*, and *Vaiśeṣhika* with *Tikā*, and that he must remain in the *maṭha* erected by that lady on the bank of a tank which she had caused to be dug. The inscription also speaks of an examination to be held at the end of a course of three years. There is thus room for thinking that all through the Hindu period of Indian history, the study of the *Vēdas* and *Vēdāṅgas* and their exposition must have been pursued zealously.

We have now to consider how many of the mediæval Pāṇḍya kings bore the name Jaṭāvarman Kuḷaśēkhara and settle also which one among them is the king represented in the larger Tirup-pūvaṇam plates. During the past several years, a large number of inscriptions belonging to this period have been collected and noticed in the *Annual Reports on South-Indian Epigraphy*. None of them gives any genealogy : most of them give only the regnal years and not the corresponding years of any known era. It is mainly due to the efforts of the late Professor Kielhorn, Swamikkannu Pillai and Sewell in verifying the astronomical details found in some of them that epigraphists have been able to register the important facts and events revealed in inscriptions about these kings in some chronological order.<sup>4</sup> The fact that several members of the family had been ruling at one and the same time and over the same tract, besides swelling the number of kings that could possibly cover a given period of years, has made it difficult to attribute particular achievements to particular kings. If we leave out the mere texts of some of the inscriptions of these mediæval Pāṇḍya kings published in the volumes of the *South-Indian Inscriptions* (Texts), the records of almost all of them remain still to be critically edited. The notices made in the *Annual Reports* on the Madras collections are our only guide. But these reports, however valuable they are, cannot be substitutes for full texts of inscriptions, as they could not furnish all the information the inscriptions contain.<sup>5</sup> At present, two kings of the name Jaṭāvarman Kuḷaśēkhara are taken cognisance of and they are assigned the accession dates A.D. 1190 and A.D. 1237. To the first king of that name all records commencing with the introductions *Pūvīṅkilatti*, *Pūṭalamaḍandai* and *Pūṭalavanitai* are being assigned. The second rests purely on the results of the astronomical calculations. The reasons for the assignment of the three different introductions to Jaṭāvarman Kuḷaśēkhara I are not known. We need not concern ourselves with ascertaining as to when this idea started and why all the three introductions were

<sup>1</sup> See above, Vol. XXI, pp. 222-3. The Bāhūr plates (*S. I. I.*, Vol. II, pp. 513ff.) provide for a *Vidyāsthāna*. See also *An. Rep. on Epigraphy, Madras*, for 1918, part II, pp. 145 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See Nos. 312 and 316 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. VI.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 322.

<sup>4</sup> It was the late Mr. Swamikkannu Pillai that took up all the dates and made a serious attempt at fixing the initial years of reign of several kings, of course having before him the results of the labours of Kielhorn.

<sup>5</sup> For instance it is beyond the scope of the reports to give the names with other details of the numerous officials and chiefs figuring in the inscriptions and it is needless to say how such information would be of immense help in the critical publication of any single inscription of a particular king. The geographical items occurring in inscriptions are also too numerous to mention in such a publication.

attributed to the same sovereign. It is proposed first to examine the correctness or otherwise of such an assignment. For this purpose, it is highly necessary to have separate lists of inscriptions of the three different introductions, and we present underneath such lists. They are not exhaustive but are sufficient to serve our need. If the result of our examination prove that the introductions belong to more kings than one, a fresh endeavour will have to be made to separate the facts known about each king from the *Annual Reports on South Indian Epigraphy* which have been putting them under the single head of Jaṭavarman Kulasēkhara I.

## A. Pūtalamaṇḍai.

No.	Date.
296/S. I. I., V	2+1st year.
437/29-30	3+1+1st year.
464/16	4th year and 50 days.
707/16	4+1st year.
614/26	4+1st year.
449/16	4+1+1st year.
450/16	4+1+1st year.
534/16	4+4th year.
	4th year+1,745 days.
297/27-28	9th year.
293/S. I. I., V	9th year and 44 days.
438/29-30	9+1st year.
459/00	14th year.
660/16	14th year and 345 days.
327/08	15th year.
333/16	

## B. Pūtalavaṇṭai.

No.	Date.
720/16	2nd year.
301/S. I. I., V	2nd year and 35 days.
428/S. I. I., V	3rd year+504 days.
664-666/16	{ 3+7th year. 3rd year and 2,638 days. 3+7th year.
370/16	3+7th year (2,690 days)

## B. Pūtalavaṇṭai—contd.

No.	Date.
507/16	3rd year and 2,766 days.
No. 506 is connected with this.	3+7th year
672/16	3+7th year.
673/16	3rd year and 2,593 days.
674/16	3rd year+2,594 days.
349-350/16	3+7th year.

## C. Pūvinkīlatti.

No.	Date.
607/26	2nd year.
290/23	3rd year.
540/16	3rd year and 291 days.
31-32/24	3+1st year.
33-34/34	3+2nd year.
27-28/24	3+3rd year.
435/29-30	3+3rd year.
368/29-30	3+3rd year.
302/S. I. I., V.	3rd year+1,002nd day.
	3+4th year.
337/16	3+4th year.
29/28-29	3+4th year.
484/16	9th year.
436/29-30	9th year.
543/22	9th year and 216 days.
302/29-30	9th year+925 days.

C. <i>Pūriṇikāṭṭi</i> —contd.		C. <i>Pūriṇikāṭṭi</i> —concl'd.	
No.	Date.	No.	Date.
303/29-30	9+1+1st year.	685/16	13th year+2,230 days.
619/11	9+1+1st year.	687/16	13th year+2,313 days.
313/23	9+3rd year.	78/28-29	13th+6th year (13th+2,140 days.)
654/16	*+3rd year.	35/27	13th+7th year.
655/16	*+3rd year.	613/26	13th+8th year.
80/28-29	13th year.	502/16	13th+8th year (13th+3,090 days).
546, 549, 550/16	13th year and 148 days. 13+1st year.	37/24	13th+9th year.
412/S. I. I., V.	13+1st year.	40/24	13th+9th year.
31/27	13+1st year.	375/29-30	13+10th year.
269/29-30	13+1st year.	319/23	13+10th year.
295/20-30	13th year +500 days.	123/08	13+11th year
275/29-30	13th year+902 days.	616/26	13+12th year.
431/29-30	13+3rd year.	99/07	13+12th year.
20/27	13+3rd year.	415/S. I. I., V.	13+13th year.
581/15	13+4th year.	322/23	13+13th year.
378/29-30	13+5th year.	54/27	13+13th year.
684/16 This is connected with No. 685/16	13+5th year.	298/27-28	13+14th year.
545/22	13+5th year.	59/25-29	13+14th year.
677/16 } These are connected with No. 678/16.	13+5th year.	60/28-29	13+15th year.
679/16 }	13+5th year.	279/29-30	13+47** days.
509-510/16	13th year+1,445 days.	466/16	* 1st year.
678/16	13th year+2,230 days.	94/07, 555/16, 25/24, 29/28-29 and 268/27-28.	
680/16 and 682/16	13th year+5th (13th+2,230 days).		
683/16	13th year+2,312 days.		

By a glance at list A, it will be observed that six of the inscriptions, which are dated after the 4th year and perhaps also another, single out the 4th year of reign and count fresh regnal years or days from that date. And in going through list B, it will be seen that the year 3 is singled out in almost all the inscriptions. Similarly a glance at the dates of the inscriptions in list C will show that the years 3, 9 and 13 are marked years. In the last list, all the inscriptions after the 3rd year up to the 9th year are marked as 3 *plus*, those after the 9th up to the 13th year are marked 9 *plus*, and the rest dated later than the 13th are marked as 13 *plus*. The special treatment, which these years get in the respective introductions, seems strongly to point out that the kings represented in them might be different. Secondly, there is not much in common in the three introductions. In fact, nothing of importance is recorded in any of them. It is further worthy of note that the latest regnal years in the three introductions are different. The first, *i.e.*, *Pūlala-*

*maṇḍandai* extends to 15 years, the second, *i.e.*, *Pūtalavaṇṭai* to 11 years, and the third, *i.e.*, *Pūvīṇkīlatti* to 28 years. Again, these lists show that there is no room for considering that a single king employed one of the introductions up to a certain year of his reign, then adopted the second and lastly the third. Neither could it be said that in a particular locality preference was given to one or the other of the introductions, for we find that in the same place more than one of the introductions are used. All the reasons recorded above indicate clearly that the kings who used them must be different. Can palaeography be adduced as a ground for ascribing the three introductions to one sovereign? That ground is of little value in a case where there were more kings than one ruling at the same time and over the same tract: and after all it can at best show only a period of time and no fixed years. As far as I am able to judge, there is a gradual development in characters from the inscriptions with *Pūtalamaṇḍandai* introduction through *Pūvīṇkīlatti* to *Pūtalavaṇṭai*. The difference between the first and the last only is somewhat marked, but may be due to the skill of the scribes or other causes.

We shall now see whether the evidence of the astronomical details furnished in the above collection and their verification support or controvert the finding we have arrived at above or remain neutral. In the collection of 16 epigraphs with *Pūtalamaṇḍandai* introduction there is but a single one that supplies us with details of date fit for calculation, while there are at least three in the *Pūtalavaṇṭai* group and 6 in the *Pūvīṇkīlatti* epigraphs. All of them except one of the *Pūtalavaṇṭai* group have been examined and their equivalents determined as noted under:—

No. 297/27-28 *Pūtalamaṇḍandai*. 9th year, Mīna, . . . . . dvitīyā, Saturday, Rōhiṇī. This date was calculated for Jaṭāvarman I of *Pūvīṇkīlatti* introduction with A.D. 1190 as the date of accession and equated to A.D. 1199, February, 27, Saturday, with the remark that Rōhiṇī was not current on the day. The date is irregular.

No. 370/16 *Pūtalavaṇṭai*. 3+7th year, Mārgaḷi 20 tēdi, Sunday, saptamī, Uttara-Bhādrapadā. 7th Year is given in the inscription as 2,690 days. This date correctly works out to Sunday, 16th December, A.D. 1246 and it was 20 Mārgaḷi. The note of the late Mr. Swamikannu Pillai against this is “The Epigraphist says that the introduction is that of Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara I, but the day of solar month which is a characteristic indication points only to the later reign, that of Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara II of A. D. 1237”.

No. 720/16 *Pūtalavaṇṭai*. 2nd year, Mīna 22, śu. 10, Wednesday, Pushya. “On Wednesday, 16th March A.D. 1239 (=22 Mēsha), śu. daśamī ended at .53 and Pushya at .19 of day. This was the 2nd year of the same Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara as the above.”

No. 301 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. V (*Pūtalavaṇṭai*)—2nd year, Tulā, ba. 6, Thursday, Mṛigaśīrṣhā. Not calculated. See below, p. 82 for equivalent.

No. 80/28-29. *Pūvīṇkīlatti*. 13th year, Āṇi 19, śu. trayōdaśī, Tuesday, Mūlam. “Probably A.D. 1250, June 14, Tuesday; f.d.n. .39. The tithi was, however, *chaturdaśī* which was current till .85 of the day.”

No. 337/16. Do. 3+4th year, Karkaṭaka, 13 tēdi, śu. 12, Monday, Jyēsthā=A.D. 1196 (which was the 7th year of the reign of Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara who ascended the throne in A.D. 1190), Monday, 8th July (=13 Karkaṭaka) on which day śu. 12 ended at .89 and Nakshatra Jyēsthā at .44 of day.

No. 545/22. Do. 13+5th year, Kanni 9, śu. 14, Thursday, Śatabbishaḷ =A.D. 1207, September 6, Thursday; .97; .44.

No. 313/23. *Pūvīṇkīlatti*. 9+3rd year, Vṛiśchika 27, Friday, dvādaśī, Śōdi =Friday, 23rd November, A.D. 1201. As pointed out by Swamikannu Pillai (*An. Rep. on S. I. Epigraphy* for 1924, p. 88), the solar month-date is Vṛiśchika 27 according to the Sūrya-Siddhānta. The framer of the inscription must have obtained it from a *Pañchāṅga* calculated according to that system. There are instances of this kind.

No. 322/23. *Pūvīṅkilatti*. 13+13th year, Karkāṭaka 25, ba. 10, Tuesday, Kārttigai=A.D. 1215, July 21, Tuesday. The *tithi* ba. 10 commenced at .97 of the day and the *Nakshatra* Kārttigai ended at .86 of day.

The Large Tiruppūvaṇam plates. *Pūvīṅkilatti*. 13+12th year, Dhanu 4, ba. 11, Saturday, Svāti. Saturday, 29th November, A.D. 1214. (Kielhorn's *Southern List*, No. 890.)

In the above, it will be noted (i) that the particulars of date furnished in the *Pūṭalamaṇḍai* collection do not work out correctly for Jaṭāvarman Kulaśekhara I whose reign commenced in A.D. 1190, (ii) that the two dated inscriptions of *Pūṭalavaṇitai* group examined so far work out correctly for Jaṭāvarman Kulaśekhara II who began his reign in A.D. 1237, and are incorrect for Kulaśekhara I whose accession fell in A.D. 1190, and (iii) that all the dated inscriptions in the *Pūvīṅkilatti* group have correct equivalents for the king with the initial year 1190. Apparently under the belief that the three different introductions belonged to one king, i.e., Jaṭāvarman Kulaśekhara I, the Epigraphist informed the calculator that the introduction of No. 370 (*Pūṭalavaṇitai*) is that of Jaṭāvarman Kulaśekhara I. Having considered this information also, the late Swamikannu Pillai noted that the day of the solar month—which is a characteristic indication—points only to the later reign, i.e., Jaṭāvarman Kulaśekhara II of A.D. 1237. Thus, the evidence of the astronomical details leaves no doubt as to the introduction *Pūṭalavaṇitai* being one of Jaṭāvarman Kulaśekhara II, and is positively against the earlier king whose accession fell in A.D. 1190 and who had the introduction *Pūvīṅkilatti*. The late Swamikannu Pillai's calculations and our finding that the records of Jaṭāvarman Kulaśekhara with the introduction *Pūṭalavaṇitai* belong to a later reign is still further supported by two other inscriptions as we shall presently show. In the latter part of a *Pūṭalavaṇitai* record of Teṅkarai whose text is given in the *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Volume V, No. 301, are given the details 2nd year, Tulā, ba. 6, Thursday, Mṛigaśīrshā. For Jaṭāvarman Kulaśekhara I, whose accession took place between 8th April and 29th November, A.D. 1190, we cannot find a suitable date answering to these details in A.D. 1191 or 1192 which were respectively the current and expired 2nd year of his reign. But for Jaṭāvarman Kulaśekhara II, whose reign commenced between 24th July and 16th December, A.D. 1237, and whose 2nd year fell in A.D. 1238, the details work out correctly. In A.D. 1238, Tulā, ba. 6 ended at .90 and Nakshatra Mṛigaśīrshā at .35 of day on Thursday, September 30. Like the two records calculated by Swamikannu Pillai, this one also proves that the introduction *Pūṭalavaṇitai* belongs to Jaṭāvarman Kulaśekhara II and not to the first of that name. The other inscription which supports our finding is part of a triple record with *Pūṭalavaṇitai* introduction and is dated in the 3+7th year of reign and mentions Vikrama-Chōla.<sup>1</sup> Vikrama-Chōla figuring herein could be no other than the Koṅgu Chōla prince, who, a few years later, ascended the throne in A.D. 1255. That princes of other dynasties who were related to the Pāṇdyas were staying with and serving the Pāṇḍya kings before the time of their own accession is amply borne out by some of the inscriptions noticed in this paper.

It remains now to determine to which other Jaṭāvarman Kulaśekhara the introduction *Pūṭalamaṇḍai* belonged. An inscription from Tirupputtūr in the Ramnad District of Tribhuvannachakravartin Kulaśekharadeva without the title Mājavarman or Jaṭāvarman, is dated in the year opposite the fourth and furnishes astronomical details—Karkāṭaka 27, Rōhiṇī, Saturday. This date was calculated by the late Swamikannu Pillai and found to agree correctly with A.D. 1166, 23rd July. Saturday.<sup>2</sup> From the method of dating of the record alone, it may be said that it is one belonging to the reign of Jaṭāvarman Kulaśekhara with *Pūṭalamaṇḍai* introduction for, as had been observed by me already, the inscriptions of his reign had that characteristic

<sup>1</sup> Nos. 672 to 674 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1916.

<sup>2</sup> *Indian Ephemeris*, Part II of Vol. I, pp. 87-88.

feature, *viz.*, of counting fresh regnal years after the 4th. Thus, it is now clear that the three different introductions belong to three different kings who bore in common the title Jaṭavarman and the name Kulaśekhara. The earliest of these kings was the one that had the *Pūṭalamaḍandai* introduction, the middle one adopted the *Pūvīṅkilatti* introduction, while the last used the *Pū-talavaṇṇitai* introduction. The first counted his regnal years from A.D. 1162 and had a reign of at least 15 years as at present known extending up to A.D. 1176-77, a special event in his career marking out the end of the fourth year of his reign (=A.D. 1166-7). This year the students of Pāṇḍya history know to be the year of commencement of the civil war in the Pāṇḍya country. There is thus no doubt that this must have been the Kulaśekhara who killed Parākrama-Pāṇḍya and waged a prolonged war against his son Vīra-Pāṇḍya and the allied forces of the Sinhalese generals sent by Parākrama-Bāhu of Ceylon. The importance of the year is brought out by the fact that the members of the assembly (*Mūlapariśad*) of Tirupputtūr in the Ramnad District wished to pay their respects to His Majesty the Pāṇḍya sovereign and utilised the amount realised in making tax-free, a land given to the temple in order to meet the expenses of their journey to Maḍura, the capital of the empire.<sup>1</sup> It is not unlikely that other villages also sent in their representatives to the capital for the same purpose. Perhaps it was then that Kulaśekhara launched on the momentous programme of war against Parākrama, laid siege to the city of Maḍura with a view to capture it, and forced Parākrama to sue for help to the king of Ceylon. We learn from the *Mahāvamsa* that the first event in this war was the siege of Maḍura by Kulaśekhara-Pāṇḍya. There is an echo of the fact in a lithic record of the South Koṅgu king Rājakesarivarman Kulōttuṅga (A.D. 1149-83) who, it may be said, was interested in the welfare and success of Kulaśekhara, that young king being his sister's son. This lithic record which comes from Neruvūr<sup>2</sup> states that the Koṅgu king, set out on an expedition against Maḍura with the express object of capturing it for his nephew (*marumagan*) Kulaśekhara-Pāṇḍya, and that on the said occasion directed the *sabhā* of the place to make a *brahmadēya* gift of some lands in Maṇimaṅgalam, which had been his camping ground, as a *yātrādāna* to his *purōhita* Ālvār Śrībalidēva. The year of this important record is specially worthy of note. It is dated in the 17th year of the reign of Rājakesarivarman Kulōttuṅgaḍēva corresponding to A.D. 1166-7, the very year of commencement of the Pāṇḍyan civil war and one that was marked 4+1st year of the reign of Kulaśekhara. Thus, the evidence of all sources, *viz.*, those furnished by the *Mahāvamsa*, the Neruvūr and Tirupputtūr inscriptions and the computation of astronomical details with the solar day, which the calculator regards as a characteristic indication, occurring in an epigraph dated in the 4+1st year, which kind of dating, we note, is a characteristic feature of the inscriptions with *Pūṭalamaḍandai* introduction, bear out the particular importance of that year and single out the Kulaśekhara of the Pāṇḍyan civil war. If more evidence is needed to further corroborate the identity of Jaṭavarman Kulaśekhara of *Pūṭalamaḍandai* introduction with Kulaśekhara of the civil war, it is supplied by a Teṅkarai inscription with that identical introduction, dated in the 3rd year of reign, telling us that the chief Śōḷaṇ Śilambaṇ *alias* Virachōḷa-Laṅkēśvaraḍēva, a *sāmanta* of prince (*Perumāḷ*) Virachōḷaḍēva of Teṅ-Koṅgu was already in the vicinity of Maḍura.<sup>3</sup> Koṅgu-Chōḷa inscriptions leave no doubt as to Virachōḷa being a prince of that dynasty that eventually succeeded Rājakesarivarman Kulōttuṅga noticed above. And the year of the inscription, which is A.D. 1164, shows that the chief was there immediately prior to the commencement of the war and the purpose is evident: and the Neruvūr inscription explains it by telling us as to what followed. It speaks of the premeditated action of Kulaśekhara.

<sup>1</sup> No. 101 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1908.

<sup>2</sup> No. 336 of the same collection for 1927-28.

<sup>3</sup> S. I. I., Vol. V, No. 296.

Before proceeding further, it may be advantageous to consider here the relationship of some of the mediaeval Pāṇḍya kings found in inscriptions. Tamil epigraphs, when they intend to convey definite relationship, use appropriate and unambiguous terms to denote them. We meet with terms like *tiruttagappanār*<sup>1</sup> or *ayyar*<sup>2</sup> for father, *aṇṇāḷi*<sup>3</sup> or *aṇṇar*<sup>4</sup> for elder brother, *akkaṇ*<sup>5</sup> for elder sister, *dēriyāṇ*<sup>6</sup> for queen, *maguṇār*<sup>7</sup> or *piḷḷaiyār*<sup>8</sup> for son, *magalār* or *peṇ-piḷḷai*<sup>9</sup> for daughter, *marumaganār*<sup>10</sup> for nephew or sister's son, *maittuṇaṇār*<sup>11</sup> for brother-in-law, *ammūṇ*<sup>12</sup> for uncle, *appāḷḷar*<sup>13</sup> for great grandfather, etc. To denote simply a predecessor, be he distant or near, or any elder or senior member, deceased or living, the terms *periyavar*, *periyadēvar* or *periyāṇḍayanār* are employed. In dealing with the Tinnevely inscription of Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II, I pointed out, by two telling instances, that *periyadēvar* or *periyāṇḍayanār* cannot definitely indicate a father.<sup>14</sup> One of the inscriptions found at Puravari near Nagarcoil, dated in the 16th year of the reign of the Pāṇḍya Māṇavarman Śrīvallabhadēva speaks of a son of the king by name Kulaśēkharadēva<sup>15</sup> and another inscription found at Kōṭṭaikkaruṅḷam in the Tinnevely District, dated in the 2nd year and 600th day of the same king's reign, states that the Virēśvaramuḍaiyār was re-named Kulaśēkhara-Īśvaramuḍaiyār after the name of the king's father, thus letting us know that Māṇavarman Śrīvallabha's father was also called Kulaśēkhara.<sup>16</sup> Here, therefore, there are two Kulaśēkharas, one being the grandfather of the other. Both of them may be tentatively assumed to have borne the title Jaṭāvarman from the fact that the middle member Śrīvallabha was styled Māṇavarman. One other fact that is known is that Māṇavarman Śrīvallabha flourished about the middle of the 12th century A.D. being a contemporary of Viraravivarman-Tiruvāḍi, in all probability a ruler of Vēṇāḍu, for whom a date Kollam 336 (A.D. 1161) has been discovered.<sup>17</sup> There is thus every possibility of Māṇavarman Śrīvallabha's son being that Kulaśēkhara in whose reign, in about A.D. 1166-7, the civil war in the Pāṇḍya country commenced. As we have already shown that the war must have been started in the reign of Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara who had the introduction *Pūtalamaḍandai*, our assumption that Māṇavarman Śrīvallabha's son Kulaśēkhara might be a Jaṭāvarman becomes strengthened and his ancestry also settled. With this information before us, we cannot but assign the Kallaḍakurichi inscription,<sup>18</sup> dated in the 2nd year of the reign of Jaṭāvarman Tribhuvanchakravartin Kulaśēkharadēva, which mentions *periyāṇḍayanār* Śrīvallabhadēva, to Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkharadēva with *Pūtalamaḍandai* introduction, and regard the Śrīvallabha referred to therein as being identical with Māṇavarman Śrīvallabha of A.D. 1161, the father and predecessor of king Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara with *Pūtalamaḍandai* introduction.

With the materials available to us from inscriptions and other sources we have shown the significance of the end of the 4th year of the reign of Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara that started the civil war and noted that it marks the day of triumph of Kulaśēkhara over his adversary Parākrama-Pāṇḍya, who, it is said, had been put to death even before the arrival of the forces from Ceylon.

<sup>1</sup> No. 271 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1927-28.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 159.

<sup>3</sup> Nos. 425, 426 and 448 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1913, and *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 529.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 159.

<sup>5</sup> Nos. 314 and 315 of 1923.

<sup>6</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 298.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> No. 31 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. VI.

<sup>9</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 231.

<sup>10</sup> No. 336 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1927-28.

<sup>11</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, Nos. 293 and 421.

<sup>12</sup> No. 327 of 1916.

<sup>13</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 446.

<sup>14</sup> Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 159.

<sup>15</sup> No. 50 of 1896.

<sup>16</sup> No. 271 of 1927-28.

<sup>17</sup> *An. Rep. on Epigraphy*, Madras, for 1896, p. 5, paragraph 15.

<sup>18</sup> No. 110 of Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1907.

The year under consideration is thus the last year of the reign of Parākrama-Pāṇḍya. While Kulaśekhara is represented by inscriptions, there is every reason to expect the records of his adversary also. And I think there could not be any possible objection to say that the ill-fated Parākrama-Pāṇḍya is the Māravarman Parākrama-Pāṇḍya with the introduction *Tirumagaḷ-puṇara*. In this connection, it may be noted that no other Parākrama-Pāṇḍya with a different introduction assignable to this period has at all come to light. So far as is known at present, his reign extends to 12 years, and if the year A.D. 1166 marks the end of his rule, his accession must be placed in A.D. 1154. The late Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri expressed the view that Māravarman Parākrama-Pāṇḍya must have been a predecessor of or co-regent with either of the two Śrīvallabhas, and, judging from the position which the introduction of Māravarman Śrīvallabha occupied in a record belonging to the time of Māravarman Parākrama-Pāṇḍya found at Kuruvitturai,<sup>1</sup> he said it was evident that the latter was a predecessor of the former.<sup>2</sup> The conclusion we have arrived at above, viz., that Māravarman Parākrama-Pāṇḍya reigned from A.D. 1154 to 1166 well establishes this inference. The *Mahāvamsa* tells us that Parākrama had a son named Vira-Pāṇḍya who was set up on the Pāṇḍya throne by the Sinhalese generals according to the instructions given to them by their king Parākrama-Bāhu. Inscriptions of the reign of Kulōttuṅga III refer to an unnamed son of this Vira-Pāṇḍya and say that he fought along with his father against the Chōḷas and shared his defeat more than once. It is a question if the setting up of Vira-Pāṇḍya on the Pāṇḍya throne by the Sinhalese generals could be taken seriously, and whether it was at all recognised by the people, even if it were a fact. For all that we see Vira-Pāṇḍya had not the usual coronation ceremony. Neither are there any inscriptions attributable to his reign. From the moment of his father's death he had been contesting with Kulaśekhara for kingdom and crown. And so long as the reign of Kulaśekhara lasted, Vira-Pāṇḍya's rule may be said not to have commenced. Since we know from the records with the introduction *Pūtala-maḇandaḷ* that Kulaśekhara held the reins of government till at least A.D. 1176, it may be said that Vira-Pāṇḍya commenced his rule in this year. To this end, the information furnished in two inscriptions of Rājādhirāja II, both dated in the 12th year and 157th day, i.e., the 13th year also leads us. The records under reference come from Tiruvālaṅgāḍu in the North Arcot District and Tirumayāṇam in the Pudukkōṭṭai State and are almost exact copies. Though the latter record is fragmentary, Mr. Venkatasubba Aiyar has, by carefully comparing it with the damaged portions of the former inscription, been able to fill in certain lacunae in it. He tells us that the Pāṇḍya king Kulaśekhara, ignoring the good deeds done to him, proved a traitor, made an alliance with the king of Iḷam and conspired with him against the Chōḷas. And some letters and presents despatched to the officers of Kulaśekhara, hinting that the Sinhalese king was an ally of their master, were intercepted by the Chōḷa king who directed the chief Pallavarāyan to reinstate on the Pāṇḍya throne Vira-Pāṇḍya, the son of Parākrama-Pāṇḍya, the former protégé of Ceylon.<sup>3</sup> Vira-Pāṇḍya's reign which thus commenced in and synchronised with the fall of Kulaśekhara in A.D. 1176, did not last long, for we know from the Tirukkollāmbūdūr inscription that by A.D. 1182 he drove Māravarman Vikrama-Pāṇḍya to the necessity of suing for help to the Chōḷa king Kulōttuṅga and this cost him his own crown and kingdom.<sup>4</sup> We have no direct information as to who this Māravarman Vikrama-Pāṇḍya was, but, as had been assumed, he might be the son of Kulaśekhara.

We now pass on to notice another clear relationship mentioned in the inscriptions of the mediaeval Pāṇḍya kings. Numerous epigraphs of Jaṭavarman Śrīvallabha with the introduction

<sup>1</sup> No. 328 of the Mad. Ep. Colln. for 1903.

<sup>2</sup> *An. Rep. on Epigraphy*, Madras, for 1909, p. 84, paragraph 29.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 187-8.

<sup>4</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. VI, No. 436.



*Tirumaṇḍaiyūm* are registered in the *Annual Reports on South Indian Epigraphy*. Four of these mention Sundara-Pāṇḍya as the king's son, and the fifth states that a royal order was issued by Sundara-Pāṇḍya without specifying his relationship to the king.<sup>1</sup> They are dated in the 4th, 17th and 19th years, the last being of the 9th year of reign. Knowing the fact that Jaṭavarman Śrīvallabha had a son named Sundara-Pāṇḍya, there is a possibility of taking Māra-varman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, in whose 9th year record, a copy of a grant made in the 3rd year of the reign of Jaṭavarman Śrīvallabha is registered,<sup>2</sup> to be this prince. If this were the case, Jaṭavarman Śrīvallabha would have to be assigned to the period A.D. 1193 to 1216, as the highest regnal year furnished for him in inscriptions is 23.<sup>3</sup> This is very unlikely to judge from the contents of some of the inscriptions of Jaṭavarman Śrīvallabha. That he was not far removed from the time of the Chōḷa king Kulōttuṅga I can be inferred from the fact that a chief of Adaḷaiyūr-nāḍu<sup>4</sup> by name Mummudiśōḷan Virasēkhara figures both in a 4th year inscription of his and in a 49th year record of Kulōttuṅga.<sup>5</sup> That he must have been quite near in point of time to Māra-varman Parākrama-Pāṇḍya is made evident from the fact that a certain chief named Śēramān Tōḷa figures in the epigraphs of both these sovereigns. It is said that at the instance of this chief Parākrama-Pāṇḍya made a gift of the village of Sēṅguḷam *alias* Viraiyaviṭṭanallūr to the Mūlasthānam-uḍaiyār temple at Kaṭṭikkallūr : <sup>6</sup> and he figures as a signatory in a grant of Jaṭavarman Śrīvallabha.<sup>7</sup> It is further worthy of note that a grant made by the same chief is mentioned as a past transaction in a record of the 9th year of Jaṭavarman Kulaśekhara with *Pūṭalamaṇḍai* introduction. Thus, Jaṭavarman Śrīvallabha appears to have ruled not long after Kulōttuṅga I, and immediately following Māra-varman Parākrama, either as co-regent with or slightly before Kulaśekhara of the civil war. Further, it is found that the chief Kālīṅgarāyan was one of his principal advisers as well as of Jaṭavarman Kulaśekhara I (*Pūviṇkilatti*).

From what we have discussed above it will be clear that there were the following lines of Pāṇḍya kings in the mediaeval period :—

- (i) the line of Māra-varman Śrīvallabha headed by Kulaśekhara-Pāṇḍya. To it belonged Jaṭavarman Kulaśekhara whose inscriptions have the *Pūṭalamaṇḍai* introduction, the king that was principally concerned in the civil war. His accession took place in A.D. 1162. On his side were the kings of the two Koṅḡus and the Chōḷas. Māra-varman Vikrama-Pāṇḍya was probably his son and successor. The termination of Kulaśekhara's rule was brought about by the Chōḷa Rājādhirāja II in A.D. 1176, on his proving a traitor to the cause of his benefactor ; and in the short period from this date and A.D. 1183, the date of accession of Māra-varman Vikrama-Pāṇḍya, Virapāṇḍya, the son of Parākrama-Pāṇḍya, ruled.

- (ii) The line of Parākrama-Pāṇḍya which counted himself, his son Vira-Pāṇḍya and the latter's son whose name is not revealed in Chōḷa inscriptions. There are strong grounds for supposing that this unnamed son must be Māra-varman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I.

<sup>1</sup> Madras Epigraphical Collection, No. 403 of 1909, Nos. 266 and 277 of 1927-28, No. 371 of 1929-30 and No. 326 of 1908.

<sup>2</sup> No. 683 of the same collection for 1905. The gift was made to the temple of Tiruvēḍagamuḍaiya-Nāya-nār at Tiruvēḍagam in Pāṅai-kūṇṇam.

<sup>3</sup> No. 555 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1922.

<sup>4</sup> No. 30 of the same collection for 1909.

<sup>5</sup> No. 32 of the same collection.

<sup>6</sup> No. 130 of the same collection for 1910.

<sup>7</sup> *S. I. J.*, Vol. V, Nos. 294 and 295.

The attitude of this king, even at the very first year of his accession to throne, not only towards the Chōlas but also towards the kings of the two Koṅgu countries, who had all along been the allies of Kulaśekhara and Vikrama and formed formidable obstacles in the way of Vira-Pāṇḍya and his supporters, presupposes a chapter of enmity between them; and his deeds are a rehearsal in the reverse order of what had passed in the past. He kept both the kings of Koṅgu in prison and in chains and led them on to his capital to do honour to his triumphant return to the city. The humiliation which he caused to the Chōlas was no less.

- (iii) In the line of Jaṭāvarman Śrīvallabha, there was his son Sundara-Pāṇḍya who was old enough to be associated with him in the government of the country. This prince perhaps never succeeded to the throne, and if he did, he must have had a very brief reign in which he did not leave any inscriptions. Who his successor was, it is not possible to determine at present. But it appears certain that there was another Jaṭāvarman Śrīvallabha.

We cannot be sure if Jaṭāvarman Kulaśekhara with *Pūṇkilatti* introduction belonged to any one of the three lines noticed above or came of a different line. In dealing with the Tinnevely inscription of Māravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II,<sup>1</sup> I pointed out that it is not absolutely certain that Jaṭāvarman Kulaśekhara I and Māravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I had a common father in Māravarman Vikrama-Pāṇḍya.

The simultaneous existence of more than one king reigning over the Pāṇḍya country leads us to think that one among them must have held the chief power and that the rest were subordinate to him, though independent in their own spheres. What determined the claim for the prime position in the kingdom, we are yet to learn. All that we could gather from the account of the civil war is that there was some fixed principle followed in the choice of or claim for the position of honour. It has been shown above that when the civil war commenced, i.e., in A.D. 1167, Kulaśekhara, one of the claimants to the throne at Madura, had completed four years of his reign and Parākrama-Pāṇḍya, the other claimant, had reigned for 12 years. The Sinhalese chronicle and the Chōla and Koṅgu inscriptions lead us to think that the throne of the premier ruler at Madura fell vacant in A.D. 1167 and the succession to it was disputed by the rivals. For aught we see, most of the kings of the mainland supported the cause of Kulaśekhara while the other received succour from the neighbouring island. It still remains to be known who it was that ruled in Madura till A.D. 1167. If seniority among the rulers determined the succession to the throne, there could not have been rival claims. Though Parākrama had reigned for 12 years on the date in question, it was Kulaśekhara that was supported by most of the kings in the south. This suggests that the principle was different. Future researches alone can enlighten us on the issue.

Now about the length of the reign of Jaṭāvarman Kulaśekhara I and about his successor. The highest regnal year<sup>2</sup> furnished for Jaṭāvarman Kulaśekhara I in inscriptions is 30 which takes us to A.D. 1219-20. In about A.D. 1218-19, as will be shown presently, he seems to have fallen seriously ill and much concern was felt about his recovery. An inscription discovered at Kaṇṇaṇūr (in the Tirumeyyam Taluk of the Pudukkōṭṭai State) states that, on the representation of Piḷḷaiyār Aḷagapperumāḷ, king Māravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I issued an order in the 3rd year of his reign reducing the royal share of taxes due from two villages in

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 159.

<sup>2</sup> No. 246 of the Pudukkōṭṭai State collection.

Turumā-nāḍu in Kāṇa-nāḍu for the welfare and recovery from illness of Ulaguḍaiya-Nāyaṇār.<sup>1</sup> The question is who are meant by Aḷagapperumāḷ and Ulaguḍaiya-Nāyaṇār. At first sight it might appear that Aḷagapperumāḷ must have been the son of Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I and that by the term Ulaguḍaiya-Nāyaṇār, Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya himself must be meant. This is wrong. Since Aḷagapperumāḷ figures in the large Tiruppūvaṇam plates with the prefix *Piḷḷaiyār*, there is reason to take him to be the son of Jaṭavarman Kuḷaśekhara I. He might have been continued to be called *Piḷḷaiyār* in later days also. In the plates, his high status is indicated by his having had under him an official bearing the designation 'adigāram.' As Jaṭavarman Kuḷaśekhara I was living at the time of the Kāṇaṇūr inscription, we think the term Ulaguḍaiya-Nāyaṇār must refer to him and not to Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. The concern of the prince about the father is natural. Another important fact that the inscription under reference reveals is that Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, whose accession took place in A. D. 1216 and who appears to have been issuing records in his own name only from the 3rd year of his reign had been nominated already during the time of Kuḷaśekhara I and he might be said to have had a share in the government of the country even before his nomination. As we have no inscription dated later than the 29th year for Jaṭavarman Kuḷaśekhara I which, by the way, is the same as the third year of the reign of Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, he must have succumbed to the disease referred to in the Kāṇaṇūr record. The Sanskrit verse at the beginning of the plates under publication tells us that the king was apprised of the fact of completion of the formation of the village of Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimaṅgalam by Sundarēśa (*Sundarēśād-avagata*). From the facts just noticed, it seems likely that by Sundarēśa is meant here Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. Sundara's war against Kuḷōttuṅga III must have been conducted under the standard of Jaṭavarman Kuḷaśekhara I or at least it must have been countenanced by him. In this connection, it may be noted that some of the persons that held offices under Kuḷaśekhara figure also in the records of Sundara. On the whole the reign of Jaṭavarman Kuḷaśekhara I appears to have been a prosperous one, undisturbed by any wars except in the closing years. The king seems to have had good regard for Vedic learning and patronised the scholars proficient in it by founding big villages and granting them as *brahmadēyas* provided with all facilities for good living. Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimaṅgalam is one of the biggest villages that was ever founded. To some extent the peace in the reign of Jaṭavarman Kuḷaśekhara I must be attributed to the decline of the Chōḷa power which may be said to have commenced in the last decade of the 12th century A. D. not long after the interference of Kuḷōttuṅga III in Pāṇḍyan affairs ending in the accession of Vikrama-Pāṇḍya Māṇavarman, when the Chōḷas lost their hold on Conjeeveram, the second great city of the empire. In the latter part of the reign of Kuḷōttuṅga III there were several factions in the Chōḷa country and though the heads of these factions recognised in a way the supreme authority of the Chōḷa emperor there is not much doubt that the peace of the country was greatly disturbed by the part played by the parties. The differences among them, which remained unremoved for a long time, contributed largely to the rapid weakening of the empire and gave the enemies of the Chōḷas, who had suffered seriously before, an opportunity to wreak their vengeance. The time was favourable for the Pāṇḍyas to muster their strength and resources to try final issues with the Chōḷas in order to wipe out their disgrace. Just three years before the

<sup>1</sup> No. 250 of the same collection. In another inscription of Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I (date lost), *Piḷḷaiyār* Aḷagapperumāḷ figures as consecrating a God in the temple of Tiruveṅgaivāsal in Pudukkōṭṭai State and making a gift of land to it. It is added that the prince was in possession of the District at the time (No. 327).

end of the reign of Jaṭavarman Kulasekhara I, the Pāṇḍyas under the lead of Māvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, won laurels in the field against the Chōlas and the kings of the two Koṅgu countries, and this practically brought the civil war to a culmination.<sup>1</sup> That this war was directed against the Chōla and Koṅgu kings prevents any possibility of taking Jaṭavarman Kulasekhara I and Māvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I to be the descendants of Kulasekhara of the civil war with *Pūtalamaṇḍai* introduction.

Now we come to the consideration of the **geographical names**. The inscription under edition mentions a good number of districts and sub-divisions. They are : (1) Miḷalai-kūṟṟam, (2) Muttūṟṟu-kūṟṟam, (3) Kēraḷasiṅga-vaḷanāḍu, (4) Madurōdaya-vaḷanāḍu and (5) Śōḷapāṇḍiya-vaḷanāḍu among Districts ; and (6) Māḍakkulam, (7) Aḷaiyapāṇḍiyakkulam, (8) Rājaśiṅgaṅkulam, (9) Vaḍatalai-Śembi-nāḍu, (10) Poḷiyūr-nāḍu, (11) Karuṅguḍi-nāḍu, (12) Puṟapparaḷai-nāḍu, (13) Tiyaṇḍaikkūḍi-nāḍu, (14) Kīṭ-Śembi-nāḍu, (15) Paṇaṅgālūr-nāḍu, (16) Kāṇai-Irukai, (17) Kīraṇūr-nāḍu, (18) Tiruvāvaṇam, (19) Mēṟkūḍi-nāḍu and (20) Kaḷavaḷi-nāḍu among sub-divisions. The villages under No. 1 are Parāntakanallūr and Taṇḍalai. No. 2 had Kappalūr, No. 3 Veḷiyāṟṟūr, No. 4 Madurai, No. 5 Śiṟu-Paśalai, No. 6 Madurai, No. 7 Māṇūr, No. 8 Rājendiram and Tiruppūvaṇam, No. 9 Āykkūḍi, No. 10 Aruṅgulam and Poḷiyūr, No. 11 Kīḷ-Neṭṭūr *alias* Kīrtiviśālaiyanallūr, No. 12 Puttūr, Kaḷikkūḍi and Miḷagaṇūr, No. 13 Kīṭ-Paśalai *alias* Dāṇaviṇḍanallūr, Mēṟ-Paśalai *alias* Śrīvalla-bha-chaturvēdimāṅgalam and Māṇaviramaṅgalam, No. 14 Mālaṅguḍi, No. 15 Aḍikarai, No. 16 Iruṇchirai and Mittiravēli, No. 17 Viḍattal *alias* Mānābharaṇa-chaturvēdimāṅgalam, Vēlūr, Nakkamaṅgalam, Vāgaikūḍi, Tiruvāvaṇam, Tuttiyūr and Kīruṅgakkōṭṭai, No. 18 Marudūr and No. 19 Mēṟkūḍi and Aṇṇalvāy.

Of the Districts, **Miḷalai-kūṟṟam** and **Muttūṟṟu-kūṟṟam** have a separate history which is worth noting and which, owing to the formation of modern districts, has been badly misconceived. As regards the position of these two ancient territorial divisions, whether they were in the Chōla country or not, we have to know the southern limit of the Chōla country which would determine at once the northern boundary of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom.<sup>2</sup> It is stated in the Tamil *Śōḷamaṇḍalaśatakam*<sup>3</sup> that the boundaries of the Chōla country were the river Vēllāru in the north and south, Kōṭṭaikkarai in the west and the sea in the east. A verse attributed to the Tamil poet Kambar calls the northern boundary Ēṇāṭṭu-Vēllāru<sup>4</sup> and thus distinguishes it from the

<sup>1</sup> A later record of the time of Māvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I dated in the 21st year of his reign (=A.D. 1237) tells us that owing to the imposition of taxes on *dēvadāna* lands during the time of the Kannaḍiyar there was no money in the treasury of the temple at Kōṭṭaiyūr in Kāṇa-nāḍu and that the temple authorities had to sell away some of the temple lands (No. 310 of the Pudukkōṭṭai State collection). About the same time, we have an inscription at Tirugōkarṇam, dated in the 20th year of Rājaraḷa III which registers gifts made for the merit of the sons of Sōmaladēviyūr the queen of Narasiṅha and the mother of Sōmēśvara of Dōrasamudram (No. 183 of the Pudukkōṭṭai State collection). These two inscriptions testify to the fact that the Hoysaḷas aided the Chōlas against the Pāṇḍyas.

<sup>2</sup> For the present we leave out of consideration the minor principalities : they will be dealt with separately.

<sup>3</sup> The verse runs as follows : it is given here for easy reference :—

Śelluṇ-kunapār-ṟirai-vēlai teppār-chelitta Vēllāru  
Velluṇ-Kōṭṭaikkarai viḷaṅgu mēlpāl vaḍapāl Vēllāre  
Ellaiy-oru-nāṅgiṇuṇ-kādam=irupā-nāṅgum=iḍam peridā  
Mallal vālvu talait=ōṅgum vaḷaṇ-chēr Śōḷa-maṇḍalamē ||

<sup>4</sup> The following is the stanza :—

Kaḍal kiḷakku=tterku=kkarai-puraḷ-Vēllāru  
Kuḍa-tiśaiyir-Kōṭṭaikkaraiyām vaḍa-tiśaiyil  
Ēṇāṭṭu Vēllār=irupattu-nār-kādam  
Śōṇāṭṭukk-ellaiyeṇa-chchol ||

other Vellāru which formed the southern boundary of the country. Students unacquainted with the ancient Indian morality of warfare, which in most cases left the territories unaffected by the results of war, might think that the boundaries given above only represent what they were at the time when the author of the *Śōlamanḍalaśatakam* and Kambar flourished, and as such, cannot be taken as true for earlier times. This notion is not correct. One can indeed see positive proof afforded by the statements of the two authorities, who were removed from each other in point of time and yet described in identical terms the boundaries, thus showing that the limits given were those in the past ages, not of their own. Annexation of territories did occur but they were rare. Whether rare or frequent, it must be further noted that such instances did not affect the geography of the place; and this will be made clear as we proceed. Another fact that is likely to mislead the student is the ancient practice of naming conquered territories after the names or surnames of the victor. It might be said that the fresh names given to places did not wipe out the older ones but were added on to them as later surnames to indicate, by the mere mention of the name with its surname, to whom or to which country the places originally belonged and who acquired it or re-named it in later times. Thus, in the double names such as Koṅg-āṇa Viraśōḷa-maṇḍalam, Gaṅga-maṇḍalam-āṇa Nigariliśōḷa-maṇḍalam, Tonḍai-nāḍ-āṇa Jayaṅḡḡaśōḷa-maṇḍalam, Rājārāja-Pāṇḍināḍu, etc., one is clearly enabled to know what the ancient name of the district or province was in spite of its passing into other hands in later days. Here it might be added that it is the original name that survives in each case at the present day and not the later ones. For example, though the Pallavas ceased to be a ruling power after the Chōḷa Āditya I conquered their country in the 9th century A.D. and Rājārāja I gave that country the new name Jayaṅḡḡaśōḷa-maṇḍalam, it is the ancient name Tonḍai-nāḍu or Tonḍai-maṇḍalam that persists. Similarly, in the case of the Pāṇḍya country, which was first conquered by Parāntaka I in the 10th century A.D. and was re-named Rājārāja-Pāṇḍināḍu in the 11th century, the name Pāṇḍi-nāḍu or Pāṇḍi-maṇḍalam exists even today. The conquerors themselves carefully minded preserving the original names. Thus in the stamp of double names impressed on the places in inscriptions, there is sure indication as to what ancient dominion the places at first belonged.

Vellāru being the southern limit of the ancient Chōḷa dominions, the territory lying to the south of it must have belonged to any other kingdom than Śōṇāḍu or Śōḷa-maṇḍalam. That it was actually so is proved both by inscriptions and by the Tamil literature as will be seen in the sequel. Now we shall take up that portion of the Arantāṅgi Taluk which lies to the south of the Vellāru river, and therefore clearly outside the Chōḷa dominion, and see to what country it belonged. Roughly, this tract is something like a triangle with one of its points turned southwards ending in Tiruppunavāśal and having its base in the north running from west to east along the course of the river Vellāru as it flows into the sea just at the north of Maṇamēḷkuḍi and east of Tanḍalai. Out of this triangle, a portion on the north-western side falls in the Pudukkōṭṭai State. It will be observed that the line 79° 5' cuts this triangle almost into two halves, one in the east and the other in the west. The portion on the eastern side forms the seaboard and extends from the mouth of the Vellāru in the north to the mouth of the Pāmbāru in the south. The western portion adjoins the Pudukkōṭṭai State and the Rāmnāḍ and Śivaganga Zamindaries and in this region the river Pāmbāru is seen to mark the western boundary of a portion of the southern part of the modern Arantāṅgi Taluk. Almost the whole of this tract of land was included in Miḷalai-kūrṅam. This Miḷalai-kūrṅam is a natural division, an island formed by the rivers Vellāru and Pāmbāru and the sea. Over it there reigned in early times a chieftain named Vēḷ-Evvi, of ancient

stock, and famous for the munificence of gifts which he made.<sup>1</sup> He was the immediate ancestor or a near relation of Vēl-Pāri who, like him, had earned a similar renown which made the Śaiva saint Sundaramūrti-Nāyanār celebrate him in one of the Tēvāram hymns.<sup>2</sup> Vēl-Evvi is said to have been defeated by the Pāṇḍya king Talaiyālaṅgānattu-śeruvēṇṇa-Neḍuñjeliyan.<sup>3</sup> Vēl-Pāri's liberality was such that he is said to have presented away all the 300 villages over which he was lord.<sup>4</sup> If there is truth in these statements, the family of Evvi and Pāri should have ceased to exist as a ruling power in or immediately after the time of the Pāṇḍya Neduñjeliyan and the tract of country formerly subject to them, of which the principal one was Mīlalai-kūrṇam, should have passed into the hands of the Pāṇḍyas and included in their dominion, i.e., Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam. It is quite in agreement with this that the inscriptions refer to Mīlalai-kūrṇam as a district of the Pāṇḍya country. This ancient district of Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam had three divisions named after the directions in which they lay, viz., Kīl-kūrṇu, the eastern division which adjoined the sea, Mēl-kūrṇu, the western division which included in it the villages adjoining the river Pāmbāru, and Naḍuvir-kūrṇu, which lay between these two. There are enough geographical references to the various divisions of this ancient district and the villages situated in them; but they lie scattered and unrecognised in the vast number of South Indian epigraphs. A mere collection of the references found in lithic records of past ages, arranged and classified under the three divisions named above, followed by the identification of the places mentioned therein and spotting them in a map is sure to remove much of our ignorance and misconception relating to this district and prove to be of value in locating easily fresh places that future discoveries might bring to light. The popular idea that all places included in the modern District of Tanjore must have belonged to the Chōlas or, in other words, that the Tanjore District represents the ancient Chōla dominion is wrong and must account for the misconception that Mīlalai-kūrṇam with its sister district of Muttūrru-kūrṇam should have been in the possession of the ancient Chōlas and included in their dominion. From what has been said above, it will be clear that excepting perhaps a small portion to the north of the Veḷḷāru river, the rest of the Arantangi Taluk lay outside the Chōla dominion and that this tract was first subject to the rule of Vēl-Evvi and subsequently passed into the hands of the Pāṇḍyas and was ever afterwards geographically included in Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam and formed a major portion of two of the divisions of the ancient district of Mīlalai-kūrṇam. The following is almost an exhaustive list of the villages in Mīlalai-kūrṇam found in the inscriptions of the South Indian epigraphical collection.<sup>5</sup> They are noted under the respective divisions to which they belonged and in such an order as would admit of easy identification.

<sup>1</sup> "Ōmbāv-igaḷ mā-Vēl-Evvi" and "Ton-muḍir Vēlir" are the expressions used in describing him in *Puram* 24.

<sup>2</sup> Verse 2 of Sundaramūrti-Nāyanār's hymn on Tiruppugalūr.

<sup>3</sup> *Puṇam* 24. The words used are "Mīlalaiyoḍu \* \* \* \* Muttūru tанда loṟṟa-nīl-kudai-kkoḍi-ttēr-chCheliyan."

<sup>4</sup> *Puṇam* 110. The relevant portion runs thus:—

Kaḍand-aḍu-tānai mūvirun-kūḍiy-  
udanṇanirāyinuṁ Pārambu koḷaṅk-aridē  
Munnūr-ūrttē taṇ-Pārambu-nan-pāḍu  
Munnūr-ūruṁ pariśīlar perṇanar.

In an inscription, Tiruvāḍavūr is said to have been situated in Ten-Pārambu-nāḍu, a subdivision of Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam. (No. 423 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. VIII.)

<sup>5</sup> There is a valuable contribution in the *Koṅṅumalar* (Vol. IV, pp. 80f.) by Mr. K. S. Vaidyanathan on 'Vēl-Evvi and his country' where he has collected together most of the references to Mīlalai-kūrṇam and Muttūrru-kūrṇam found in inscriptions and Tamil classical works and has successfully established that these two Districts originally belonged only to Vēl-Evvi.

Mīlalai-kūrram.<sup>1</sup>

Kīl-kūrru.	Naḍuvir-kūrru.	Mēl-kūrru (Vada-Pāmbārru-nāḍu)
Taṇḍalai. <sup>2</sup>	Āvudaiyārkōyil <sup>3</sup> or Tirupperundu- rai <i>alias</i> Pavitramāṇikka- <i>chatur-</i> <i>vēdimāṅgalam.</i>	Aśvatavattūr. <sup>21</sup>
Maṇamēlkuḍi <i>alias</i> Kulōttuṅgaśōlapattinam. <sup>3</sup>	Tachchanenmalī. <sup>13</sup>	Ālappirandāṇ-Būmiyūr. <sup>22</sup>
Maṇjakkukūḍi. <sup>4</sup>	Tuñjalūr. <sup>14</sup>	Mājavār-māṇikkam. <sup>23</sup>
Embal <i>alias</i> Kaliyugarāmanallūr. <sup>5</sup>	Amarāḍi (or °ḍakki) maṅgalam. <sup>16</sup>	Śēndamaṅgalam. <sup>24</sup>
Popparri. <sup>6</sup>	Paravilimaṅgalam. <sup>16</sup>	Enāṅgaḷūr. <sup>25</sup>
Vaṅganagar. <sup>7</sup>	Viḷāṅkāṭṭūr <i>alias</i> Vikramaśōlanal- lūr. <sup>17</sup>	Mūmmōr.
Śēyyānam <i>alias</i> Parākramapāṇḍiya- nallūr. <sup>8</sup>	Pullūrkkūḍi. <sup>18</sup>	Taṇṇir-Āṇḍakkūḍi <i>alias</i> Daraṇi- viḥeḥādiranallūr. <sup>26</sup>
Koluvanūr. <sup>9</sup>	Parāntakanallūr <i>alias</i> Kulōt- tuṅgaśōlanallūr. <sup>29</sup>	Sundarapāṇḍiyanallūr. <sup>27</sup>
Vetchiyūr <i>alias</i> Mummaḍiśōlanal- lūr. <sup>10</sup>	Pudukkūḍi. <sup>20</sup>	Vaikundanallūr. <sup>28</sup>
Viḷattūr <i>alias</i> Jayaṅgaśōlanal- lūr.		Nuḷambūr. <sup>29</sup>

The villages are arranged from north to south in the above list to dispense with the necessity of a map.

If the southern portion of the modern Arantangi Taluk is divided into two halves by drawing a vertical line north-south one can find without any exception all the places of the Kīl-kūrru in the eastern half which adjoins the Bay of Bengal, and all the places of the Naḍuvir-kūrru on the western half, with the exception of Parāntakanallūr *alias* Kulōttuṅgaśōlanallūr. The last men-

<sup>1</sup> This District was sometimes called Gēyavinōḍa-vaḷanāḍu (No. 442 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1929-30), which was one of its Divisions (551 of 1926). Besides the villages noted under each of the three Divisions, a few more are mentioned as being in Mīlalai-kūrram without specifying the Division to which they belonged. These are Munpālai (No. 230 of 1926), Karuvili (No. 125 of 1912), Okkūr (No. 247 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. VIII), Veḷlūr (No. 393 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. VIII), Vittūrparru and Ādūni (No. 211 of the same Volume), Pārūr (No. 67 of *Mad. Ep. Colln.* for 1910), Tiruvindaḷūr (No. 547 of 1916), Perunāvalūr (No. 406 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. V), Irumbāḷi (No. 265 of 1928-29), and Aḍumbār (No. 66 of 1927).

<sup>2</sup> Below, text-line 76.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 210.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> No. 380 of the *Mad. Ep. Colln.* for 1929-30.

<sup>8</sup> No. 462 of the same collection and No. 301 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. V.

<sup>9</sup> No. 460 of the *Mad. Ep. Colln.* for 1909.

<sup>10</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 372; Vol. V, Nos. 301, 446; and *A. S. S. I.*, pp. 48 and 52.

<sup>11</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 372; *A. S. S. I.*, pp. 48, 52; and *Madras Epigraphical Collection* for 1909, No. 461.

<sup>12</sup> Nos. 502 and 503 of the same colln. for 1925.

<sup>13</sup> No. 372 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV.

<sup>14</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 301 and No. 425 of *Mad. Ep. Colln.* for 1911.

<sup>15</sup> *Mad. Ep. Colln.* No. 15 of 1924 and No. 694 of 1916.

<sup>16</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 301.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 432.

<sup>18</sup> *Mad. Ep. Colln.* No. 270 of 1929-30, No. 30 of 1908, No. 2 of 1931-32 and *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 372 and Vol. V, No. 301.

<sup>19</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, Nos. 301 and 987 and Pudukkōṭṭai State collection, Nos. 126 and 376.

<sup>20</sup> *Madras Epigraphical Collection* for 1929-30, No. 457.

<sup>21</sup> *Mad. Ep. Colln.* for 1926, No. 551.

<sup>22</sup> Same collection for 1929-30, No. 240.

<sup>23</sup> Nos. 324, 492 and 591 of Pudukkōṭṭai State collection.

<sup>24</sup> No. 411 of the same collection.

<sup>25</sup> No. 372 of the same collection.

<sup>26</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 301.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 987.

<sup>28</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 301.

<sup>29</sup> No. 519 of 1925 and Pudukkōṭṭai State collection No. 124.

tioned place is now changed in name and is called Irumbānādu. It is in the Pudukkōṭṭai State and the inscriptions of the place show that it bore the name Parāntakanallūr. The places noted above under Mēl-kūrū, also called Vaḍa-Pāmbāru-nādu, do not fall in the Arantangi Taluk. Three of them, *viz.*, Mālavarmāṇikkam, Śēdamaṅgalam and Ēpāṅgaḷūr are in the Pudukkōṭṭai State. The finding of so many of the villages of Mīlalai-kūrām in South Arantangi Taluk and the adjacent part of Pudukkōṭṭai State convincingly proves that this was the region subject to the rule of the Vēḷ chieftain Evvi in the first instance. That this Kūrām is invariably stated in inscriptions from the time of Parāntaka I, *i.e.*, from the beginning of the tenth century<sup>1</sup> downwards as being situated in Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam shows that it was acquired by the Pāṇḍyas from Vēḷ-Evvi and included in that territory. It is particularly worthy of note that even though the Chōḷas obtained possession of the Pāṇḍya territory later in the days of Parāntaka I as is clearly indicated by the existence of the Chōḷa inscriptions, traces of the inclusion of the Kūrām originally in the Pāṇḍya country did not disappear but were on the other hand preserved and there is every reason to hold that the Vēḷ chieftain must have been subordinate to the Pāṇḍya king. Else the district would not have been termed as one in Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam. It would simply have been called Mīlalai-kūrām just like Urattūr-kūrām. All that the Chōḷa conquest meant was that the Chōḷa suzerainty was acknowledged by the Pāṇḍya king and his subjects. Some of the places of Mīlalai-kūrām have a history of their own which every student of Tamil literature must be aware of even though he may not know where the places themselves are. This history affords another strong proof that the region comprising the South-Arantangi Taluk was in early days included in the Pāṇḍya country. Maṇamēḷkuḍi is the place of nativity of Kulachchirai-Nāyanār, the prime-minister of the Pāṇḍya king Nelvēḷi-pōr-venṇa-ninraśir-Neḍumārān (*i. e.*, Neḍumārān who acquired lasting fame by the conquest in the battle of Nelvēḷi), the king that was converted to the Śaiva faith by the efforts of Saint Jñānasambandha, the contemporary of Śiruttonḍa who was the general of the Pallava king that conquered Vātāpi which event we know as having taken place in the first half of the 7th century A.D. There is no room for thinking that the minister might have come from any other country than the Pāṇḍya. Speaking of him, Śēkkilār, the author of the Tamil *Periyapurāṇam* and the minister of the Chōḷa king of his day, distinctly states that Maṇamēḷkuḍi was in the Pāṇḍya country and the minister hailed from there.<sup>2</sup> Inscriptions testify to the correctness of his geographical description.<sup>3</sup> Similarly, Āvuḍaiyārkōyil is connected with the history of Māṇikkavāchaka, another Pāṇḍya minister.

Now about Muttūrū-kūrām, which like Mīlalai-kūrām was subject to the rule of the Vēḷ chief Evvi and was included in the Pāṇḍya country. The very fact that the two districts were subject to the sway of one ruler suggests at once that Muttūrū-kūrām must lie adjacent to Mīlalai-kūrām, which, as shown above, occupied South-Arantangi Taluk and parts of Pudukkōṭṭai State and Rāmnād District. In determining the region in which this district lay and for knowing to which kingdom it belonged in early days, nothing will be so valuable as a collection of the epigraphs which refer to this district and identifying the places mentioned therein. The inscriptions which mention Muttūrū-kūrām are not many, but even the few that we have, are sufficient for

<sup>1</sup> No. 230 of 1926 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection, dated 37th year of Parāntaka I mentions Munpālai in Mīlalai-kūrām in Pāṇḍi-nādu.

<sup>2</sup> *Periyapurāṇam* (Kulachchirai-Nāyanār, vv. 1 and 8). The following are the verses :—Pannu tol-pugaḷ-pPāndi-nan-nāṭṭidai=chēchen-nēḷar-vayal=tin-karumpin-ayal-punnu pūga-ppurambanai śūḷdadu mannu vaṇṇamayam-ār Maṇamēḷkuḍi. || Inna nall-olukkattināl irilā-tTennayan Nedumārarku śir-tigaḷ mannu mandirkatku mēl-āḷiyār onnalar-chcherr-urudikkaṇ nīruḷār. ||

<sup>3</sup> See foot-note 5, page 91 above.



locating it, since we know that it was contiguous to Mīlalai-kūrām. The earliest inscription which mentions the district as being in the Pāṇḍya country is a record of the Chōla king Parāntaka I.<sup>1</sup> A few others call the province, in which Muttūrru-kūrām was situated, by the names Pāṇḍi-maṇḍalam<sup>2</sup> and Rājārāja-Pāṇḍi-nāḍu.<sup>3</sup> The villages mentioned in the inscriptions as being in Muttūrru-kūrām are Kaṭṭivayal,<sup>4</sup> Añjukōṭṭai,<sup>5</sup> Kappalūr<sup>6</sup> *alias* Ulagaḷandaśōḷanallūr, Aḍaṅgārimaṅgalam,<sup>7</sup> Muttūr<sup>8</sup> *alias* Uyyakkonḍaśōḷanallūr, Arayattūr,<sup>9</sup> Sundarapāṇḍiya-chaturvēdimaṅgalam,<sup>10</sup> Māvalūr,<sup>11</sup> Kuruvaḍimidi<sup>12</sup> *alias* Jinēndramaṅgalam, Tittānam,<sup>13</sup> Tenralai,<sup>14</sup> Tiruppunavāyil,<sup>15</sup> and Andanūr-Śirukambūr.<sup>16</sup> The Taluk that adjoins the southern portion of Arantangi, in which we have traced most of the places of the various divisions of Mīlalai-kūrām, is Tiruvāḍānai of the Rāmnād District. On the north-eastern side of the Tiruvāḍānai Taluk runs the river Pāmbāru which separates Rāmnād District from Arantangi Taluk of the Tanore District. Just as expected, we actually find almost on the western bank of this river, the villages Kaṭṭivayal, Añjukōṭṭai, Kappalūr, Muttūr, Aḍaṅgāri and Andanūr-Śirukambūr.<sup>17</sup> Tiruppunavāyil (Tiruppunavāśal) is in the extreme south of Arantangi Taluk itself and adjoins the sea.<sup>18</sup> We have also the testimony of the Chōla minister Śekkilār to the fact that Tiruppunavāśal was included in the Pāṇḍya country.<sup>19</sup> If there was room for misconception in the case of Mīlalai-kūrām on account of its inclusion in the Tanjore District, there is none in the case of Muttūrru-kūrām. Tiruvāḍānai Taluk of the Rāmnād District could never have come under the early Chōla dominion. It is in this Taluk and in the Tirupattūr Taluk that the river Pāmbāru flows, on whose banks we have traced most of the places included in Muttūrru-kūrām.

Muttūrru-kūrām is believed by some to have been taken by the Pāṇḍya king Neḍuñjeliyan from Iruṅgōvēl. We shall now consider the question if this District could ever have been included in the territory of Iruṅgōvēl, who, like Vēl-Evvi and Pāri flourished in early days and was one among the chieftains defeated by the said Pāṇḍya. Tamil literature and inscriptions both bear

<sup>1</sup> No. 266 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1907.

<sup>2</sup> Nos. 425 and 429 of the same collection for 1913.

<sup>3</sup> No. 46 of the same for 1930-31.

<sup>4</sup> Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1907, No. 266.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 408.

<sup>6</sup> The same collection for 1913, Nos. 425 and 429, *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 373 and *S. I. I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 313.

<sup>7</sup> Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1918, No. 76.

<sup>8</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 426.

<sup>9</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 212.

<sup>10</sup> Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1916, Nos. 17 and 33.

<sup>11</sup> No. 60 of the Pudukkōṭṭai State Collection.

<sup>12</sup> Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1907, No. 408.

<sup>13</sup> Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1926, No. 599.

<sup>14</sup> Same collection for 1930-31, No. 46.

<sup>15</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 213.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 436, and Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1929-30, No. 295.

<sup>17</sup> Añjukōṭṭai is to the north-east of Tiruvāḍānai, Kaṭṭivayal is east by north of Añjukōṭṭai and about three miles to the west of the Pāmbāru river and Śirukambūr is to the west of the Pāmbāru river and north of Kaṭṭivayal. Kappalūr lies to the west of the Pāmbāru river and in the centre of the northern part of Tiruvāḍānai Taluk.

<sup>18</sup> Jñānasambandha and Sundaramūrtti-Nāyanār describe it in these words :—

“Perun-kadar-kānalvāy=ppunderigam malar-ppoygai ōḷṇḍa Panavāyilē”

“Kadar-kānalvāy-ppurkenru tōnridum=emperumān Panavāyilē.”

<sup>19</sup> Verses 984 to 993 mention the places in the Pāṇḍya country visited by Jñānasambandha before returning to his place. Among these Panavāyil is one (v. 991).

evidence to the fact that the territory over which Irūṅgōvāl-chiefs ruled was called Kōṇāḍu<sup>1</sup> and that its capital was Koḍumbālūr.<sup>2</sup> The question reduces itself to this 'Could Muttūrru-kūrram have been included in or was even adjacent to Kōṇāḍu?'. Kōṇāḍu is situated in the modern Pudukkōṭṭai State. A geographical analysis of the inscriptions of that State will show that Kōṇāḍu and its several divisions and sub-divisions occupied the whole of the Kuḷattūr Taluk and the northern portion of the Tirumeyyam Taluk. The southern part of the Tirumeyyam Taluk which is the southernmost part of the Pudukkōṭṭai State, had in it another ancient district called Kāna-nāḍu and this Kāna-nāḍu<sup>3</sup> is stated to be a division of Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam. It was contiguous to Kēraḷaśiṅga-vaṇaṇāḍu. So then, between Kōṇāḍu which is reputed to be the territory of Irūṅgōvāl chiefs and Muttūrru-kūrram, there lay the two ancient districts of Kēraḷaśiṅga-vaṇaṇāḍu and Kāna-nāḍu, both belonging to Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam. This analysis will convincingly establish that the distant Muttūrru-kūrram which we have located in the north-eastern part of the Tiruvāḍānai Taluk of the Rāmnāḍ District could never have been included in or was contiguous to Kōṇāḍu, the territory over which Irūṅgōvāl held sway, intercepted as it was by two other districts of the Pāṇḍya country.

*Geographical analysis of the inscriptions of the Pudukkōṭṭai State.*

**Kōṇāḍu—**

- (a) Aṇṇalvāyil-kūrram :—Irumbāli, Madinūr, Teliṅgakulakālapuram (in Ten-Kōṇāḍu) *alias* Kulōttuṅgaśōlapaṭṭiṇam and Viśalūr,—all in Kuḷattūr Taluk.
- (b) Kūḍalūr-nāḍu :—Panaiyūrkuḷam, Šēvalūr, Širraiūr,—all in Tirumeyyam Taluk.
- (c) Kunriyūr or Kunriśūl-nāḍu :—Kaḷanivāśal, Mēl-Manālūr, Parambaiyūr, Punnanguḍi, Śikhānallūr, Tirunalakkunram,—all in the Kuḷattūr Taluk.
- (d) Ollaiyūr-kūrram :—Āṅkuḍi *alias* Āmanallūr, Iḍaiyārrūr, Kāraiūr, Kīḷa-Taṇiyal, Korrayūr, *alias* Uttamaśōlapuram, Neriñjikkūḍi, Ollaiyūr *alias* Madurai, Ollaiyūrmaṅgalam (Oliyamaṅgalam), Rājendraśōlapuram, Šāttanūr, Sundaraśōlapuram *alias* Dēśiyugandapaṭṭiṇam (Sundaram), and Viṇṭūkki *alias* Rājendraśōlapuram,—all in Tirumeyyam Taluk.
- (e) Urattūr-kūrram (Vaḍa-Kōṇāḍu) :—Ālattūr, Koḍumbālūr, Kūḷai-kulattūr, Mēnelvēli, Nīrpalani, Payyūr, Pudukkūḍi, Šārapaṭṭaṇam *alias* Vikramaśōlapperunderu and Tiruviraiyāṅkuḍi (Tiruvilāṅguḍi),—all in the Kuḷattūr Taluk.
- (f) Vaḍa Širuvāyil-nāḍu in (e) :—Ilañjāvūr, Kīranūr, Kumāramaṅgalam,—all in the Kuḷattūr Taluk.
- (g) Vayalaga-nāḍu :—Pulvayal and Vayalagam. Both are in Kuḷattūr Taluk.

**Kāna-nāḍu—**

- (a) Kāna-nāḍu :—Ādanūr, Andanūr, Kōṭṭaiyūr, Malayakōyil, Mēlūr, Muniyandai, Pēraiūr, Perundurāi, Peruṅkaraikkūḍi, *alias* Tiruvaraṅguḷanallūr, Pulivalam, Šōlapāṇḍi-yapuram, Ten-Kāṭṭūr, Tirumeyyam, Tulaiyānilai, Viraiyāchchilai. These villages are in Tirumeyyam Taluk.

<sup>1</sup> One of the earliest sovereigns of Kōṇāḍu celebrated in Tamil literature is the renowned Śaiva devotee Iḍaṅgaḷi-Nāyanār, of whom it is said that he was the head of the Vēḷir family, ruled from Kodumbālūr and was a lineal descendant of Āditya (v. 2 of *Iḍaṅgaḷi-Nāyanār Purāṇam*). The Mūvarkōyil inscription of Koḍumbālūr, besides testifying to the antiquity of this Vēḷ family, records the part played by some of the members in the history of South India (*Annual Report on Epigraphy*, Madras, for 1908, p. 87).

<sup>2</sup> Kodumbai (Kodumbālūr) lay on the way to the Pāṇḍya country from the Chōḷa territory (*Śīlapadikāram*, *Kāḍukāṇḍai*, l. 71).

<sup>3</sup> Tirumeyyam in Kāna-nāḍu has one of the eighteen famous Vaiṣṇava temples of the Pāṇḍya country. This also shows that Kāna-nāḍu was in the Pāṇḍya territory.

(b) Seṅguṇṇa-nāḍu :—Ālaṅguḍi, Āṅguḍi, and Mēlanilai.

(c) Turumā-nāḍu :—Ānamandai, Kaṇṇanūr, Tirunāvalūr and Turumā,—all in Tirumeyyam Taluk.

Kēraḷaśiṅga-vaḷanāḍu<sup>1</sup> and Madurōḍaya-vaḷanāḍu<sup>2</sup> mentioned in the plates are two other districts of the Pāṇḍya country. The former covered a very large portion of the Tirupattūr Taluk of the Rāmnād District, a part of the Pudukkōṭṭai State and seems to have extended also into the Śivaganga Zamindari. It had several sub-divisions of which six are known, viz., (1) Kalvāyil-nāḍu, (2) Śōlapāṇḍya-vaḷanāḍu,<sup>3</sup> (3) Kīl-Kuṇḍāru, (4) Tēṇāruppōkku, (5) Tiruttīyūr-Muṭṭam, and (6) Adaḷaiyūr-nāḍu. Of the villages of (1) Kalvāyil-nāḍu, viz., Nelvāyil<sup>4</sup>, Pullamaṅgalaṁ<sup>5</sup>, Kulaśēkharapuram,<sup>6</sup> and Sundarapāṇḍiyapuram,<sup>7</sup> are in the Pudukkōṭṭai State while Ilaiyāttakuḍi *alias* (or near) Kulaśēkharapuram,<sup>8</sup> Iraṇiyūr,<sup>9</sup> Korāmaṅgalaṁ<sup>10</sup> and Kuṇṇattūr<sup>11</sup> are in the Tirupattūr Taluk. The villages in (2) are Kāraiūr,<sup>12</sup> Tirukkōṭṭiyūr,<sup>13</sup> Śōlamārttāṇḍa-chaturvēdimaṅgalaṁ,<sup>14</sup> i.e., Śivapuri, Kaṇṇamaṅgalaṁ,<sup>15</sup> Karuṅḷattūr,<sup>16</sup> Mēlūr,<sup>17</sup> Pūḍikkūḍi,<sup>18</sup> Śirudaiūr<sup>19</sup> and Śirūḍai.<sup>20</sup> The village Aḷagāpuri,<sup>21</sup> was situated in (3). In the sub-division of Tēṇāruppōkku was the village Niyāmaṁ<sup>22</sup> (Nēmaṁ). Tiruttīyūr-Muṭṭam had two divisions; in the eastern division (Kīlai-Tiruttīyūr-Muṭṭam) were the villages Śīruvayal,<sup>23</sup> Anṇiyūr,<sup>24</sup> Dēsaṅḷaṁ,<sup>25</sup> Koḍuṅḷaṁ,<sup>26</sup> Vēppaṅḷaṁ,<sup>27</sup> and Verriyūr,<sup>28</sup> while Mēlai-Tiruttīyūr-Muṭṭam had Pāgaṇēri<sup>29</sup> in it. The village of Tirukkunṇakkūḍi<sup>30</sup> (Kunṇakkūḍi) was in Adaḷaiyūr-nāḍu in which passed the river Tēṇāru<sup>31</sup>. The villages of Ilai-Kaḍambaṅḷaṁ<sup>32</sup> (modern Śaṇṇavaram), Piḷar<sup>33</sup> and Korāmaṅgalaṁ<sup>34</sup> were in Tiruttīyūr-Muṭṭam : but it is not known whether they belonged to the eastern or western division.

<sup>1</sup> No. 617 of 1905 states that this is a district of Pāṇḍimaṇḍalaṁ.

<sup>2</sup> No. 319 of Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1927-28.

<sup>3</sup> Though the term *vaḷanāḍu* is usually employed to denote a district, it indicates a sub-division here. Owing to the large size of Kēraḷaśiṅga-vaḷanāḍu, it seems to have been split up into two parts in later days.

<sup>4</sup> Nos. 252 and 258 of the Pudukkōṭṭai State Collection.

<sup>5</sup> No. 267 of the same collection.

<sup>6</sup> No. 491 of the same collection.

<sup>7</sup> No. 346 of the same.

<sup>8</sup> No. 38 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1926 and No. 182 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. VIII.

<sup>9</sup> No. 4 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1926.

<sup>10</sup> No. 80 of 1916 of the same collection.

<sup>11</sup> No. 85 of 1916.

<sup>12</sup> No. 133 of the same for 1907.

<sup>13</sup> No. 284 of the same for 1923, Nos. 291-2 for 1929-30 and *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, p. 529.

<sup>14</sup> Nos. 16 and 20 of Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1928-29.

<sup>15</sup> No. 36 of the same collection for 1916.

<sup>16</sup> No. 64 of the same for 1928-29.

<sup>17</sup> No. 201 of the same for 1924.

<sup>18</sup> No. 200 of the same for 1924.

<sup>19</sup> No. 304 of the same for 1929-30.

<sup>20</sup> No. 224 of the same for 1924.

<sup>21</sup> No. 101 of the same for 1924.

<sup>22</sup> Nos. 1, 77 and 83 of the same for 1924.

<sup>23</sup> No. 55 of the same for 1924.

<sup>24</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 180.

<sup>25</sup> No. 58 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1924.

<sup>26</sup> No. 25 of the same for 1909.

<sup>27</sup> No. 263 of Pudukkōṭṭai State Collection.

<sup>28</sup> No. 14 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1916.

<sup>29</sup> No. 12 of the same.

<sup>30</sup> No. 50 of the same collection for 1924.

The sub-divisions of Madurōdaya-vaḷanāḍu and the villages situated in them are noted below :—

- (1) Kāñai-Irukkai which had in it Uḷakkuḍi,<sup>1</sup> Iruñchirai,<sup>2</sup> Koṭṭakīrti,<sup>3</sup> Veḷāṇēri,<sup>3</sup> Karpakīrti<sup>2</sup> and Irāśiṅganallūr.<sup>3</sup>
- (2) Māḍakkuḷakkīl which had in it Koḍimaṅgalam,<sup>4</sup> Madurai,<sup>5</sup> Śīruvenkuṇṇam<sup>6</sup>.
- (3) Veḷurkuḷakkīl, with Kundadēvi-chaturvēdimaṅgalam.<sup>7</sup>
- (4) Rājaśiṅgaṅkuḷakkīl which had in it Rājēndiram,<sup>8</sup> Tiruppūvaṇam,<sup>9</sup> Ambalattāḍi-chaturvēdimaṅgalam.<sup>10</sup>
- (5) Karunilakkuḍi-nāḍu which had in it Tiruttaṅgāl.<sup>11</sup>
- (6) Iḍaikkūḍi-nāḍu which had in it Mēlai-Śeḷuvaṇūr,<sup>12</sup> *alias* Śatrubhayaṅkaranallūr.
- (7) Veṇbuḷa or Veṇbīl-nāḍu which had in it Kumārapavitra-chaturvēdimaṅgalam<sup>13</sup> and Śēnkāṭṭirukkai-Iḍattuvaḷi.<sup>14</sup>
- (8) Puṇṇaṇḍai-nāḍu which had in it Puttūr,<sup>15</sup> Kaḷḷikuḍi,<sup>16</sup> Miḷagaṇūr<sup>16</sup> and Nirmaḍaiyūr.<sup>17</sup>
- (9) Kallaga-nāḍu which must have had at least two sub-divisions as the name Ten-Kallaga-nāḍu is applied to one of them which contained the villages Dēśipaṭṭaṇam *alias* Vikramaśōḷapuram<sup>18</sup> (Vikramaṅgalam), Śēndaṇēri-Kaṭṭikaḷlūr (Tepkarai)<sup>19</sup> and Parākramaṇḍiyapuram.<sup>20</sup>

It will be noted that four of the sub-divisions given in the Tiruppūvaṇam plates without mentioning the district to which they belonged were actually in Madurōdaya-vaḷanāḍu. These are Māḍakkuḷakkīl, Rājaśiṅgaṅkuḷakkīl, Puṇṇaṇḍai-nāḍu and Kāñai-Irukkai.

A word of explanation is necessary for treating as sub-divisions geographical terms ending in 'kuḷakkīl', of which we have as many as four instances. In mentioning villages, inscriptions usually give first the district, then the sub-division and lastly the village. Districts generally have the suffix *vaḷanāḍu* and the sub-divisions end in *nāḍu*. Sometimes in place of *vaḷanāḍu*, the term *kūṇṇam* is employed; and if it had not any sub-divisions with distinct and different names, it is itself divided into two or more divisions according to the directions in which they lay, such as east, middle and west, north and south, etc. This is also the case even with regard to some

<sup>1</sup> S. I. I., Vol. IV, No. 372.

<sup>2</sup> Below, text-lines 108, 245, 246 and 250.

<sup>3</sup> S. I. I., Vol. V, No. 446.

<sup>4</sup> S. I. I., Vol. IV, No. 370.

<sup>5</sup> Below, text-line 16.

<sup>6</sup> No. 66 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1916.

<sup>7</sup> No. 447 of the same collection for 1906.

<sup>8</sup> Below, text-line, 92.

<sup>9</sup> Below, text-line, 133.

<sup>10</sup> S. I. I., Vol. VIII, No. 423.

<sup>11</sup> No. 574 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1922.

<sup>12</sup> No. 317 of the same for 1927-28. Tangāl occurs as a village in the Pāṇḍya country in the *Śilappadigāram* Canto XXIII, l. 75.

<sup>13</sup> No. 331 of the same collection for 1918.

<sup>14</sup> Nos. 403 and 414 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1914.

<sup>15</sup> S. I. I., Vol. V, No. 302 and Vol. IV, No. 372.

<sup>16</sup> Below, text-lines 106 and 111.

<sup>17</sup> S. I. I., Vol. V, Nos. 302 and 431.

<sup>18</sup> Nos. 613, 614 and 616 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1926.

<sup>19</sup> S. I. I., Vol. V, Nos. 294 and 298.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 295.

sub-divisions which are large enough to be so apportioned. For instance the district of Mīlalai-kūrṇam had no separate sub-divisions: in the place of the latter, we have Kīl-kūrṇu, Naḍuviṅ-kūrṇu and Mēl-kūrṇu, i.e., the eastern, middle and western portions. Similarly, the sub-division Śembi-nāḍu had Vaḍatalai-Śembi-nāḍu, Kīl-Śembi-nāḍu, etc., i.e., the northern and eastern portions of Śembi-nāḍu. Districts are sometimes omitted in inscriptions and villages are mentioned with the sub-divisions to which they belonged. From the fact that the geographical items Māḍakkulaḱkīl, Rājendraśiṅgaṅkulaḱkīl, etc., immediately follow a *vaḷanāḍu* or district and are followed in turn by villages, they have to be treated as sub-divisions. It will not be right to take the terms ending in “*kuḷakkīl*” to mean “to the east of any particular tank”. In these items the particle *kīl* does not mean ‘east’ as opposed to ‘*mēl*’ ‘west’ but stands for “under or in”. Hence we have inserted the four items ending in *kuḷakkīl* as sub-divisions and assigned them their places under the districts to which they belonged. In this connection, it is worthy of note that we have not come across even a single instance where a village is stated to be situated to the west, north or south of Māḍakkulaṁ, Rājendraśiṅgaṅkulaṁ, etc.

Of the other sub-divisions mentioned in the plates, Vaḍatalai-Śembi-nāḍu in which Āyḱkuḱi *alias* Aḷagiyapāṇḍiyanallūr was situated, is seen from other inscriptions to have had the villages Iyamanīśvaram,<sup>1</sup> Mēlai-Koḍumaḷūr<sup>2</sup> or Koḍumaḷūr *alias* Uttamapāṇḍiyanallūr, Kīlai-Koḍumaḷūr<sup>3</sup> *alias* Madurōdayanallūr, Māvilaṅgai,<sup>4</sup> Nallūrkuṛuḱchi,<sup>5</sup> Peruṅgiriṇallūr<sup>6</sup> and Deyvachchilainallūr otherwise called Paṇṇaṅkulaṁ. Except Iyamanīśvaram (Emanīśvaram) which is in the Paramakuḱi Taluk, the rest are found in the Mudukulaṭṭūr Taluk of the Rāmuṇḍ District. The name of the division shows that Śembi-nāḍu had other divisions. In fact, inscriptions refer to Kīl-Śembi-nāḍu in which were the villages Āṇaikuḱi,<sup>7</sup> Kaḷari *alias* Kaidavanallūr<sup>7</sup>, Kaḍambaṅguḱi,<sup>7</sup> Nallāṅkuḱi,<sup>7</sup> Maruvāy *alias* Śrīvallaḱḱhanallūr,<sup>7</sup> Pavittiramāṇikkapaṭṭiṇam,<sup>8</sup> Nallirukkai *alias* Virapāṇḍiyanallūr,<sup>9</sup> Tiruppullāṇi<sup>9</sup> and Śembiyan-Pērāmbūr;<sup>7</sup> Śrīdēśam which had in it Tiru-Uttarakōśamaṅgai, as other divisions of Śembi-nāḍu. Most of these villages are in the Rāmuṇḍ Taluk.

Kaḷavaḷi-nāḍu was divided into two parts North and South. In Vaḍa-Kaḷavaḷi-nāḍu were Aḷagamānagar,<sup>9</sup> Kōḍaipirāṭṭiṇallūr,<sup>10</sup> Kuṇṇattūr<sup>11</sup> and Purkuḷi.<sup>12</sup> Ten-Kaḷavaḷi-nāḍu had in it Muḱikonḍapāṇḍiyanapuram<sup>13</sup> and Pullūrri<sup>14</sup> *alias* Śrīvallaḱḱhanallūr. That Kaḍambaṅguḱi was a village in Kaḷavaḷi-nāḍu and bore the name Malayarāyaṅkōṭṭai is learnt from two inscriptions.<sup>15</sup> Ārāḷaiyūr was another village in the same division.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>1</sup> S. I. I., Vol. VIII, No. 395.

<sup>2</sup> Madras Epigraphical Collection, Nos. 399 of 1907 and 531 of 1926.

<sup>3</sup> S. I. I., Vol. V, Nos. 440 and 441; and Nos. 469 of Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1009 and 304 of 1922.

<sup>4</sup> No. 392 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1914.

<sup>5</sup> S. I. I., Vol. V, No. 301.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, No. 399.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 398.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 402.

<sup>9</sup> Madras Epigraphical Collection, No. 283 of 1923, No. 5 of 1924 and No. 276 of 1929-30.

<sup>10</sup> No. 316 of the same collection for 1923.

<sup>11</sup> Nos. 11, 23, 27 of the same for 1924.

<sup>12</sup> No. 291 of the same for 1923 and No. 18 of 1924.

<sup>13</sup> No. 47 of the same for 1925.

<sup>14</sup> No. 229 of the same for 1924.

<sup>15</sup> Nos. 1 and 3 of the same for 1924.

<sup>16</sup> No. 306 of the same collection for 1923.

## APPENDIX A.

Names of persons that conducted the settlement of boundaries.

Serial No.	Names of persons.	Village.	Sub-division.	District or Province.
	<i>I. Kaṭṭānis (ll. 74-93).</i>			
1	Araiyaṇ Nārāyaṇan of Kaṭṭikuru-chchi.	Parāntakanallūr .	Naḍuvir-kūrṇu .	Mīlalai-kūrṇam.
2	Parāntakan Tiruppuvaṇamuḍaiyān	Tapḍalai . .	Kiḷ-kūrṇu . .	Ditto.
3	Karunākaradēvaṇ Purpavanamuḍaiyān.	Māraṇūr <i>alias</i> Palamanda- lādittanallūr.	Alagiyaṇḍiayakku- lakkiḷ.	....
4	Pillai Ālvāṇ <i>alias</i> Ponnambalak-kūttan who was the <i>kanlāni</i> of <i>Tiruvāyḱkēḷṭṭi</i> Ponnaṇ Sūriyadēvaṇ <i>alias</i> Jayadhara-Pallavaraiyar.	Karuppūr . . Puttūr . . .	Tirumunaippāḍi-nāḍu Purappaḷalai-nāḍu .	Sōlamanḍalam. ....
5	Vēḷan Sāttan, the <i>kanlāni</i> of Poyyā-moḷiḍēvar.	Kiḷ-Nettūr <sup>1</sup> <i>alias</i> Kirttiśāḷai- yanallūr.	Karunguḍi-nāḍu .	....
6	Nārāyaṇan Sāttan who was the <i>kanlāni</i> of <i>Sāmuḍaiyaṇ</i> Sīrāman Tiruvuḍaiyān <i>alias</i> Pottappich-chōḷar.	Vēḷiyārrūr <sup>2</sup> Kappalūr <sup>3</sup> <i>alias</i> Uḷaḷandaśō- lanallūr.	....	Kēraḷaśinga- valanāḍu Muttūrṇu-kūrṇam.
7	Arayan Tirumalai-ḍaiyān who was the <i>kanlāni</i> of <i>Māḷigaḷttanam</i> Śivalavan Alagiyaṇḍiyanāḷan <i>alias</i> Kāḷiṅgarāyar.	Arunkalam Āykkudi <sup>4</sup> <i>alias</i> Alagiyaṇḍi- yanallūr.	Poliyūr-nāḍu Vaḍatalai-Śembi- nāḍu.	....
8	Arayan Karumānikkam who was the <i>kanlāni</i> of Maḷavarāyar.	Kiṭ-Paśalai <i>alias</i> Dānavinōḍanallūr.	Tiyandaikuḍi-nāḍu .	....
9	Uyyavandān Ponnan <i>alias</i> Mānā-bharaṇa-Mūvēṇḍavēḷār who was the <i>adiyāram</i> of Pillaiyār Alagap-perumāḷ.	Kappalūr <i>alias</i> Uḷaḷan- daśōlanallūr.	....	Muttūrṇu-kūrṇam.
10	Nambi Ponnambalak-kūttan <i>alias</i> Virāśingadēvar.	Śirupālsiyūr <i>alias</i> Kāvēri- valanallūr.	....	Sōlapāṇḍiya-vaḷa- nāḍu.
11	Malaikiniyaninṛān Alāgan <i>alias</i> Vijaiya-Viśchādīradēvar who was one of the <i>anukkar</i> of Śōlapāṇḍiyaḷanāḷṭu-kūriyam- śeygira Alagiyaṇḍiyanār.	.... Rājēndiram . .	.... Irāśingankuḷakkiḷ .	.... ....

<sup>1</sup> Nettūr is in the Śivagaṅgā Taluk.<sup>2</sup> This is in the Tiruppattur Taluk.<sup>3</sup> This is a (Z) village in Tiruvāḱānai Taluk.<sup>4</sup> Paramakudi Taluk.

Serial No.	Names of persons.	Village.	Sub-division.	District or Province.
II (ll. 93-96).				
12	Māḍavaṇ Divākera-Bhaṭṭaṇ	Mānavīramadurai	Tiyandaikuḍi-nāḍu	....
13	Nārāyaṇa Nārāyaṇa-Bhaṭṭaṇ	Ditto	Ditto	....
14	Śrī-(Śrī) Māḍavaṇ Nārasimha-Bhaṭṭaṇ.	Ditto	Ditto	....
15	Gōvindaṇ Tirunilakaṇṭha-Bhaṭṭaṇ	Ditto	Ditto	....
16	Jātavēdaṇ Subrahmaṇya-Bhaṭṭaṇ	Ditto	Ditto	....

*Note.*—Inclusive of the five persons of Mānavīramadurai named above (in Section II), the following others that are mentioned in the next six sections (III to VIII) who were concerned in the formation of the new *brahma-dēya* also went with the elephant.

III (ll. 96-98).				
17	Ādityaṇ Śēṇḍapirāṇ-Bhaṭṭaṇ of Tirukkuṇḍai.	Marudūr <i>alias</i> Madurōdaya-chaturvēdimāṅgalam.	....	....
18	Śrī-Kriṣṇaṇ Aḷagiyarūghava-Bhaṭṭaṇ.	Ditto	....	....
19	Kāliyāyaṇ Veṇṇaikkūṭta-Bhaṭṭaṇ	Ditto	....	....
IV (ll. 98-100).				
20	Ābhīḷgṇi Śrīraṅgaṇāṭha-Bhaṭṭa-Sōma-Kāṭhakayājiyār.	Mēṇ-Paśalai <sup>1</sup> <i>alias</i> Śrīvallaḷḷa-chaturvēdimāṅgalam.	....	....
21	Nārāyaṇa Nārāyaṇa-Bhaṭṭaṇ	Ditto	....	....
22	Śrī-Vāsudēvaṇ Nagnaṇpirāṇ-Bhaṭṭaṇ	Ditto	....	....
23	Śrī-Rūmaṇ Paramātma-Bhaṭṭaṇ	Ditto	....	....
V (ll. 100-103).				
24	Araṇaṇ Uyyaṇiṇṇāḍuvāṇ <i>alias</i> Śēmbiyadaraiyaṇ.	Kiṭ-Paśalai <sup>1</sup> <i>alias</i> Dāpaviṇṇōḍanallūr.	....	....
25	Kēśavaṇ Nārāyaṇa	Ditto	....	....
26	Karamūṇikkam-Korraṇ	Ditto	....	....
27	Kalvāyil Kēśavaṇ	Ditto	....	....
28	Periyāṇ Perrūn	Ditto	....	....
29	Naṅgaṇ Aḷagaṇ	Ditto	....	....
30	Vāsudēvaṇ Sūriyandēvaṇ	Ditto	....	....

<sup>1</sup> Mclappāśalai and Kiḷappasalai are (I) villages in the Śivaganga Taluk.

Serial No.	Names of persons.	Village.	Sub-division.	District or Province.
VI (ll. 103-106).				
31	Appan Sūriyadēvan . . .	Poliyūr <i>alias</i> Pārthivakēsari- nallūr.	....	....
32	Udayan Varaguṇadēvan <i>alias</i> Aḷagiyapāṇḍiya-Viḷupparaiyan.	Ditto	....	....
33	Sūriyan Varantaruvān <i>alias</i> Sangirāmaśinga-Pallavaraiyan.	Ditto	....	....
34	Sundarattōḷuḍaiyān Sōmadēvan	Ditto	....	....
VII (ll. 106-108).				
35	Dayānilai Uyyavandān <i>alias</i> Chēdirāyan.	Kaḷḷikkudi <sup>1</sup> <i>alias</i> Puravuvarinallūr.	Purapparaḷai-nāḍu	....
36	Aṇukkan Ariyān	Ditto	Ditto	....
37	Appan Arumolidēvan <i>alias</i> Śembiyan- Viḷupparaiyan.	Ditto	Ditto	....
38	Pattūr-kilavan Battān <i>alias</i> Purap- paraḷainādu-kilavan.	Ditto	Ditto	....
VIII (ll. 108-110).				
39	Paliyānilai Sūriyadēvan <i>alias</i> Tamiṇāḍukilavan.	Iruñchirai <sup>2</sup> <i>alias</i> Indirasamāna- nallūr.	Kāñai-Irukkai	....
40	Vēlān Iraṭṭai <i>alias</i> Rājakuñjara- Pallavaraiyan.	Ditto	Ditto	....
IX (ll. 110-120).				
41	Śadiran Śelvan	Miḷaganūr <sup>3</sup>	....	....
42	Rāman Aḷagan	Ditto	....	....
43	Śōṇan Mukkan .	Ditto	....	....
44	Nāgadēvan Rāman <i>alias</i> Rājanārā- yana-Mūvēndavēḷān.	Ditto	....	....
45	Araśariyān	Ditto	....	....

<sup>1</sup> This is a (Z) village in the Śivaganga Taluk.<sup>2</sup> Tradition has it that an early Pāṇḍya king bound with chains and imprisoned the clouds at this place which is on that account also known as Kaṭṭunallūr-Iruñchirai. See V. 38 of Tiruvālavāyudaiyār *Tiruvilaiyāḍal* 44, p. 162. "Tuḍippara vilāḍu pūṭi=ṭunind-iruñchirai vaṭṭān=avv-idappeyar=Kaṭṭunallūr-Iruñchiraiy=enbar=irum". The place is near Mānāmadurai. A later inscription (No. 399 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. VIII) mentions Iruñchirai-vaḷanādu and locates Mannaiyūrkōttai in it.<sup>3</sup> This is an (I) village in Śivaganga.



Serial No.	Names of persons.	Village.	Sub-division.	District or Province.
46	Araiyān Pullāṇi who had the <i>lāṇippayru</i> of Pullāṇi Mādēvaṇ <i>alias</i> Nuḷambā-darāyar.	Acheṇakāṭṭi-rukkaṭi Tirumāli-ruṇjōlai Mālangudi. <sup>1</sup>	Kiṭ-Sembi-nāḍu.	....
<i>Note.</i> —The persons mentioned in this group were concerned in the formation of the new village of Miḷa-ganūr surnamed Rājēndranallūr by clubbing together the villages and lands given in exchange for the old village of Miḷaganūr that was taken up and included in Rājagambhira-chaturvēdimangalam.				
X (ll. 120-123).				
47	Śāttan Kaṇavadi	Śirukulaṭṭūr <sup>2</sup> <i>alias</i> Parākrama-pāṇḍiyanallūr.	Alagiya-pāṇḍiya-kuḷakkil.	....
48	Sundarattōḷuḍaiyān Dēvaṇ	Ditto	Ditto	....
49	Śāttan Kaṇḍaṇ <i>alias</i> Tirumāli-ruṇjōlai Dāsaṇ.	Ditto	Ditto	....
50	Vēḷaṇ Sundarattōḷuḍaiyān	Ditto	Ditto	....
51	Śivallavan Pērayiramuḍaiyān <i>alias</i> Māganūrnāṭṭu-Vēḷān.	Ditto	Ditto	....
52	Dēvaṇ Śivallavan Araṭṭamikkidāsaṇ	Ditto	Ditto	....
XI (ll. 123-124).				
53	Udaiyadivūkarān Śrī-Kārimāra-Bhaṭṭaṇ of Iḷavimangalam.	Śurakuḍi <sup>3</sup> <i>alias</i> Virakūmu-gamaṅgalam.	....	....
54	Nārāyaṇaṇ Subrahmaṇya-Bhaṭṭaṇ	Ditto	....	....
XII (ll. 125-127).				
55	Uyyaniṇṇāḍi Periyālvāṇ	Viḍattal <sup>4</sup> <i>alias</i> Mānā-bharaṇa-chaturvēdimangalam.	Kiraṇūr-nāḍu	....
56	Śindapirān Karamūmugil-Bhaṭṭaṇ	Ditto	Ditto	....
57	Gōvindaṇ Māṇēndukaiyaṇ	Ditto	Ditto	....
58	Āḍityaṇ Bhāskara-Bhaṭṭaṇ	Ditto	Ditto	....
XIII (ll. 127-128).				
59	Vēḷaṇ Kōvaṇ	Vēḷḷurkuruchchi <sup>5</sup>	Alagiya-pāṇḍiya-kuḷakkil.	....
60	Āḍi Perrān	Ditto	Ditto	....

<sup>1</sup> Most of the places in Kiṭ-Sembi-nāḍu are, like Mūlaṅguḍi, situated in the Ramnad Taluk of the Ramnad District.

<sup>2</sup> There is a village called Śirukulam in the Śivaganga Taluk.

<sup>3</sup> This place is in Śivaganga.

<sup>4</sup> There is a Viḍattakulam in the Śivaganga Taluk.

<sup>5</sup> This is perhaps Vēḷḷurkuruchchi in the Śivaganga Taluk.

Serial No.	Names of persons.	Village.	Sub-division.	District or Province.
61	Vēlān Aḷagan <i>alias</i> Sundarapāṇḍiya-Mūvēndavēlān.	Veḷḷūrkuṇṇuchi	Aḷagiyapāṇḍiya-kūḷakkil.	....
62	Vēlān Śirāṇkō	Ditto	Ditto	....
XIV (ll. 129-131).				
63	Āḷvān Upādhyāyar	Marudūr	Tiruvāvanam	....
64	Karumāṇikkam      Ulagamuṇḍān Bhaṭṭan.	Perumpuhyūr	....	....
65	Mayūravāhanan      Āḍuvān-Bhaṭṭan	Marudūr	....	....
XV (ll. 131-132).				
66	Rāman Uyyavandāṇ	Vēḷūr <i>alias</i> Aḷagiyapāṇḍiyanallūr.	Kīraṇūr-nāḍu	....
67	Peḇṇān Pāṭṭan	Ditto	Ditto	....
68	Dēvan Nambi	Ditto	Ditto	....
69	Śōraṇ Nāṭṭan	Ditto	Ditto	....

*Note.*—The persons mentioned in sections X to XV were all concerned in clubbing the villages in the *brahma-dēya* of Rājagambhira-chaturvēdimangalam.

XVI (ll. 133-138).				
70	<i>Ānaittanam</i> Pamman Adiyārkunallaperumān <i>alias</i> Pallavadaraiyan.	Tiruppūvanam	Irāśingankuḷakkil	....
71	<i>Meypu</i> Malaiyan Śōraṇ <i>alias</i> Vūṇṇattaraiyan.	....	....	....
72	Dēvan Tillai <i>alias</i> Madurōdaya-Pallavaraiyan.	....	....	....
73	Śikayilāya-Bhaṭṭan <i>alias</i> Śivallava-Pallavaraiyan.	....	....	....
74	Kaṇavadi Śīrāman <i>alias</i> Sundarapāṇḍiya-Pallavaraiyan.	....	....	....
75	Ēraṇ Periyān <i>alias</i> Pāṇḍiyan Pallavaraiyan.	....	....	....
76	Pōrru Aravamudaiyān Villi <i>alias</i> Mudittalaikonda-Pallavaraiyan.	....	....	....

*Note.*—The seven persons of group XVI conducted the female elephant.

## APPENDIX B.

List of villages and lands included in Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimaṅgalam in Rājagambhīra-vaṇaṇāḍu.

(Lines 19 to 69.)

## Kīraṇūr-nāḍu.

Nakkamaṅgalam.—The village of Kīraṇūr in the Śivaganga Taluk was perhaps the chief place in the division.

Vāgaikuḍi.—This was a *dēvadāna* of Tiruppūvaṇamuḍaiyār.

Tiruvāṇam.

Tuttiyūr.—There is a village called Tuttikuḷam in the Śivaganga Taluk.

Kirungākkōttai.—This village is in the Śivaganga Taluk.

Kāḍuvētti, Muṭtam, Korraṇēri, Taḍaiyili-Tiyāgi-ēmbal, Veḷḷattaivenṇān-ēmbal, Naḍuvirkōttai and Kāḍaṇ-ēṭṭi-kuruchchi are lands in Kirungākkōttai.

## Paṇaṅgalūr-nāḍu.

Aḍikarai.—A village in the Śivaganga Taluk.

Mittiravāli.

Vēlaṅguḷam.—A village in the Śivaganga Taluk.

Ōmaḷagiyūn-ēmbal.—A land in Vēlaṅguḷam.

Śōlaiyēri.—Now called Śōlaiśēri in Śivaganga Taluk.

Kuḍaṇṇāḍi.—This village is in the Śivaganga Taluk.

Aruvarai-Pudukkuḷam.

Kiṭ-Chūrai.

Mīr-Chūrai.

Piḍārikulam.

Paṇaṅgalūr *alias* Paṇḍitapaṇḍiṇanallūr.

Śeyyakuḷattūr.—Its present name is Śeyyakuḷattūr (in Śivaganga).

Śinganaṇṇiyuḍaiyūn-kūṇipparru.—A land in Śeyyakuḷattūr.

Vaijyūr.

Karkurichechi.—This village in Śivaganga is now spelt Kalkuruchchi.

Aṇiyūnkaruchchi.—This is also in the Śivaganga Taluk.

Āraikkulam.

Āruḡaśāḍi, Viṇagangappērayan-ēmbal, Viṇapāṇḍiyappērayan-ēmbal, Molīyan-ēmbal, Āmbalakkuṭtan-ēmbal, Śūttanēmbal and Paṇṇiṇṇiyira-ppērayan-ēmbal, are lands in Āraikkulam.

Uvaniyamaṅgalam.

Pudaichchāṇkuḷi.—This is a land in Uvaniyamaṅgalam.

## Tiyandaikkūḍi-nāḍu.

Uḡaray.

Kōṭṭai.

Śivigaiyāṇkuḷi, and Uḍumbandai are lands in the above village.

Uḷagarai.—Still bears the same name. It is in the Śivaganga Taluk.

Karaiyūr.

Kunnēi.

Maṭṭadakkīyēri.

Śangappērayan-ēmbal.

Puttēmbal.—This may be Puttēndal in Śivaganga Taluk.

Kalaiyāṇṇēri.—This may be Kaliyāṇṇēndal in Śivaganga Taluk.

Śenkuḷi.

Orukkoraṇēri.

Kalvāy ilmaṅgalam.

Pullāṇṇēri.

Śūṇḍaṇṇēri.

Nakkanēri.

Pārkuḷam.—This is a (Z) village in Śivaganga Taluk.

Uyyāṇ-Śūriyaṇ-ēmbal.

Marudaṇkuḍi.—This is in the Śivaganga Taluk.

Nāvarkuḍi.

Kaṇḍiyūrnāḍālvāṇ-ēmbal.

Śiru-Nakkanēri.

Śulāmaṇi.—Now called Śūḍāmaṇi in the Śivaganga Taluk.

Puṟṟukkuḷam.—Now called Puttukkuḷam in the Śivaganga Taluk.

Śiruvayal.

Koṇṇaikkūḷam.—Now called Koṇṇakuḷam in the Śivaganga Taluk.

Pullamaṅgalam.

Karkūḷam.—Now called Kalkūḷam (in Śivaganga).

Karuṁkuḷam.—There is one Karuṅguḷam in Śivaganga Taluk.

Eyili.

Paḍaiḥcheṇkuḷam.

Puḷiyāṅkuḷam.—Still so called. In Śivaganga Taluk.

Pūḍikuḷam.

Veḷārkuṟuchchi.

Vāyttalainallūr.

Kāḍuvetti.—This is the name of a land in Vāyttalainallūr.

Māṇavīramadurai.—This is Māṇāmadurai.

Marudūr.

Śaṅgaṇ-ēmbal.

Śaṅkaramaṅgalam.—Now called Śaṅgamaṅgalam in Śivaganga.

Tiyaṇūr-Śōlaiyēri.—There is a Tiyaṇūr in Śivaganga Taluk.

Kiḷāṅkāṭṭūr *alias* Puravari-chaturvēdimaṅgalam.—In Śivaganga Taluk.

Mēṟ-Paśalai *alias* Śrīvallaḅha-chaturvēdimaṅgalam.—In Śivaganga Taluk.

Pirāndiyēri.—There is a Pirandailkuḷam in Śivaganga Taluk.

Kaḍukkuḍi.—There is a Kakuḍi in Śivaganga Taluk.

Seṭṭalēri.—A *dēvadāna* of Tiruppaśalaisināḍar of Mēṟ-Paśalai *alias* Śrīvallaḅha-chaturvēdimaṅgalam.

Tiruppu-Śoṇḍaṇ-ēmbal.—This may be Sundaṇ-ēmbal in Paramakuḍi Taluk.

Tattaṇ-ēmbal.—Now called Tattanēndal in Paramakuḍi Taluk.

Vēmbōḍ-ēmbal.

Pāppaṇ-ēmbal.—There are villages called Pappanēndal in Paramakuḍi Taluk as well as in Śivaganga Taluk.

Ediriśōḷappērayaṇ-ēmbal.

Vēlaṅkāl.—A *dēvadāna* of Śrī-Vaikunda-Viṇṇagar-Ālvār of Mēṟ-Paśalai *alias* Śrīvallaḅha-chaturvēdimaṅgalam.

Kaṇichchi-ēmbal.

Tiruppu Paṇaiyaṇēri.—There is a Paṇaiyanēndal in Śivaganga.

Kiḷ-Veḷiyārūr.

Mēl-Veḷiyārūr.

Maṇḍaiyūrkūḷam.

Nelvēli.—This may be Nemmelī in Paramakuḍi Taluk.

Taṇṇilattaraiyaṇ-ēmbal.

Sōmāttūr.—This is in Paramakuḍi Taluk.

Aravaṇkuḍi.

Karuṅguḷam.—This is in Paramakuḍi Taluk.

Ēṇāttūr.

Taḍāppīrai.

Kāñchiraṅkuḷam.—This is in Śivaganga Taluk.

### Mēṟkuḍi-nāḍu.

Mēṟkuḍi *alias* Kalijayamaṅgalam.

Mēṇ-Mēṟkuḍi.—Kiḷa-Mēḷkuḍi and Mēla-Mēḷkuḍi are villages in the Śivaganga Taluk.

Maṇjaḷūr.

Korranēri.—There is a village named Kottankulam in Śivaganga and Paramakudi Taluks.

Muttūranārottai.—A *dēvadāna* of Tiruppūvanamudaiyār.

Appalvāy.—Now called Annavasal in Śivaganga Taluk.

Sundar-ēmbal.—Now called Sundanēndal in Śivaganga Taluk.

Narimanram *alias* Varagandanallūr.—There is a village named Nariyēndal in Śivaganga Taluk.

Śilaiyanēri.—Śilaiyan is a village in Śivaganga Taluk.

Uriyappi, Taḷi-ēmbal, Korranēri, Sūriyan-ēmbal and Sōmanēri are lands and tanks in Varagandanallūr.

#### Purapparaḷai-nāḍu.

Pullanēri.

Kannanūr, Lands in—Kaṇṇanūr is a village in Śivaganga Taluk.

Madalaikuruchchi.

Kiṭ-Ṣeḷi : *Puṭṭarai* in it,

Achehanlāṭṭirukkai-Miḷaganūr *alias* Rājōndraśiṅganallūr.—Miḷaganūr is a village in Śivaganga Taluk.

Minnēri, Kaṇṇikuḍi, Araiyanēri, and Naḍuvir-Ṣeḷikuḷattu-uḷvāy.—These are near Miḷaganūr.

Mēr-Ṣeḷi.

Kuruchchātti.

Śirukkiḷātti.

Puvaninallūr.

Ārikudi.

Sōmanēri.

Tāyan-Pādi-ēmbal.

Śirukalānkāṭṭūr, a *dēvadāna* of Tiruppūvanamudaiyār.—There is a village called Kiḷāḍgāṭṭūr in Śivaganga Taluk.

Śirumilagi.

Nerlkunram (*tiṟappu*).

Kāṭṭikkulam.—There is an (I)-and (Z) village of this name in Śivaganga.

Perrān-ēmbal.—There is a village called Pettānēndal in Paramakudi Taluk.

In the lists given above, some official designations are prefixed to a few names of persons. These are : *Tiruvāyikkēḷvi*, *Sāṃudāyam*, *Māḷigaittaṇam*, *Adigāram*, *Valanāḷṭu-kāṇiyam-ṣeygga*, *Āṇaittaṇam* and *Meypṇu*. Their connotation may easily be determined from the terms themselves. The compound word *Tiruvāyikkēḷvi* consists of *tiru* 'sacred', *vāy* 'mouth' and *kēḷvi* 'hearing' and means 'what is heard from the sacred mouth (of the king)', i.e., 'any royal oral order'. As an official designation applied to persons it means 'one who hears the royal oral order'. In ancient times, among the king's retinue there were some who bore this designation. And it seems that the duty of this class of officials was to put in writing the oral orders of the king and communicate the same to the Department of the State concerned for being given effect to. In the case of almost all royal orders this becomes the first original document; and on this are based the subsequent orders issued in pursuance of it. Very often we meet with the statement '*nam kēḷvi tara-chchoṇṇūm*' meaning 'we directed the issue of our *kēḷvi* (oral order put in writing)'. The word '*kēḷvi*' is seen sometimes substituted by '*ōlai*' (written palm leaf). The receiving officers out of regard for the king termed it *tirumanāṇavōḷai* where *tiru* (Skt. *Śrī*) denotes 'His Majesty's', *mandira* 'council' and *ōlai* 'document or order'. Thus, its equivalent is 'the order of His Majesty in Council'. It is exactly the same as *tiruvāyikkēḷvi*. The word *sāṃudāya* means 'gathering, crowd or a body of people'. From it comes *Sāṃudāya* : one of the members of the *sāṃudāya*. This body may consist of one class of people or be of different classes. In temples also there existed such a body. Probably it was composed of different kinds of servants employed in it. The term *Māḷigaittaṇam* may have been used to denote the official in charge of the management of the king's household. It may be rendered into 'Palace-Manager'. *Adigāram* may be taken to mean 'one who exercises power, a maintainer of law'. '*Praḥriyā tv-adhikārah*' and the explanation '*vyavasthā-sthāṇi aniyasya*' well bring out the sense. *Valanāḷṭu-kāṇiyam-ṣeygga* means 'the administrative head of a district'. The sense of the term *Āṇaittaṇam* is well brought

out in lines 207-210 of the larger Leiden plates. It denotes the person who, when the boundaries of a village or villages are being circumambulated by the assemblies of the *nādu* (district or subdivision) in company with the *kaṅkūṇi* (Superintendents); had to go with them mounted on the elephant (*āṇai*) and to point out the boundaries. *Meyppu* is somewhat difficult to explain definitely. It is not known whether the first letter *me* is long or short. If long it may indicate that the person who bore this designation was in charge of the feeding of the elephant; and if short, it may denote a police officer. In the name *Pōrru Aravamūḍaiyāṇ Villi* (No. 76 of Appendix A), the word *Pōrru* may denote some duty or office which is not possible to be definitely defined now.

## TEXT.

*First Plate; First Side.*

- 1 Svasti śrī g<sup>1</sup> Ambhaḥ<sup>2</sup> pūrvvam<sup>3</sup>=abhūd=idan=tad-udarē<sup>4</sup> śētē sma Śēsṣē Haris=tan-nābhēr=ajanishṭa patmam<sup>5</sup>=abhavat
- 2 tasmāt<sup>6</sup> svayam Viśvasṛiṭ [\*] tasmād=Atrir=amushya-lōchana-putād=Indur=Budhas=tat-sutas=tasmād=āsa Purūravā-
- 3 s=tata imē<sup>7</sup> Pāṇḍyēśvarā jajñirē ௨ Svasti sri- Suṇḍarēśād=avagata-samaya[s\*]-sv=ābhi-dhān-āśrayasya grāma-
- 4 sy=āghāṭa-kṛiptim<sup>8</sup>prati sapadi<sup>9</sup> nijē vatsarē pañcha-vimśē [\*] Chaṇḍāmsāv=ātta<sup>10</sup>. Chūpē Kanaka-pati-tithau
- 5 kṛishṇa-paksh-Ārkivāra-Svātī-yōgē karēṇum gamayitum=avadad=Rājagambhīradēvaḥ ௩ Pūvip-kiḷatti mē-
- 6 vi viriruppa Mēḍini-mādu nīdiyir-puṇara vaya-pPōr-maḍandai jaya-ppuyatt=iruppa mā-kKalai-maḍandai
- 7 vāḷkkinil viḷaṅga=ttiśaiy-iru-nāṅgum<sup>11</sup>=iśai-nilāv=eṇippa Maṇai-neṇi vaḷara Maṇu-neṇi tigaḷa aṇa-ne-
- 8 ri-chchamaiyaṅgaḷ=ārun-taḷaippa=kkāṇa-vēṅgaiyai villuḍaṇ turandu mīṇaṇ=Kaṇakā-chalattu
- 9 viriruppa eṇ-giri śūḷnda eḷu-kaḍal=eḷu<sup>12</sup>-poḷil veṇ-kuḍai-niḷar<sup>13</sup>-cheṇkō=ṇaḍappa=<sup>12</sup> kkoḍuṇ-

<sup>1</sup> This sign is used here for punctuation mark. See also line 316. *The Archaeological Survey of South India*, Volume IV, which will hereafter be indicated by *A. S. S. I.*, actually takes it for *visarga* from which it is hardly distinguishable.

<sup>2</sup> Read *ambhaḥ*.

<sup>3</sup> In this inscription, wherever *rvā* occurs, *v* is doubled.

<sup>4</sup> The letter *da* of *darē* seems to have been inserted in the space between *du* and *rē*. It looks like the length sign of *ū*.

<sup>5</sup> Read *padmam*=

<sup>6</sup> There is a marked preference for the final consonant in this inscription. See also *abhavat* (l. 1), *tat-suta* (l. 2) and *talsarē* (l. 4).

<sup>7</sup> In place of *s=tata imē*, *A. S. S. I.* reads *puṇaratō* (?).

<sup>8</sup> The syllables *sy=āghāṭa-kṛiptim* have been read as *syā(vadhi)kāptim* in *A. S. S. I.* There is no doubt about the reading given in our text. The letter *kṛi* is rare and looks like *kara* as it must; but it cannot be taken for *lā*, for the length sign is clearly distinguished in this inscription from *ra* by the latter being given a tube at the bottom.

<sup>9</sup> The letter *di* is corrected from *ti*.

<sup>10</sup> *Vanta* is the reading in *A. S. S. I.* The bottom letter *t* is slightly damaged.

<sup>11</sup> *Mīśai* is the reading in most inscriptions, but in No. 417 of *S. I. I.* (Texts), Vol. V, it is replaced by *migai*.

<sup>12</sup> The reading in *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, Nos. 412 and 417 is *ēḷ*. In this inscription, the letter *ḷu* is clear.

<sup>13</sup> Though *niḷarra* is the reading found in Nos. 412 and 417 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, our inscription uses *niḷar* both here and in line 12: the short and long *i* are clearly distinguished. In No. 302 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, *niḷarra* is followed by *irunkō* instead of *ṣenkō*.

- 10 Kal naḍuṅgi neḍum-pilatt-oḷippa Villavar<sup>1</sup> Śembiyar Virāṭar Varāṭar<sup>1</sup> Pallavar  
tīrai-yuḍan muṇai muṇai  
11 paṇiya iru-nēmiy-aḷavum=oru-nēmiy=ōṅga iṇṇ-amud=āgiya iyal-isai-nāḍaga[m\*] manni  
vaḷara maṇi-muḍi  
12 ēūḍi verpenav=ōṅgiya<sup>2</sup> vīrasimhāsanattu<sup>3</sup>=kkarpaga-nīḷar=kalai-valōr pugala manpavar-  
dēviyar vaṇa-  
13 űgi-ninṇ=ēttum=anna-men-ṇaḍaiy=Avanimuḷududaiyāroḍum vīṇirund-aruḷiya śrī-kō-  
chChadaivarmma-  
14 r-āna Tribhuvanachchakravarttiḡaḷ śrī-Kulaśēkaradēvaṇku yāṇḍu 13-vadu nāl nāl-  
āyirattu munnūr-  
15 r-aṇupadiṇāl<sup>4</sup> Madurōḍaya-vaḷanāṭṭu Māḍakkuḷa-kkīḷ Madurai-kkōyir-paḷli-y-aṇai-  
kkūḍat-

*First Plate; Second Side.*

- 16 tu=ppaḷli-ppāḍam Maḷavarājaṇil=eḷundaruḷiy-irundu [Vēdamu]m Śāstramu[m] pōy  
vyākhyātakkalāy=i-  
17 rukkuṇ=chaturvvēdi-Bhaṭṭargaḷ pēr=āyiratt-enpadimmarku<sup>5</sup>=ppaṅgu āyiratt-enpadum  
dēvadāna-p-  
18 paṇi-śey-virutti paṅgu nūṇ-irupadum āga=ppaṅgu āyiratt-iru-nūṇrukku=ppadiṇ-  
mūṇrāvadi-  
19 \*n-edir padin-onṇām-āṇḍu-mudal brahmadēyam-āga=kKīraṇūr-nāṭṭu <sup>7</sup>Nakkamaṅgala-  
mum Uḍaiyā-<sup>8</sup>  
20 r Tiruppiṇaṇam-uḍaiyār dēvadānam Vāgaikuḍiyum uṭpaḍu<sup>9</sup> brahmadēyam-āga=kkūṭṭiṇa  
Tiruvāva-  
21 ṇamun=Tuttiyūrum <sup>10</sup>Kirūṅgākkōṭṭaiyum=ivv-ūr=<sup>11</sup> Kāḍuveṭṭiyum Muṭṭamuṇ= Koṇra-  
nēriyu-  
22 n-Taḍaiyili-Tiyāgiy-ēmbalum Vēḷattaiṇrān-ēmbalum Pagavadiy-ēmbalum Na-  
ḍuvir-kōṭṭaiyuṇ=Kāḍan-Eṭṭi-kuruchchiyum <sup>12</sup>Paṇaṅgalūr<sup>13</sup>-nāṭṭu Adikaraiyum Mitti-  
24 ravāhyum Vēlaṅḡulamum Ōmaḷagiyaṇ-ēmbaluṇ=Chōlaiyēriyuṇ=Kuḍaiṇṇāḍiyum=Aru-  
25 varai-Pudukkuḷamuṇ=Kiṭṭ<sup>14</sup>-Chūraiyeum Mēr-Chūraiyeum Piḍārikuḷamum Paṇaṅgalūr-āṇa  
Paṇḍita-  
26 paṇjaraṇallūrum Śeyyakulattūrum Śiṅganēriyuḍaiyān kāṇipparrum Vaṇjiyūruṇ=Karku-  
27 riḇchchiyum<sup>15</sup>=Ariyāṇkuruchchiyum=Āraikkuḷamum=Aṇuḡaśāḍiyum Viraṇaṅga- <sup>16</sup>ppērayan-  
ēmbalum Vi-

<sup>1</sup> *Marāṭar* is a variant found in No. 302 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. V.

<sup>2</sup> Instead of this phrase, *viḷaṅgiya kaḍir-oḷi* occurs in No. 302 and *viḷaṅgiya* alone in Nos. 412 and 417 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. V.

<sup>3</sup> The *sa* of *sanattu* is an interlineation. It is entered below the line.

<sup>4</sup> The reading *nālu* in *A. S. S. I.*, is wrong. The mistake increases the number of days by four.

<sup>5</sup> Read *ōḷḷu*.

<sup>6</sup> The *e* sign of *ne* is engraved at the end of the previous line.

<sup>7</sup> Over the letter *Na*, the *i* sign is entered and erased.

<sup>8</sup> The length of *yā* is entered at the beginning of the next line.

<sup>9</sup> Read *uṭpaḍa*.

<sup>10</sup> The reading *Śirungā* given in *A. S. S. I.* is wrong.

<sup>11</sup> Read *-ūr*.

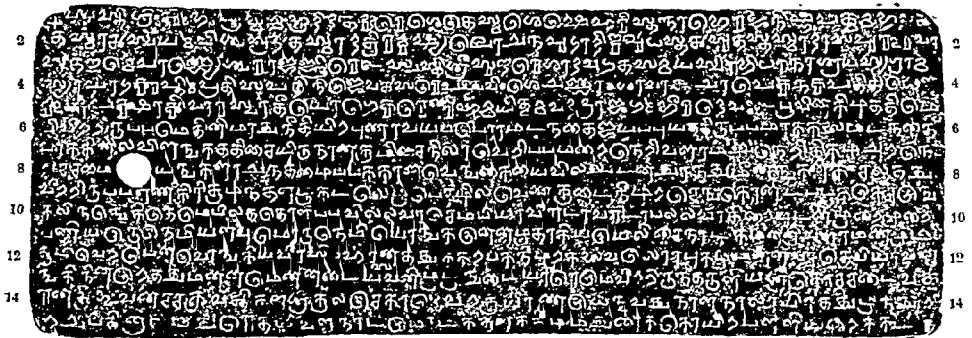
<sup>12</sup> The length of *lū* is here separated from the letter, whereas it is connected with it in line 25.

<sup>13</sup> Read *Kiḷ*.

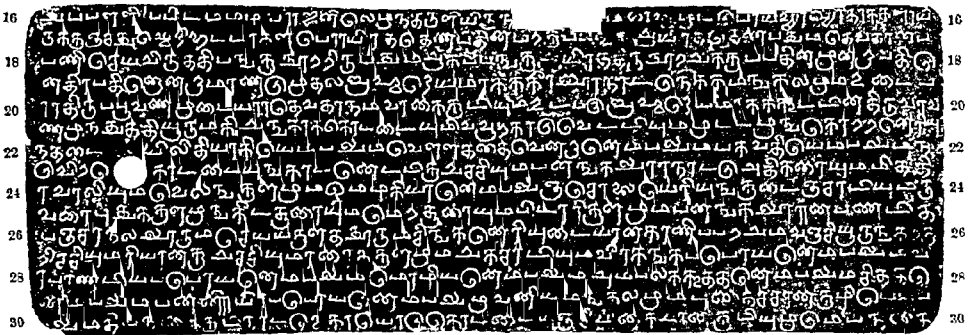
<sup>14</sup> The word *kuruchchi* is in some cases spelt *kurichchi*. See lines 77, 166, 236.

<sup>15</sup> This word may also be read *ppēyaṇ*. As there is no *i* sign over the letter *r*, the reading *ppēriyan* given in *A. S. S. I.* must be considered wrong.

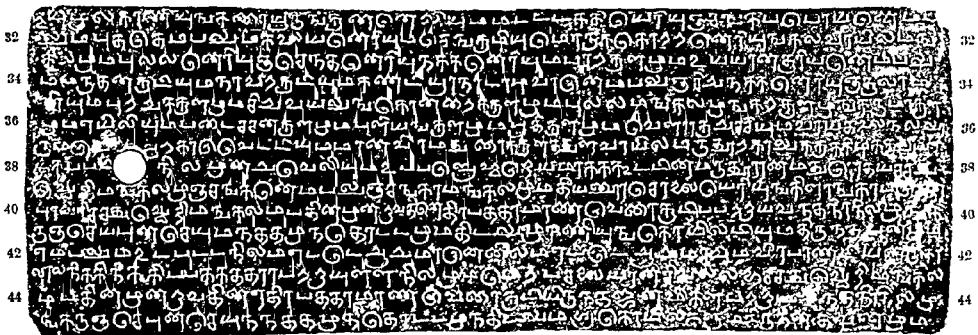
i, a.



i, b.



ii, a.





[illegible]

62  
 63  
 64  
 65  
 66  
 67  
 68  
 69  
 70  
 71  
 72  
 73  
 74

[illegible]

- 28 rapāṇḍiyappērayaṇ<sup>1</sup>-ēmbalum Molīyaṇ-ēmbalum Ambalakkūṭṭaṇ-ēmbalum Sitta-  
 29 <sup>2</sup>n-ēmbalum . <sup>3</sup>Pannīrāyirappērayaṇ<sup>1</sup>-ēmbalum=Uvaṇiyamaṅgalamum <sup>4</sup>Pudaichchāṇ  
 kulī[y-ēm]ba-  
 30 lum Tiyaṇdaikuḍi<sup>5</sup>-nāṭṭu<sup>6</sup> Ugaray-ōḍu Kōṭṭaiyuṇ-Chivigaiyaṇ-kuliyum=Uḍum[ba]ṇdai.<sup>7</sup>

*Second Plate; First Side.*

- 31 <sup>8</sup>yum=Ulagaraṇiyuṇ=Karaiyūruṇ=Kunṇēliyum Maṭṭaḍakkīyēriyuṇ= Chaṅgappērayaṇ<sup>9</sup>-  
 ēmba-  
 32 lum Puttēmbalum Kalaiyaṇēriyum Śeṇkūliyum=Orukkōṭṭanēriyuṇ=Kalvāyilmaṇ-  
 33 galamum Pullaṇēriyuṇ=Chēṇḍaṇēriyu[m\*] <sup>10</sup>Nakkaṇēriyum Pārkuḷamum Uyyāṇ Śūri-  
 yaṇ-ēmbalu-  
 34 m Maruḍaṇkuḍiyum Nāvaṇkuḍiyum Kaṇḍiyūr-nāḍālvāṇ-ēmbaluṇ=Chiṇu-Nakkaṇ- ēriyuṇ=  
 Chūlāma-  
 35 [ni]yum Puṇṇukkuḷamum Śiruvayaluṇ=Koṇṇaikkūḷamum Pullamaṅgalamuṇ=Kaṇkuḷamuṇ=  
 Karumaḷkuḷa-  
 36 mum Eyiliyum Paḍaichchaṇkuḷamum Puḷiyaṇkuḷamum Pūḍikuḷamum Vēḷārkuṇuch-  
 chiyum Vāy[t\*]talainallū-  
 37 rum ivv-ū<sup>11</sup> Kāḍuveṭṭiyum Māṇavīramaduraikkūḷatt=ulvāyil Maruḍū<sup>12</sup>-kālukku= kkiḷak-  
 [ku-pp]ā-  
 38 <sup>12</sup>ḍagappaḍi nila[m\*] mūṇṇu-vēliyum utpaḍu<sup>13</sup> brahmadēyam-āga=kkūṭṭiṇa Maruḍūr- āṇa  
 Maḍurōḍaya-chchatu-  
 39 rvvēḍimaṅgalamuṇ=Chaṅgaṇ-ēmbaluṇ=Chaṅkaramaṅgalamum Tiyaṇūr- Śōlaiyēriyuṇ=  
 Kiḷāṅkāṭṭū[r-ā]ṇa  
 40 Puravari-chchaturvvēḍimaṅgalam paḍiṇ-mūṇṇāvaḍiṇ-edir pattām-āṇḍuvarai kuḍip-  
 parrāy vanda nīr-nīlamuṇ=ka-  
 41 ruṇchey puṇṇeyum nattamun=tōṭṭamum tiḍalum=ūraṇiyuṇ=kōyil-aḍiyum tiru[na\*]-  
 ndavaṇa[mu]m  
 42 ēmbalum utpaṭṭa nīlam eṭṭē āru-mā i-ṇṇīlam eṭṭē āru-māvum Vīrapāṇḍiyaṇ- kō-  
 43 lāl nikki nikki-ppakkattār parrāy-uḷḷa nīlamum Mēṇ-Paśalaiy-āṇa Śivallabha-chchatur-  
 vvēḍimaṅgala-  
 44 m paḍiṇ-mūṇṇāvaḍiṇ edir pattām-āṇḍuvarai kuḍiy-irunda jaṇmigaḷ parrāy vanda nīr-  
 nīlamu-  
 45 ā-karuṇchey[y\*] puṇṇeyun=nattamun=tōṭṭamun=tiḍalum Śrīkōyilgaḷum tirunaṇḍava-  
 ṇamum

<sup>1</sup> This word may also be read *ppōyaṇ*. As there is no *i* sign over *r* the reading *pperiyaṇ* given in *A. S. S. I.* must be considered wrong.

<sup>2</sup> The *ē* sign of *nē* is entered at the end of the previous line.

<sup>3</sup> In *ṇīrā*, there is a correction. The engraver seems to have at first written *ra* and inserted the length mark afterwards between *ṇī* and *rā*.

<sup>4</sup> *Pukai* given in *A. S. S. I.* is incorrect.

<sup>5</sup> *Kuḍa*, the reading in *A. S. S. I.*, is not right. The word occurs again with the spelling *kuḍi*.

<sup>6</sup> Here and in many more places the letter *ṭu* is shaped exactly as the *e* sign. It is due to the indifference of the scribe.

<sup>7</sup> This word has been read *Uḍumavandai* in *A. S. S. I.*

<sup>8</sup> At the beginning of this line, the *A. S. S. I.* has *kudi* of which there are no traces. The first letter is certainly *yu*.

<sup>9</sup> The reading *periyaṇ* given in *A. S. S. I.* is inadmissible. There is no *i* sign over *r*. An alternative reading would be *pōyaṇ* which does not give good sense.

<sup>10</sup> By mistaking *na* for *ā*, *Kaṇaṇṇi* has been made out in *A. S. S. I.*

<sup>11</sup> Read *ār*. Perhaps the writer uses *ī* in place of *rk*.

<sup>12</sup> There is nothing to suspect the letter to be *śa* as has been done in *A. S. S. I.*

<sup>13</sup> Read *utpaḍa*.

## Second Plate; Second Side.

- 46 utpaḍa Virapāṇḍiyaṅ-kōlāl nilan=nāl-araiyē mukkāṇi i-nnila[m\*] nāl-araiyē mu-kkāṇi-yun=  
 47 nikki nikki-ppakkattārum Maṇavarum paṇṇāy-uḷla nilamum Pirāṇḍiyēriyūn=Kaḍukku-  
 diyum<sup>1</sup>  
 48 <sup>2</sup>Mēṇ-Paśalaiy-āṇa Śrīvallaḥba-ḥaturvvēdimaṅgalattu=tTiruppa[śa]lainādar dēvada[ṇa]ū=Chōṭṭā.<sup>3</sup>  
 49 lēriyun=tirappu<sup>4</sup>=chChonḍaṅ-ēmbalum=Tattaṅ-ēmbalum Vēmbōḍ-ē[mbalum] Pāppā-  
 50 ṇ-ēmbalum Eduriliśōḷappērayaṅ-ēmbalum-Mēṇ-Paśalaiy-āṇa Śriva[ś\*]labbha-[ḥaturvvē]-  
 dimaṇ-  
 51 galattu Śrī-Vaikunda-Viṇṇagar-Ālvārku=kkārāṇmaiy=utpaḍa=ddēvadāṇa irai[yili vē]ru-muda-  
 52 1 Vēlaṅkāluṇ=Kaṇichebiy-ēmbaluṇ=kuḍikkāṇikkum=ttalaimāru viṭṭa nilamum tira[p]pu Paṇai.<sup>5</sup>  
 53 yaṇēriyūn=Kī[ś]-Vēliyāṇṇūrum. <sup>6</sup>[Mē]l-Vēliyāṇṇūrum Maṇḍaiyār-kuḷamun=Nel-  
 54 vēliyun=Tannilattaraiyaṅ-ēmbalum Sōmāttūrum Aṇavonkuḍiyūn=Karuvā[ś\*]kuḷamum ū-  
 55 ṇāttūrun=Taḍāppiraiyūn=Kāñchiraṇkuḷamum Mēṇkuḍi-nāṭṭu Mēṇkuḍiy-āṇa Kalijaya-  
 56 maṅgalam paḍiṇ-mūṇṇāvaḍiṇ-edir pattām-aṇḍuvarai kuḍippaṇṇāy vanda nīr-nilamuṇ-ka-  
 57 ruñche[y\*] puṇseyu[m\*] nattamum=utpaḍa Virapāṇḍiyaṅ-kōlāl nilam=iraṇḍē nālu-mā i-  
 58 nnilam=iraṇḍē nālu-māvu[m\*] nikki nikki-ppakkattār paṇṇāy-uḷla nilamum Mēṇ-Mēṇkuḍi-  
 59 yum Maṇjaḷūruṇ=Koṇṇaṇēriyum Uḍaiyār Tiruppūvaṇam-uḍaiyār dēvadāṇa[m\*] Mut-  
 60 tūranāroṭṭaiyum Aṇṇalvā[yu]m<sup>9</sup>=ivv-ūr[p\*]pār<sup>10</sup>-Chundaṅ-ēmbalum Naṇinapṇamāṇa Va[ra].<sup>11</sup>

## Third Plate; First Side.

- 61 gaṇḍanallūrum ivv-ūrppār<sup>12</sup>-Chilaiyaṇēriyum=Uriappiyum Tāliy-ēmbalum Ko-  
 62 ṇṇaṇēriyum Sūriyaṅ-ēmbalum Sōmaṇēriyum tirappu Purappaṇaḷai-nāṭṭu=pPulla.<sup>13</sup>  
 63 <sup>14</sup>ṇēriyum Kaṇṇaṇṇ-kaṇuñcheypaṇṇi=kūṭṭiṇa nilamum Madalaikuñchichi-kkaṇuñchey-  
 64 yum Kīṭ-Cheli=ppurkariyum Achchaṅkāṭṭirukkai Mīlagaṇṇ-āṇa Irāśēndiraśiṅgana-  
 65 llūrum ivv-ūrppāl Miṇṇēriyum Kaṇṇikuḍiyum Araiyaṇēriyum Naḍuvir-Cheli-

<sup>1</sup> Kakekudi is the reading in *A. S. S. I.* This is due to the resemblance of *du* to *e* sign.

<sup>2</sup> The *ē* sign of *Mē* is entered at the end of the previous line.

<sup>3</sup> The reading *ṇam Sēmbāṇēri* given in *A. S. S. I.* is hardly possible. At the end of the line, the letter *fā* is very clear. Owing to scratches over the penultimate *f*, it seems to have been mistaken for *m*. As the loops of *n* are fully developed in this inscription, there is no doubt about the first letter of the next line being *lē* and not *nē*. I have accordingly taken the word to be *Śēṭṭāḷēri*.

<sup>4</sup> This word has been wrongly read as *tiru* in *A. S. S. I.* *Tirappu* occurs again in lines 52 and 68 where it has been correctly read.

<sup>5</sup> Here again, we have *pērayaṅ-ē*. The engraver appears to have incised the *i* sign over *r* and erased it.

<sup>6</sup> The last syllable is *ṇai* and not *ṇai* as given in *A. S. S. I.*

<sup>7</sup> Here the loop for long *i* is wanting.

<sup>8</sup> For *Mē* the engraver has written *pē*.

<sup>9</sup> The letter *yu* of *vāyum* resembles *pa*. The middle vertical stroke does not seem to have been cut.

<sup>10</sup> The reading *pārtanṇaṅ-ē* of *A. S. S. I.* is not admissible.

<sup>11</sup> The last letter *ra* is missing, the plate being broken at the corner.

<sup>12</sup> In place of *ppār*, the *A. S. S. I.* has *Māḍār*.

<sup>13</sup> Instead of *paṇaḷai* and *Pulla*, we have *Pirasa* and *Yulla* in *A. S. S. I.* The engraver has written *ppu* as a group and the group symbol actually resembles *yu*.

<sup>14</sup> The *ē* sign of *nē* is at the end of the previous line.

66 kkuḷatt-uḷvāyūm Mēṇ-Cheliyūm Kuṇchehāttiyūm Śirukkilāttiyūm Puvaniṁallūrum Ā-  
 67 rikudiyūm Sōmaṇēriyūm Tāyaṇ-Pūdi-embalum Uḍaiyār Tiruppūvaṇam-uḍaiyār  
 68 dēvadāṇaṇ-Chirukilāṇkāttūrum Śīru-Mīlagiyūm tirappu Neṇkuṇṇamum Kaṭṭikkūḷa-  
 69 mum Peṇṇā-embalum āga ivv-ūrgaḷiṇ=paḷan-dēvadāṇam paḷlicheḇandam 1karāṇmai-  
 70 yāṇa nilam nikkī nikkīy-uḷḷa nilam muṇṇ-uḍaiyārum paḷam-pērum Vellāṇ-vagaiy[u]-  
 71 m mudalun=tavirttu oru-nāḍum or-ūrum oru-puravum=ākki Rājagambhīra-vaḷanāṭṭu  
 Rājagambhīra-  
 72 chaturvvēdimāṅgalam=ēṇṇun=tirunāmattāl brahmādēyaṇ-cheydaruḷi ivv-ūr nāṇ[g]-el-  
 73 laiyuṇ=kaṇkāṇiḷāḍuṇ-kūda=ppiḍi sūḷndu piḍi naḍanda ellaikkū aṇav-ōlai śeydu  
 74 kuḍukkaveṇṇu tiruvāymoḷindaruḷiṇamaiyil Puravu[va]ṇi<sup>2</sup>-kkāṇkāṇi Mīḷalai-kkū-  
 75 ṇṇattu Naḍuvir-kūṇṇu Śrī-Parāntakanallūr-Kaṭṭikuṇchechi-uḍaiyāṇ Araiya[n\*] Nārāya.<sup>3</sup>

## Third Plate; Second Side.

76 ṇaṇum Mīḷalai-kkūṇṇattu K[ī\*]<sup>4</sup>l-kūṇṇu Taṇḍalaiuḍaiyāṇ Pirāntakaṇ Tiruppūvaṇam-uḍai-<sup>5</sup>  
 77 yāṇum Aḷagiyapāṇḍiyakkūḷakkil Māṇṇūr-āna Palamaṇḍalādittanallūr<sup>6</sup> Māṇṇū-  
 78 r-uḍaiyāṇ Karuṇākaradēvaṇ Purpavaṇam-uḍaiyāṇum Tiruvāyakkēḷi-p-Purappaṇa-  
 79 lai-nāṭṭu=pPuttūr-uḍaiyāṇ Poṇṇaṇ Sūriyadēvaṇ-āna Jeyadara-pPallavaraiyar ka-  
 80 ṇkāṇi Sōḷa-maṇḍalattu Tirumuṇaippāḍi-nāṭṭu=kKaruppūr-uḍaiyāṇ <sup>7</sup>Pillai-Ālvāṇ-āna  
 81 Poṇṇambalakkūṭṭaṇum Poyyamoḷidēvar kaṇkāṇi Karuṇguḍi-nāṭṭu Kīḷ-Ne-  
 82 ttūr-āna Kīrtiviśāḷaiyanallūr Vellāṇ Śāṭṭaṇum sāmudāyam Muttūṇṇu-kūṇṇattu-kKa-  
 83 ppalūr-āna Uḷaḷandaśōḷanallūr Kappalūr-uḍaiyāṇ <sup>8</sup>Sirāmaṇ Tiruvuḍaiyāṇ-āna<sup>9</sup>  
 84 Pottappicheḷōḷar kaṇkāṇi Kēraḷaśiṅga-vaḷanāṭṭu Veliyāṇṇū[r-u\*]<sup>10</sup>ḍaiyāṇ Nārāyaṇaṇ Śāṭṭa-  
 85 ṇum Māḷigaittaṇam Vaḍatalai-chChembī-nāṭṭu Āykkuḍiy-āna Aḷagiyapāṇḍiyanallūr<sup>10</sup> Sīva-  
 86 ḷavaṇ Aḷagiyamaṇavaḷāṇ-āna Kāḷiṅgarāyar kaṇkāṇi Poliyūr-nāṭṭu Aruṇkālam-uḍaiyāṇ  
 87 Arayaṇ Tirumalai-uḍaiyāṇum Maḷavarāyar kaṇkāṇi <sup>11</sup>Tiyaṇdaikuḍi-nāṭṭu Kīṭ-Paśūlaiy-  
 āṇa Dā.<sup>12</sup>  
 88 ṇaviṇḍōdanallūr-uḍaiyāṇ Arayan Karumāṇikkamum Piḷḷaiyār Aḷagapperumāl=adikāra-  
 89 m=Muttūṇṇu-kkūṇṇattu=kKappalūr-āna Uḷaḷandaśōḷanallūr<sup>10</sup>-Kappalūr-uḍaiyāṇ Uyyava-  
 90 ndāṇ Poṇṇaṇ-āna Māṇābaraṇa-Mūvēṇḍavēḷārum Sōḷapāṇḍiya-vaḷanāṭṭu-chChirupā-

<sup>1</sup> Read *kārūṇmat*.<sup>2</sup> The damage in the syllables *vuva* seems to have led to the wrong reading *ścha* in *A. S. S. I.*<sup>3</sup> A bit of the plate at the right bottom corner, enough to cover a letter is broken off. Still no letter is actually missing as is clear from the fact that *Nārāya* at the end of this face of the plate reads without break with *ṇaṇum* at the beginning of the next face. But at the end of that line where the bit is lost, the letter *ṇ* seems to have been written and lost and had to be crammed in just to the right of, but below, the *ai* sign. Had the bit been broken before, *ṇ* would have found place at the beginning of the second line.<sup>4</sup> The *i* sign of *kī* has not been engraved and the *A. S. S. I.* has the letter *kz* correctly.<sup>5</sup> There is an extra length sign in *lā*.<sup>6</sup> The passage after *Karuppūṇṇudai* seems to have been written over an erasure. The letters at the end clearly retain traces of the prior writing. In the previous line also the damaged condition and the size of the letters from *Sūriya* to the end suggest the same fact though traces of the old letters are not seen.<sup>7</sup> What looks like *ya* at the commencement of this line is the group symbol for *ppa*.<sup>8</sup> Read *Śi*.<sup>9</sup> The last letter *ṇa* is a correction.<sup>10</sup> Read *ōlūr*.<sup>11</sup> This word has been wrongly read in *A. S. S. I.* as *Tiyaṇāka*.<sup>12</sup> The length of *Dā* is engraved at the beginning of the next line.

## Fourth Plate ; First Side.

- 91 laiyūr<sup>1</sup>-āṇa Kāvērivallavanallūr-udaiyūṇ Nambi Poṇṇambalakkūttan-āṇa Virāṣiṅgadēva<sup>2</sup>  
 92 rum i-nnāṭṭukku=kkārī[ya\*]ū=cheygira Irāṣiṅgaṇkuḷakkīl Irāṣēndirattu Alāgiyapāṇḍi-  
 93 yaṇ aṇukkaril Malaikīṇiyaniṇṇāṇ Alagaṇ-āṇa Viśaiya-Vichehādiradēvarum kaṇkāṇiyāga  
 Ti-  
 94 yandaikudi-nāṭṭu Māṇavīramadurai Mādavaṇ Divākara-Baṭṭaṇuṇ<sup>3</sup>=Nārāyaṇaṇ Nārāyaṇa-  
 Baṭṭa-  
 95 ṇum śī(śrī)-Mādavaṇ Nārasimha-Bhaṭṭaṇum Govindaṇ Tirunilakāṇḍa-Baṭṭaṇum Jātavēdan  
 96 Subrahmaṇya-Bhaṭṭaṇum uppaḍu<sup>4</sup> brahmadēyamāga=kkūṭṭiṇa Marudūr-āṇa Madurōdaya-  
 chchatu-  
 97 <sup>5</sup>rvvēdimāṅgalattu=tTirukkudandai Ādityaṇ Śēndapirāṇ-Baṭṭaṇum śrī-Kriṣṇaṇ=Alagi-  
 98 ya-Rāghava-Bhaṭṭaṇum Kāliyāyaṇ Veṇṇaikkūṭṭa-Bhaṭṭaṇum Mēṇ-Paśalaiy-āṇa Śrīvallaḥḥa-  
 chaturvēdi-  
 99 maṅgalattu Āhitāgni śrī-Raṅgaṇātha-Bhaṭṭa-Sōma-Kāṭhaka-yājiyārum Nārāyaṇaṇ Nārāya-  
 100 ṇa-Bhaṭṭaṇum śrī-Vāsudēvaṇ Nagnapirāṇ-Bhaṭṭaṇum śrī-Rāmaṇ Paramātma-Bhaṭṭaṇum  
 Kīṭ-Paśalai-  
 101 y-āṇa Dāṇaviṇōdanallūr=<sup>6</sup>Āyaṇ Uyyaṇiṇṇāduvāṇ-āṇa Śēmbiyadaraiyaṇum Kēśavaṇ Nārāya-  
 102 ṇaṇum Karumāṇikkaḥ=Korṇaṇum Kalvāyil Kēśavaṇum Periyāṇ Perrāṇum Naṅga-  
 103 ṇ=Alagaṇum Vāsudēvaṇ Sūriyadēvaṇum Poliyūr-nāṭṭu=pPoliyūr-āṇa Pāṭṭi(rthi)vakēśa-  
 104 rinallūr=Appaṇ Sūriyadēvaṇum Udayaṇ Varaguṇadēvaṇ-āṇa Alāgiyapāṇḍiya-Vilupparai-  
 105 yaṇum Sūriyaṇ Varantaruvāṇ-āṇa Saṅgirāmaśiṅga-pPallavaraiyaṇum Sundarattōḷudaiyā-

## Fourth Plate ; Second Side.

- 106 ṇ Sōmadēvaṇum Puṇapparaḷai-nāṭṭu=kKaḷḷikkudiy-āṇa Puravuvārinallūr<sup>7</sup>-Dayānilai Uyya-  
 107 vandāṇ-āṇa Chēdarāyaṇum<sup>8</sup> Aṇukkaṇ=Āriyaṇum Appaṇ-Arumolīdēvaṇ-āṇa Śēmbiyaṇ-Viḷu-  
 108 pparaiyaṇum Puṭṭūr<sup>9</sup>-kīḷavaṇ Baṭṭaṇ-āṇa Puṇapparaḷai<sup>10</sup>-ṇāḍu-kīḷavaṇum Kāṇaiy-Irukkaiy=  
 Iruṇchi-  
 109 raiy-āṇa Indirasamāṇanallūr<sup>11</sup>-Pāḷiyānilai Sūriyadēvaṇ-āṇa Tamiṇāḍu-kīḷavaṇum Vēḷān=  
 Ira-  
 110 ṭṭaiy-āṇa Irāṣakuṇjara-pPallavaraiyaṇum Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimāṅgalattudaṇ kūṭṭi-  
 111 ṇa Miḷagaṇūṇku=ttalaimāru kuḍutta Achchaṇkāṭṭirukkai<sup>12</sup>-<sup>13</sup>kKuvalaivēliyum Puduk-  
 kuḷamum Mā-  
 112 ṇaṇkīrtiyum Kāvidinallūrum<sup>14</sup> Kaḍambamaṅgalamum Śāṭṭiyār-ēmbalum Kāṇaiy-Irukkaiy=  
 Araī-  
 113 yarkuḷattil Mandari Irāmaṇ-āṇa Pallavarāyaṇ kāṇiyāṇa śēmpādi nikki nikkiy-ulla nila-  
 114 mum-āṅa ivv-ūrgaḷ muṇṇ-udaiyārum paḷam-peyarum mudaluṇ=taviṇṭu oru-nāḍum or-ūrum

o-

<sup>1</sup> The commencement of this line has been read *śalai* in A. S. S. I. Of this the first letter *śa* is really the Tamil numeral 'four' which is the number of the plate and which is cut at the left top corner away from *laiyūr* and slightly below the first line.

<sup>2</sup> The syllables *dēva* have been read as *Tōja* in A. S. S. I.

<sup>3</sup> The letters *nNa* are expressed by a group.

<sup>4</sup> Read *uppaḍa*.

<sup>5</sup> The *ē* sign of *revē* is at the end of the previous line.

<sup>6</sup> This word may also be read *Arayaṇ*.

<sup>7</sup> Read *ūr*.

<sup>8</sup> Read *Chēdi*.

<sup>9</sup> The letters *ppa* are expressed by a group.

<sup>10</sup> *Yalavēli* is taken as the name of the village in A. S. S. I.

<sup>11</sup> This has been incorrectly read as *Mahāvīdhi* in A. S. S. I.

## TIRUPPUVANAM PLATES OF JATAVARMAN KULASEKHARA I. (II).

iv. a.

[illegible]

*iv, b.*

106  
108  
110  
112  
114  
116  
118  
120

106  
108  
110  
112  
114  
116  
118  
120

*v.a.*

122  
124  
126  
128  
130  
132  
134  
136

vi.b.

138  
140  
142  
144  
146  
148  
150  
152

138  
140  
142  
144  
146  
148  
150  
152

vi.a.

154  
156  
158  
160  
162  
164  
166  
168

154  
156  
158  
160  
162  
164  
166  
168

vi.b.

170  
172  
174  
176  
178  
180  
182  
184

170  
172  
174  
176  
178  
180  
182  
184

- 115 ru-puravum=akki Achchaṅkāṭṭirukkai-Miḷagaṇūr-āṇa Irāśēndirśiṅganallūr-eṇṇum pe-  
 116 yarāl variyil-iṭṭamaiyil i-mMiḷagaṇūrku<sup>1</sup>-chehamainda Śadiraṇ Selvaṇum Irāmaṇ-Aḷagaṇum  
 117 Śōraṇ Mūkaṇum Nāgaḍēvaṇ-Irāmaṇ-āṇa Irāśanārāyaṇa-Mūvēṇḍavēḷāṇum Araśariyaṇum  
 Ki-  
 118 t-Chembi-nāṭṭu Malaṅguḍi-kiḷavaṇ Pullaṇi Mādēvaṇ-āṇa Nuḷambādarāyar kēṇipparu-  
 tTirumāli-  
 119 ri<sup>2</sup>ñchōlai-Ālvār dēvadāṇam Achchaṅkāṭṭirukkai-tTirumā<sup>3</sup>lirīñchōlainallūr Araiyaṇ Pullā.<sup>4</sup>  
 120 niyum Aḷagiyapāṇḍiyakkulakkīṭ-Chirukulattūr-āṇa Parākramapāṇḍiyanallūr-Sāttan Ka-  
 ṇavadiyum Sun-  
 121 darattōḷudaiyaṇ Dēvaṇum Sāttan Kaṇḍaṇ-āṇa Tirumālirīñchōlai<sup>5</sup>-Dāsaṇum Vēḷāṇ Sunda-

Fifth Plate ; First Side.<sup>6</sup>

- 122 rattōḷudaiyaṇum Śivallavaṇ Perāyiramudaiyaṇ-āṇa Māgaṇūr-nāṭṭu Vēḷāṇu-  
 123 mi Dēvaṇ Śivallavaṇ-āṇa Araṭṭamikkidāsaṇum Śūraḷuḍiy-āṇa Virakāmugamaṅgalattu  
 Iḷavima-  
 124 ṅgalattu Udayadivākaṇa śrī-Kārimāra-Bhaṭṭaṇum i-kkuḍi Nārāyaṇaṇ Subrahmaṇya-  
 Bhaṭṭa-  
 125 ṇum Kiraṇūr-nāṭṭu Viḍattal-āṇa Māṇābaraṇa-chaturvēḍimaṅgalattu Uyyaṇṇāḍi Periyā]-  
 126 vāṇum Śēṇḍapirāṇ Karumāmugil-Bhaṭṭaṇum Gōvindaṇ Māpēṇḍukaiyaṇum Ā-  
 127 dityaṇ Bhāskara-Bhaṭṭaṇum Aḷagiyapāṇḍiyakkulakkīṭ Vēḷūrkuṇucheḷi Vēḷāṇ  
 128 Kōvaṇum<sup>7</sup> Ādi Perrāṇum Vēḷāṇ-Aḷagaṇ-āṇa Sundarapāṇḍiya-Mūvēṇḍavēḷāṇum Vēḷāṇ  
 Śīriḷaṅkō[vu].<sup>8</sup>  
 129 m utpaḍu<sup>9</sup> brahmadēyamāga-kkūṭṭiṇa Tiruvāvaṇattu Marudūr-Ālvāṇ Upāddhyāyaṇum  
 130 Perumpuliyūr Karumāṇikkam-Uḷagamunḍāṇ-Bhaṭṭaṇum Marudūr Mayūravāhaṇaṇ  
 Āḍuvā.<sup>10</sup>  
 131 ṇ-Bhaṭṭaṇum Kiraṇūr-nāṭṭu Vēḷūr-āṇa Aḷagiyapāṇḍiyanallūr Irāmaṇ-Uyyavandāṇum  
 132 Perrāṇ Pāttāṇum<sup>11</sup> Dēvaṇ Nambiyum Śōraṇ Nūṭṭāṇum -āga ivv-anaivarun-taṅgaḷ e-  
 133 llaigaḷ kāṭṭa Āṇaittaṇam Irāśiṅgaṇkulakkīṭ- Tiruppūvaṇattu Pammaṇ=Adiyārkuṇal-  
 134 laperumāṇ-āṇa Pallavadaraiyaṇum Meyppu Malaiyaṇ Śōraṇ-āṇa Viñjattaraiyaṇum  
 135 Dēvaṇ Tillaiy-āṇa Madurōḍaya-pPallavaraiyaṇum Śikayilāya<sup>12</sup>-Baṭṭaṇ-āṇa [Śi]vallaṇa-p-  
 136 Pallavaraiyaṇum Kaṇavadi Śīrāmaṇ-āṇa Sundarapāṇḍiya-pPallavaraiyaṇum<sup>10</sup> [E]raṇ  
 Periyā-  
 137 ṇ-āṇa Pāṇḍiyaṇ Pallavaraiyaṇum Pōrru Aravamudaiyaṇ Villiy-āṇa<sup>11</sup> Muḍittalaliko.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Read °rkku.<sup>2</sup> Read °liruñchōlai.<sup>3</sup> The length stroke of lā is written at the commencement of the next line and is damaged.<sup>4</sup> The number of the plate is engraved on the margin of the left top corner.<sup>5</sup> The left hand portion of the medial ō sign of Kō is written at the end of the previous line.<sup>6</sup> After Perrāṇu the letters are smaller in size up to °ṇ Śīriḷaṅ.<sup>7</sup> Read utpaḍu. The letter ḍu resembles the secondary e symbol.<sup>8</sup> The last three letters are Āḍuvā. The length sign of vā, which is written at the beginning of the next line, is damaged and looks like śa. The reading Kēśava given in A. S. S. I. is inadmissible, for ā and va are clear.<sup>9</sup> Instead of Śikayilāya, the A. S. S. I. has Sidaiyil-Araya.<sup>10</sup> After yanu, there is only one m and the trace of the vowel ē following it. As such, the reading m Māraṇ of A. S. S. I. is inadmissible. Against the reading it has also to be noted that there is too much space for the length sign of Mā.<sup>11</sup> Valliyaṇ is the reading in A. S. S. I. It is inadmissible as it disregards the i sign over v and the length symbol after y.<sup>12</sup> The syllables muḍi are re-placed by piḍi in A. S. S. I.



*Fifth Plate ; Second Side.*

- 138 n̄da-pPallavaraiyaṇum pidi naḍatta =ppidi naḍandapaḍikkku aṇav-ōlai seydu-kuḍutta pari-  
 139 śavadu [i\*] Padin-mūṇṇāvaḍin-edir paṇṇiraṇḍām-āṇḍu Dhaṇu-nāyarru nālān-tiyadiyum  
 apara-pakshat.  
 140 tu ēkādaṣiyum Saṇi-kkilaṁaiyum peṇṇa Sōdi-nāt=Kil-ellai ivv-ūr vaḍa-kilakku-kKīṭ-Chū.  
 141 \*rai-y-enru pēr kūvappaṭṭa Uḍaikulattu kil-kaḍai-kkombir=ruḍaṅgi idaṇṇirun=teṇ-  
 142 ku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Seyyakulattūril-niṇṇum Kaḍambaṅuḍikkku=ppōgiṇa valiyaiy=ūḍa-  
 ruttu=t-  
 143 teṇ-kilakku nōkkiiyun=teṇku nōkkiiyun=teṇ-kilakku nōkkiiyuṇ=cheṇṇu Māṇavīramaduraj-  
 144 yil-niṇṇum Vēmbaṅuḍikkku=ppōgiṇa valiyaiy=ūḍaruttu=kkilakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Se-  
 145 yya[ku]lattūril-niṇṇum Mūvaraiyarkōṭṭaikku=ppōgiṇa peru-valiyaiy=ūḍaruttu Pu-  
 146 \*daichohāṇ-kuliyaiy<sup>4</sup> valattu vaittu i-vvaliyiṇ=kūḍiṇa veṭṭi-pperu-valiyaiy<sup>4</sup> teṇ-kilak-  
 147 ku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Mūvaraiyarkōṭṭaiyil-niṇṇum Māṇavīramaduraikku=ppōgiṇa peru-  
 148 valiyaiy=ūḍaruttu mērk=innam [i\*] i-vvaliyil-niṇṇum teṇ-kilakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu mēṇku  
 149 nōkki=ppōṇa peru-valiyaiy=ūḍaruttu=tten-kilakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Piḍāvūril-niṇ-  
 150 rum Māṇavīramaduraikku=ppōgiṇa valiyaiy=ūḍaruttu=tteṇ-kilakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Ka-  
 151 raiyūr-kulattu=kkil-kaḍai-kkombaiy=urru i-kkaraiyil-niṇṇum=teṇ-kilakku nōk-  
 152 ki=chcheṇṇu mērk=innam [i\*] Kuṇṇōli-kkulattukku nīr pāygiṇa kālaiy=ūḍaruttu mērk=  
 innam [i\*]  
 153 i-kkālil-niṇṇum=teṇ-kilakku nōkki=chChāṅgappērayaṇ ēmbaṇ=kil-ellaiyēy teṇku

*Sixth Plate ; First Side.*

- 154 \*nōkkiiyun=teṇ-kilakku nōkkiiyuṇ=cheṇṇu Neṭṭūril-niṇṇum Māṇavīramaduraikku=ppōgi-  
 155 ṇa valiyaiy=ūḍaruttu=chChandiranallūr-kulattu nīr-nakkalē teṇku nōkki=chcheṇṇu i-ch-  
 Chandi-  
 156 raṇallūr teṇ-kaḍaiyay=urru mērk=innam [i\*] ida-niṇṇum=teṇ-mēṇku nōkki-Vaigaiy-ā-  
 157 ṇa Śrīvallavappērāṇṇukku=ppōgiṇa valiyēy teṇ-mēṇku nōkki=chcheṇṇu mērk=inn-  
 158 nam [i\*] i-vvaliyil-niṇṇuṇ=Chēṇkuli=kkil-ellai peṇṇa śevvaiyēy teṇku nōkki=ch-  
 159 cheṇṇu i-chChēṇkuli=tteṇṇ-ellaiyēy mēṇku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Orukkoṇṇa[ē]ri=[kki].<sup>4</sup>  
 160 l-ellaiy-āna Kaṇkulavāy-ūḍēy teṇku nōkki=chcheṇṇu mērk=innam [i\*] iv[v-Orukko]-  
 161 ṇaṇēri=tteṇṇ-ellaiyēy teṇ-mēṇku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Vaigaiy-ā[ṇa Śivallava].  
 162 ppērāṇṇil=iraṅgi mērk=innam [i\*] i-chChīvaljavappērāṇṇi=ūḍē vaḍa-mēṇku n[ōkkiiyum]  
 163 mēṇku nōkkiiyuṇ=cheṇṇu mērk=innam[i\*] ivv-ārril-niṇṇu teṇ-karaiyil=ēr[i-tte].  
 164 ṇku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Kīṭ-Pāśalaiy-āna Dānaviṇḍānanallūr kulattukkum Mēṇ-Pāśa[laiy-āna]  
 165 Śrīvallaḥba-chaturvēdimaṅgalattu=kkulattukkum nīr pāygiṇa kālaiy=ūḍaruttu i-kkāl-  
 [il-niṇṇu]  
 166 karaiyil=ēri Vēḷāṇkurichchippaṇṇil Araśipaṇṇi[ilē] . . .<sup>7</sup> lāl nīlam=a[raiye-y-] iraṇḍu.....  
 167 varambēy teṇku nōkki=chcheṇṇu [Māṇavīramadura] =kkulattu vaḍa-kaḍaiyil=ēri mēṇ-

<sup>1</sup> The letters *nālāntiya* are written over an erasure.<sup>2</sup> The *ai* sign of *vai* is at the end of the previous line.<sup>3</sup> The *ai* sign of *dai* is at the end of the previous line.<sup>4</sup> Delete *y* at the end of this word.<sup>5</sup> The left hand portion of the medial *ē* sign is entered at the end of the previous line.<sup>6</sup> The letters of a portion of the plate on the right side from line 159 are much damaged but could be filled up from traces that remain and from the context. So also, the letters of the middle portion of the plate of the last four lines are damaged.<sup>7</sup> This gap may be filled with the letters *pāḥakkē*.

- 168 k=innam [I\*] i-kkaraiyēy mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu i-m]Māṇavīramadurai=kkuḷatt=ulvāyil  
Ma-  
169 { rudūr]-kuḷattukku nīr pāygiṛa kālukku=k[kilakku]-ppāttamāy-ppayir=ēṛi va[ru]giṛa nilattil  
Rāṇagam-

*Sixth Plate ; Second Side.*

- 170 [bhīra]-chaturvēdimaṅgalattukku=ppāttakkōlāl kūṭṭina nilam mūṇṇu vē[hikku=kkil-e]-  
llai[ṛē te]¹.  
171 ṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu i-kkuḷattu=tteṇ-karaiyil=ēṛi Maru[dūr]-kuḷattukku nīr pāygiṛa kālaiy=  
[urru]².  
172 mēṛk=innam [I\*] i-kkālin kil-karaiyēy teṇ-kilakku n[ōkkiyun]=teṇku nōkkiyuṇ=[cheṇṇu]  
173 Vāṇagaṇappēraiyaṇ kuḍiyiruppil teṇṇ-āṣaṛudi ³mudunila-pparippaiy=urru mēṛk=i[nnam]  
[I\*]  
174 i-pparippēy kilakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Marudūr=paḷaṇ-kulatt-agavāyil Māṇavīramadurai=[t]-  
175 ⁴teṇṇ-āṣaṛudi vayalil teṇ-ṇarambēy kilakku nōkkiyum vaḍa-kilakku nōkkiyuṇ=che[ṇṇu]  
Ma]-  
176 rudūr=ppaḷaṇ-kulattu=kkil-kaḍai-kkombil=ēṛi mēṛk=innam[I\*] i-kkaraiyē mēṛ[ku]  
177 nōkki=chcheṇṇu Marudūr=kkil-ellaiyum Māṇavīramadurai mēl-ellaiyum=[āṇa]  
178 Divākara-vāyakkāl-ūḍē teṇku nōkki=chcheṇṇu i-vvāyakkāl muḍindu Divākara-vayakka[l]  
179 ⁵m[ēl]-varambē teṇku nōkki=chcheṇṇu i-chchey=tteṇ-ṇarambēy kilakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu[u]  
180 Sundara-vayakkāl mēl-varambu peṇṇa ṣevvaiyēy teṇku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Śaṅkaramaṇ[ga]la]-  
181 ttu vaḍav-ellaiyum Māṇavīramadurai=tteṇṇ-ellaiyum-āṇa ellaiyēy kilakku nōkki-  
182 ⁶kiyum vaḍa-kilakku nōkkiyuṇ=cheṇṇu Śaṅkaramaṅgalattu vaḍa-kaḍai-kkombil=ēṛi  
Mē-  
183 ṛ-Paśalaiy-āṇa Śrīvallabha-chaturvēdimaṅgalattu=kkuḷattukkum Kīṭ-Paśalaiy-āṇa Dā-  
184 ṇaviṇōdanallūr=kkuḷattukku nīr pāygiṛa kālaiy=urru mēṛk=innam [I\*] i-kkālin-mē-

*Seventh Plate ; First Side.*

- 185 i-karaiyē teṇ-kilakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu i-kkālin-niṇṇum Mēṛ-Paśalaiy-āṇa Śrīvallabha-  
186 chaturvēdimaṅgalattu=kkuḷattukku nīr pāya=ppiṇṇinda kālaiy=ūḍaruttu=kKīṭ-Paśalaiy-  
āṇa Dā-  
187 ṇaviṇōdanallūr=kuḷattukku nīr pāygiṛa kālin mēl-karai[ṛēy] teṇ-[kil]akku nōkkiyuṇ=ki  
188 kku nōkkiyun=teṇku nōkkiyuṇ=cheṇṇu i-dDṇaviṇōdanallūr=kuḷattu mēl-kaḍai-  
189 yaiy=urru i-kkuḷattu=ppurkaraiyil-ṇiṇṇi Mēṛ-Paśalaiy-āṇa Śrīvallabha-chaturvēdimaṅ-  
galat-  
190 tu=kkuḷattukku nīr pāygiṛa kālin kil-karaiyē teṇku nōkki=chcheṇṇu i-chChivāllabha-  
chaturvē-  
191 dimaṅgalattu=kkuḷattu vaḍa-kaḍaiyaiy=urru i-kkuḷattu maṇuvāy-Iḍukkāṇṇ-ūḍē teṇku nō-  
192 kkiyun=teṇ-kilakku nōkkiyuṇ=cheṇṇu Nelvēli nattattukku=ppōgiṛa vaḷiyaiy=u-  
193 ṇṇu mēṛk=innam[I\*] i-nNelvēli=kkuḷattu=kkil-kaḍai-kkombaiy=ēṛi=pPaṇai-kkālai-  
194 y=urru i-kkālin mēl-karaiyē teṇku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Nakkaṇēriyil-niṇṇu mēṛku nōkki-p-

¹ The letters at the right end of lines 170 to 180 are damaged.

² The traces at the end of this line and the space available admit only the reading *urru* and not *ūḍaruttu* as in *A. S. S. I.*

³ The letter *du* of *mudu* is an interlineation. It is entered below the line.

⁴ The *e* sign of *te* is entered at the end of the previous line.

⁵ The *e* sign of *mē* is at the end of the previous line.

⁶ Delete the first letter *ki*.

- 195 pōgira valiyaiy=ūdaruttu=tteṇṇ-ellai : Nelvēli=tteṇṇ-ellaiyum Eṭṭiyēri nattattu vaḍa-  
 196 vāyum-āṇa valiyēy mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Eṭṭiyēri natta[t]tū mēl-āṣarūdiyaiy=urru i-  
 197 ḍa-ṇiṇṇum mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu ivv-Eṭṭiyērikkun=Nelvēlikkun=naḍuvāṇa paḷaṇ-[kōyila]-  
 198 ḍiyaiy=urru ida-ṇiṇṇun=teṇ-mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Paraḷaiy-āṇaiy= ūdaruttu vaḍakk=  
 iṇ[ṇam [\*] [i]-  
 199 vv-āṇiṇ mēl-karaiyē terku nōkkiyūn=teṇ-mēṛku nōkki[yuṇ]=cheṇṇu Sōmāttūr=ki[l-el]-  
 200 lai-y-āṇa Niramalaiyūr=kuḷattukku nīr pāygiṛa kālaiy=ūdaruttu i-[kkālīṇ] mēl-karaiyē te.\*

*Seventh Plate; Second Side.*

- 201 ṛku n[ōkki=ch]ch[e]ṇṇu i-chChōmāttūrkuṇ=Ka[l]likkuḍippār-Chiṛuvāgai[k]kun=  
 202 naḍuv-āṇa ellaiyaiy=urru vaḍakk=innam[\*] ivv-ellaikkū na[du]v-āṇa varambē [m]ē-  
 203 ṛku nōkkiyūn=teṇ-mēṛku nōkkiyuṇ=che[n]ṇu i-chChiṛuvāgai=kku[la]t[tu] [vaḍa]-ka-  
 204 ḍaiyaiy=iṛaṅgi Aṛavaṇkuḍi=tteṇṇ-ellaiyē ṣeṇṇu [Ka[l]likkuḍi=kkuḷa]-  
 205 ttukku nīr pāygiṛa kālaiy=ūdaruttu mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Aṛa[vaṇku]-  
 206 ḍiyil-ṇiṇṇum Vēḷāṇērikkū=ppōgiṛa valiyē teṇ-mēṛku [nōkki]=  
 207 chcheṇṇu Vēḷāṇēri=kkil-ellaiyaiy=urru vaḍakk=innam [\*] iv[v-el]-  
 208 lai-yē Puttūr=kuḷattukku nīr pāygiṛa kālīṇ kil-karaiyē [vaḍa]-  
 209 kilakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu i-kkālaiy=ūdaruttu mēl-karaiyē ṛi vaḍakk=iṇ-  
 210 ṇam [\*] Vēḷāṇēri vaḍav-ellaiyūn=Karunakuḷattu=tteṇṇ-ellaiyum-āṇa [e]-  
 211 llaiyē mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Vēḷāṇēri=chChūṇi-vaṣakkal=ūraṇi vaḍa-karai-  
 212 yēy mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu vaḍakk=innam [\*] ellai naḍuv-āṇa varambē ṣe-  
 213 ṇu Vēḷāṇēri Ādichcha-vaṣakkar=kil-varambē vaḍakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu i-ch-  
 214 chey vaḍa-vara[m\*]bēy mē[ṛku] nōkki=chcheṇṇu vaḍakk=innam [\*] Vēḷāṇēri-kKarunda-  
 215 ḍi=kkil-varambēy [vaḍakku] nōkki=chcheṇṇu i-chcheykkum Ādichcha-vaṣakkal

*Eighth Plate; First Side.*

- 216 nāṇṛaṇkālukkum Peṛrāṇ-vayakkalukkum vaḍa-varambēy mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇ-  
 217 ṇu Ka[l]likkuḍippār-Chēṇēri-ḍDayāniti-vayakkar-kil-varambaiy=urru vaḍakk=innam [\*] i-  
 218 vvarambēy vaḍakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu ellai-vāyakkalaiy=urru i-vvāyakkāl-ūḍēy va-  
 219 ḍakku nōkkiyūn=vaḍa-mēṛku nōkkiyūn<sup>2</sup> vaḍakku nōkkiyūn=cheṇṇu Ṣeṇēri Mālār<sup>4</sup>-mukkāṇi  
 vaḍa-varam-  
 220 bē<sup>5</sup> mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Dayānitiy=Ariyāṇ-āṇa Arundavaṇ-Viḷupparaiyaṇ Sōmadēvi-va-  
 221 yakkar=kil-varambēy vaḍa-mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Dayāniti Māṇaviraṇ-parru=ttāḍi palavi-  
 222 ṇ kil-varambēy vaḍakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Uyyakkonḍāl-vayakkar-kil-varambēy  
 223 vaḍakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu i-chchey vaḍa-varambēy mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Ṣeṇēri=k-  
 224 kuḷattu vaḍa-karaiyaiy=urru vaḍakk=innam [\*] i-kkuḷattu=ppuṛkaraiyēy vaḍa-mēṛku  
 225 nōkki=chcheṇṇu Kaṇṇaṇūril-ṇiṇṇum=Ḍēḍakōṭṭaiḍakku=ppōgiṛa peruvali[yai]y=u-  
 226 ṇu i-pperu-valiyēy mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu vaḍakk=innam [\*] Pūdanēri-[na]ttattu [va]-  
 227 ḍa-vāyil-ṇiṇṇa puḷiyaiy=iḍattu vaittu mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Taḍāppiraiy-āṇa  
 228 kuḷattu=tteṇ-kaḍaiyaiy=iṛaṅgi vaḍakk=innam [\*] i-kkuḷattu nīr-nakkalē vaḍa-mēṛ-  
 229 ku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Kāñchiraṇkuḷattu nīr-nakkalēy vaḍa-mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu i-kku-  
 230 ḷattu vaḍa-kaḍaiyaiy=urru i-kkuḷattukku nīr pāygiṛa kālīṇ teṇkaraiyēy mēṛku nōk-  
 231 ki=chcheṇṇu Pullāṇēri=kkuḷattu=tteṇ-kaḍaiyil=ēri vaḍakk=innam [\*] i-kkuḷattu nīr-

<sup>1</sup> The letter *da* is a correction.

<sup>2</sup> This letter has been wrongly read in *A. S. S. I.*

<sup>3</sup> After *nōkkiyū*, the letters are written over an erasure and in smaller characters.

<sup>4</sup> The reading in *A. S. S. I.* is *Māraḷāra*.

<sup>5</sup> The letter *bē* is entered on the margin in smaller character.

<sup>6</sup> The left hand portion of the sign of the medial *ō* in *nō* is engraved at the end of the previous line.

<sup>7</sup> Read *Deiā*.

vii, a.

186  
187  
188  
189  
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191  
192  
193  
194  
195  
196  
197  
198  
199  
200

vii, b.

202  
203  
204  
205  
206  
207  
208  
209  
210  
211  
212  
213  
214

viii, a.

216  
217  
218  
219  
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223  
224  
225  
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227  
228  
229  
230

[illegible][illegible]

264 ஸ்ரீராமபெருமானார் திருநெல்வேலிக்கு வந்தார். அங்கே அவர் தங்கி  
 266 ஸ்ரீராமபெருமானார் திருநெல்வேலிக்கு வந்தார். அங்கே அவர் தங்கி  
 268 ஸ்ரீராமபெருமானார் திருநெல்வேலிக்கு வந்தார். அங்கே அவர் தங்கி  
 270 ஸ்ரீராமபெருமானார் திருநெல்வேலிக்கு வந்தார். அங்கே அவர் தங்கி  
 272 ஸ்ரீராமபெருமானார் திருநெல்வேலிக்கு வந்தார். அங்கே அவர் தங்கி  
 274 ஸ்ரீராமபெருமானார் திருநெல்வேலிக்கு வந்தார். அங்கே அவர் தங்கி  
 276 ஸ்ரீராமபெருமானார் திருநெல்வேலிக்கு வந்தார். அங்கே அவர் தங்கி  
 278 ஸ்ரீராமபெருமானார் திருநெல்வேலிக்கு வந்தார். அங்கே அவர் தங்கி

*Eighth Plate ; Second Side.*

- 232 nakkalē vaḍakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu i-kkuḷattu va[ḍa]-kaḍaiyaiy=urru i-kkuḷattukku nīr  
pāygiṛa  
233 kālīṇ teṇ-karaiyē mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Kaṇṇaṇṇṛku=ppōgiṛa peru-valiyaiy=urru  
234 [va]ḍakk=innam [!]\* i-vvaliyē vaḍakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Kaṇṇaṇṇṛku vaḍav-ellaiyu[m\*]  
Narimaṇṇattu=t-  
235 teṇṇ-ellaiyum-āṇa Kaṇṇaṇṇṛ-Piḍāriyēri Muttaraiyaṇ karuñche[y\*] vaḍa-varambu peṛra  
śevvai-  
236 yē mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Maḍaḷaikurichchi=kkuḷa-pparippaiy=urru i-kkuḷatt=ulvāyē  
vaḍakku nō-  
237 kki=ppattu-kkōl-aḷavu śeṇṇu vaḍakk=innam [!]\* i-kkuḷatt-ūḍē mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Kaṇṇa-  
238 ṇṛ=kuḷattukku nīr pāygiṛa kālaiy=ūḍaṇuttu mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu vaḍakku nōkki=  
ppōgiṛa Kā-  
239 naṇṇṛukku=kkiḷakkāga niṇṇa puliyai valattu vaittu mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Kiṭ-Cheliy-  
Uḍai-  
240 kuḷa=kkaraiyil=ēri i-kkaraiyē vaḍakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Miṇṇēri=tteṇṇ-ellaiyaiy=urru vaḍa-  
241 kk=innam [!]\* i-mMiṇṇēri=tteṇṇ-ellaikkum Kiṭ-Cheli=kkuḷattu vaḍav-ellaiyumāy=kKiṭ-  
Cheli=kkuḷa-  
242 ttukku nīr pāynda kār-parippē mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu i-pparippaiy=iṇṇāṅi Nāḍuvir-  
Cheli=kkuḷattu Ma-  
243 laiyaṇ-uḍaippil=ēri i-kkuḷa-kkaraiyē mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu i-kkuḷatt-agavāyil<sup>1</sup>=iṇṇāṅi  
Miḷaga-  
244 ṇṛ=parṇāṇa puṇṣe[y\*]=kkil-ellaiyēy terku nōkkium=teṇ-mēṛku nōkkium=cheṇṇu Miḷaga-  
ṇṇil-  
245 niṇṇum Kāñaiy-Irukkaik=Kkoṭṭakīrttikku=ppōgiṛa valiyaiy=urru vaḍakk=innam [!]\* i-kkoṭṭ-  
akīṭ-  
246 ti vaḍav-ellaiyuṇ=Kāñaiy-Iru[k\*]kai Vēḷāṇēri vaḍav-ellaikkum Miḷagaṇṇṛ=teṇṇ-ellaik-

*Ninth Plate ; First Side.*

- 247 kun=naḍuv-āṇa Kaḍambaṇḍuḍi=kkuḷattukku nīr pāygiṛa kāl-ūḍēy vaḍa-mēṛku nōkki=  
chcheṇṇu  
248 i-kkālaiy=iṇṇāṅi vaḍakku nōkki Mēṛ-Cheli=tteṇ-kaḍai-kkombum Vēḷāṇēri=ppuṇṣe[y\*] vaḍa-  
249 v-ellaiyum-āṇa karai-pparippē vaḍa-mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Miḷa[ga\*]ṇṇṛ Śōṇṇ Mūkkaṇ  
puṇṣey=  
250 tteṇṇ-ellaiyē mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Kāñaiy-Irukkaik Karpakīrti=kkiḷ-ellaiyum Mi-  
251 ḷagaṇṇṛ-pūḷ Mēṛ-Cheli mēḷ-ellaikkun=naḍuvāṇa ellai-pparippēy vaḍakku nōkki=  
252 chcheṇṇu Miḷagaṇṇṛ=Chundaṇ=Ālvāṇ puṇṣey=tteṇṇ-ellaiyaiy=urru vaḍakk=innam [!]\* i-  
ppu-  
253 ṇṣey=tteṇṇ-ellaikkun=Karpakīrti vaḍav-ellaikkun=naḍuvāga mēṛku nōk-  
254 ki=chcheṇṇu Karpakīrti=ppuṇṣey=kkiḷ-ellaiyaiy=urru vaḍakk=innam [!]\* i-ppuṇṣe-  
255 ykkum Miḷagaṇṇṛ=puṇṣey-ppaṇṇukku=naḍuvāṇa vēli-pparippē vaḍakku nōkki-  
256 yum vaḍa-mēṛku nōkkium=cheṇṇu Karpakīrti=kkiḷ-āṣarūḍiyum Miḷagaṇṇṛ Irāmaṇ=Āḷaga-  
257 ṇ=uluda puṇṣey mēḷ-āṣarūḍiy=ellaikkun=naḍuvāga vaḍakku nōkkium vaḍa-mēṛku nōk-  
258 kium=cheṇṇu Iruñchigaiyil-niṇṇum Miḷagaṇṇṛku=ppōgiṛa valiyaiy=ūḍaṇuttu Miḷagaṇṇṛ-  
259 r-pār=Chirukilātti=tteṇ-kaḍai-kkombaiy=urru i-kkuḷa-kkarai-pparippēy vaḍa-mē-  
260 ṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Karpakīrti=kkuḷattu vaḍa-karaiyaiy=urru vaḍakk=innam [!]\* i-  
kkuḷa-

<sup>1</sup> The reading in A. S. S. I. is *Kkāra*.<sup>2</sup> *Karāṇil* is the reading in A. S. S. I.

- 261 ttu=ppurkaraiyē vaḍa-mērku nōkki=chchenru Puvaṇinallūr punsey=tten-  
 262 n-āṣarudiyum Karpakīrti=karaikkun=naḍuvāga=chChirukkiḷātti=kkuḷattukku nīr pāynda  
 kā-

*Ninth Plate ; Second Side.*

- 263 l-ūḍē vaḍa-mērku nōkki=chchenru Karpakīrti=kkuḷattu=kkaḍai-kkombaiy=ūḍaruttu  
 vaḍakk=inna-  
 264 m [I\*] Puvaṇinallūr vavalukku=tterkil Valaiyan-ūraṇikku=tterkil kaḷar-pparippai valattu  
 vaittu mēr-  
 265 ku nōkki=chchenru Śirukkiḷātti=kkuḷattukku nīr pāynda Kānakaraikku vaḍakku=pPuva-  
 ṇinallūr irukku-  
 266 m iḍaiyan=Irāśiṅgakkōn=uluda punṣe[y\*]=tten-ellaiyē vaḍa-mērku nōkki=chchenru  
 Karpakī-  
 267 rti=kkuḷattukku mēl-kaḍaiyāl nīr pāygira kālaiy=urru ḡ Mēl-ellaiy=i-kkālin kil-karaiyē  
 va-  
 268 ḍakku nōkki=chchenru Rājagambhira-chaturvēdimaṅgalattudan kūṭṭina Miḷaganūr-  
 [k\*]ku=ttalaimāru kuḍutta  
 269 Pudukkuḷattu=kkiḷ-ellai Karpakīrti=kkuḷattukku nīr pāygira kālin kil-karaiyē vaḍakku  
 nōkki=chchenru  
 270 i-mMiḷaganūrku=ttalaimāru kuḍutta Māraṇkīrti=kkiḷ-ellai Karpakīrti=kkuḷattukku nīr  
 pāygira kāli-  
 271 n kil-karaiyē vaḍakku nōkkium vaḍa-kīḷakku nōkkiyū=cheṇru i-kkālaiy-irandu  
 kiḷakk=innam [I\*] vaḍak-  
 272 ku nōkki=chchenru Miḷaganūr=kuḷattu mēl-kaḍaiyaiy=urru=kkiḷakk-innam [I\*] i-kkuḷatt=  
 agavāyil=iraṅgi vaḍak-  
 273 ku nōkki=chchenru Miḷaganūrku=ttalaimāru kuḍutta Kuvaḷaivēli-pparrukku=kkiḷ-ellaiy-  
 āna Māraṇēri=  
 274 kkaraiyē vaḍakku nōkki=chchenru Nerkuṇrattu=tten-ellaiyaiy=urru=kkiḷakk-innam [I\*]  
 i-kKuva-  
 275 ḷaivēli=kkiḷ-ellaiyū=Nerkuṇrattu mēl-ellaiyū=āna karai-pparippē vaḍa-mērku nōkki=  
 276 cheṇru i-nNerkuṇrattu natta[t\*]tu=tten-āṣarudiyaiy=urru=kkiḷakk=innam [I\*] i-pnatta-  
 [t\*]tu=tten-āṣaru-  
 277 diyē vaḍa-mērku nōkki=chchenru i-nNerkuṇrattu=kkuḷattu mēl-kaḍaiyaiy=urru i-kkuḷattu  
 nīr-nak-  
 278 kalē Kuvaḷaivēli=kkiḷ-āṣarudiyē vaḍakku nōkki=cheṇru Mēḷēri=kkaṇaiyaiy=urru  
 Mēḷēri=kkuḷa-ppa-  
 279 rippē vaḍakku nōkki=chchenru Kaṭṭikkūḷattu=tten-kaḍaiyil=ēri i-kkuḷatt=agavāyil=iraṅgi  
 Miḷaganūrku=ttalaimāru ku-

*Tenth Plate ; First Side.*

- 280 ḍutta Kaḍambamaṅgalattu=kkiḷ-ellaiyē vaḍakku nōkki=chchenru Perṇāṇ-ēmaṇ-  
 karaiyaiy=urru=kkiḷa-  
 281 kk=innam [I\*] vaḍakku nōkki=chchenru Kaṭṭikkūḷattukku nīr pāygira kālaiy=ūḍaruttu  
 Māḷaṅguḍi-kīḷavaṇ Pullāṇi-  
 282 Mādēvan-āna Nūḷambādarāyar kāṇiyāy=tTirumālinūchōlaiy-Āḷvār dēvaḍāna iṇaiyiliy-  
 Āchchankāṭṭiruk.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Read *līlī*.

<sup>2</sup> Read *līḷavaṇ*.

<sup>3</sup> Read *Āchchank*.

- 283 kai=tTirumāliṛuñchōlainallūr=tteṇṇ-ellaīyē kiḷakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu i-tTirumāliṛuñchōlainal-  
 284 lūr-tteṇṇ-ellaīyīr=tiruvāli-kkallaiy=iḍattu vaittu=kkilakku nōkkīyūn=teṇṇ-kiḷakku  
 nōkkīyūn=chēṇ-  
 285 ru Tirumāliṛuñchōlainallūr=teṇ-kiḷ-mūlaiyīr=ttiruvāli-kkallaiy=uṛru ivv-Iṛāḡambhīra-  
 chaturvvē-  
 286 dimaṇḡalattudaṇ kūṭṭiṇa Mīḡaṇṇūr=kuḷattukku nīr pāyḡira kāliṇ mēl-karaiyē vaḍakku  
 nōkki=chcheṇṇu  
 287 Tirumāliṛuñchōlainallūr kiḷ-ellaīyīr=tiruvāli-kkallaiy=uṛru i-kkāliṇ mēl-karaiyē vaḍak-  
 288 ku nōkki=chcheṇṇu i-tTirumāliṛuñchōlainallūr<sup>1</sup> vaḍa-kiḷ-mūlaiyīr=tiruvāli-kkallaiy=  
 urru=kki-  
 289 ḷakk-iṇṇam [\*] Vāḡaikudī=tteṇṇ-ellaīyūn=Tirumāliṛuñchōlainallūr<sup>1</sup> vaḍav-ellaīyūm-āṇa  
 i-mMīḡaḡa-  
 290 ṇūr=kuḷattukku nīr pāyḡira kāliṇ teṇ-karaiyē mēṛku nōkkīyūm vaḍa-mēṛku nōkkīyūn=  
 cheṇṇu i-tTirumā-  
 291 liṛuñchōlainallūr=kuḷattukku nīr pāyḡira kālaiy=ūḍaṛuttu i-tTirumāliṛuñchōlainallūr  
 vaḍa-mē-  
 292 ṇ-mūlaiyīr=tiruvāli-kkallaiy=uṛru Aḡaiyapāṇḍiyakkuḷakkiḷ Śīrakudīy-āṇa Virakāmuga-  
 maṇḡalattu vaḍav-e-  
 293 ḷaiyūm Vāḡaikudī=tteṇṇ-ellaīyūm-āṇa Mīḡaṇṇūraḡ<sup>2</sup> -kāliṇ teṇ-karaiyē vaḍa-mēṛku  
 nōkki=chcheṇṇu  
 294 Uḍaiyār Tirupṇūvaṇam-uḍaiyār dēvadāṇam Aḡaiyapāṇḍiyakkuḷakkiḷ Vellūrkuṛuchchi=  
 kkiḷ-ellaīyūm  
 295 Vāḡaikudī mēl-ellaīyūm-āṇa i-mMīḡaṇṇūraḡ<sup>2</sup>-kāliṇ mēl-karaiyē vaḍakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu

*Tenth Plate ; Second Side.*

- 296 i-kkālaiy=ūḍaṛuttu=kKīraṇūr-nāṭṭu Viḍattal-āṇa Mānābharaṇa-chaturvvēdimāṇḡalattu=  
 tteṇṇ-ellaīyai-  
 297 y=uṛru=kkiḷakk=iṇṇam' [\*] i[vv-e]llaiyē kiḷakku nōkki=kkaḷaṇ-parippē ṣeṇṇu Vāḡaikudī=  
 kkuḷattu vaḍa-kaḍaiyaiy=uṛ-  
 298 ṇū=kkiḷakk=iṇṇam' [\*] i-kkaraiyē kiḷakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu i-kkaraiyaiy=iṛaṅḡi Vāḡaikudī  
 vaḍav-ellaīyūm Mānābharaṇa-  
 299 chaturvvēdimāṇḡalattu=tteṇṇ-ellaīyūm-āṇa ellai-varambē kiḷakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Vūḡai-  
 kudī Mānābhara-  
 300 ṇa-Iṣvaram-uḍaiyār kōyilai valattu vaittu ellai-varambē kiḷakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Vāḡai-  
 kudī=kkuḷa-  
 301 ttiḷ-nīṇṇu=kiḷakku nōkki=ppōḡira ellai-vā[y\*]kkālaiy=uṛru i-vvā[y\*]kkāliṇ vaḍa-varambē  
 kiḷakku nōkki=chche-  
 302 ṇru i-vvā[y\*]kkālaiy=iṛandu Vāḡaikudī=ppaṇṇil Ariyāḷ-vayakkal vaḍa-ṇarambum Mānā-  
 bharaṇa-chaturvvēdimāṇḡa-  
 303 lattu=ppaṇṇa Uyyavandāḷ-vayakkal teṇ-varambum-āṇa ṇarambē kiḷakku nōkki=chch-  
 eṇṇu Nakkaṇḡaḡa-  
 304 ttu=kkuḷattukku nīr pāyḡira kālai[y=uṛru] i-kkāliṇ mēl-karaiyē vaḍakku nōkkīyūm vaḍa-  
 mēṛku nōkkīyūm-va-

<sup>1</sup> Read "nallūr.

<sup>2</sup> Read "nūruṇ.



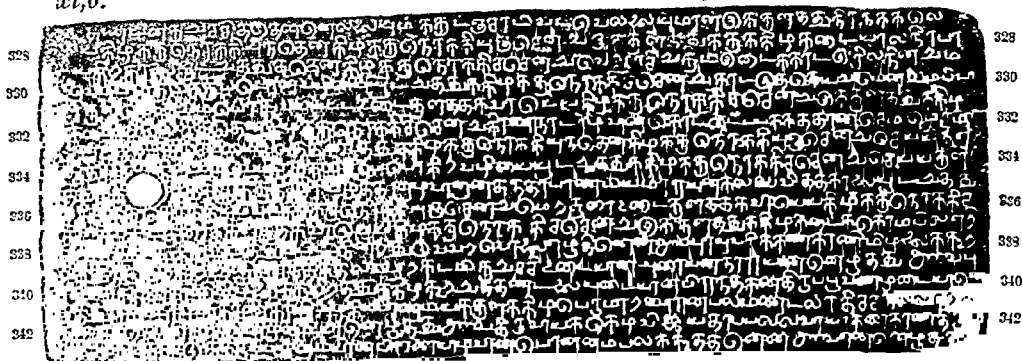
- 305 ḍa-kilakku nōkkiyuñ=chenru Tuttiyūr=kuḷattu mēl-kaḍaiyaiy=aḍuttu i-kkālin mēl-  
karaiyē vaḍakku  
306 nōkkium vaḍa-kilakku nōkkium vaḍa-mērku nōkkiyuñ=chenru Tiruvāvaṇattu Arai-  
mākkūru=ttenn-e-  
307 llaiyum Mānābhara[na\*]-chaturvēdimaṅgalattu vaḍav-ellaiyum-āṇa ellai-varambē mērku  
nōkki=chchenru Mā-  
308 nābharāṇa-chaturvēdimaṅgalattu=kkuḷa-kkaraiyaiy=urru=kkilakk=innam [\*] i-kkuḷattu=  
ppurkaraiyē vaḍakku nōkki=  
309 chchenru Arai mākkūru=chChirrēmbaṇ=karaiyaiy=urru ivv-ēmbaṇ=teṇ-karaiyē mērku  
nōkki=chche-  
310 nru Mijaganūr kuḷattukku nīr pāygira kālaiy=ūḍaruttu i-kkālin mēl-karaiyē vaḍakku  
nōkkium vaḍa-mēṇ-

*Eleventh Plate; First Side.*

- 311 ku nōkkiyuñ=chenru i-kkālaiy=iraṅgi i-kkālin kīl-karaiyil=ēri Arai mā[kū]rru ēmbalil  
nīr-nakkalē  
312 vadakku nōkki=chchenru Tuttiyūr-kuḷattukku nīr pāygira kālaiy=ūḍaruttu Uḍaiyār  
Tiruppūvaṇam-udaiyār  
313 dēvadānam=Aḷagiyaṇḍiyakkuḷakkīl Vellūrkuṛuchchi=kkiḷ-ellaiyum=Tiruvāvaṇattu mēl-  
ellaiyum-āṇa Ka-  
314 ṇavadi-vayakkal mēl-varambē vaḍakku nōkki=chchenru i-kKaṇavadi-vayakkalil vaḍa-  
mēlai-mūlaiyil Vāykattā-  
315 tturavai valattu vaittu Tiruvāvaṇattu=kkālaiy=ūḍaruttu Vellūrkuṛuchchi=kkiḷ-ellaiyum=  
Tiruvāvaṇattu  
316 mēl-ellaiyum-āṇa ellaiyē vaḍakku nōkki=chchenru Vaigaiy-āṇa Śrīvalla bhappērāril=  
iraṅgi 9 Vadav-e-  
317 llai i-Vaigaiy-āṇa Śivallavappērār-ūḍē kilakku nōkki=chchenru ivv-ārīl-niṇṇum Panaṅ-  
galūr=kuḷa-  
318 ttukku nī[r\*] pāygira kālin vada-karaiyil=ēri i-kkaraiyē kilakku nōkki=chchenru Kaḷa-  
vaḷṇādan-ārīl=iraṅ-  
319 gi ivv-ārīn-ūḍēy vaḍakku nōkki=chchenru Iḍaikkaṭṭūrīl-niṇṇum Vēmbaṅguḍikku=ppō-  
gira va-  
320 liyaiy=urru kīl-karaiyil=ēri=tterk=innam [\*] i-vvaiyē vaḍa-kilakku nōkki=chchenru i-  
kKaḷavaḷṇādan-ārīl-  
321 niṇṇū-Cheyyakulattūr=kuḷattukku nīr pāygira kālaiy=ūḍaruttu i-vvaiyēy vada-kilakku  
nōkki=chchenru Adika-  
322 rai=kkuḷaṅ-karaiyil=ēri i-kkaraiyē vaḍa-mērku nōkki=chchenru i-kkuḷattu vaḍa-kaḍaiyum  
Āykudi=ttenn-e-  
323 laiyaiyum=urru=tterk=innam [\*] ivv-ellaiyēy kilakku nōkki=chchenru Vēlaṅgudi nattattu  
vadavāyēy  
324 ḷenru i-v[Vēlaṅgudi]=kkuḷattu mēl-kaḍaiyaiy=urru=tterk=innam [\*] ida-niṇṇum vada-kilakku  
nōkki=chchen-  
325 ru Kudaṅjāḍi mēl ellaiyaiy=urru ivv-ellaiyēy vaḍakku nōkkium vaḍa-[kilakku] nōk-  
[kiyuñ]=chenru  
326 Kudaṅjāḍi=kkuḷattu mēl-kaḍai-kkombaiy=urru=tterk=innam [\*] ida-niṇ[rum] vaḍa-  
kilakku nōkki=chchenru

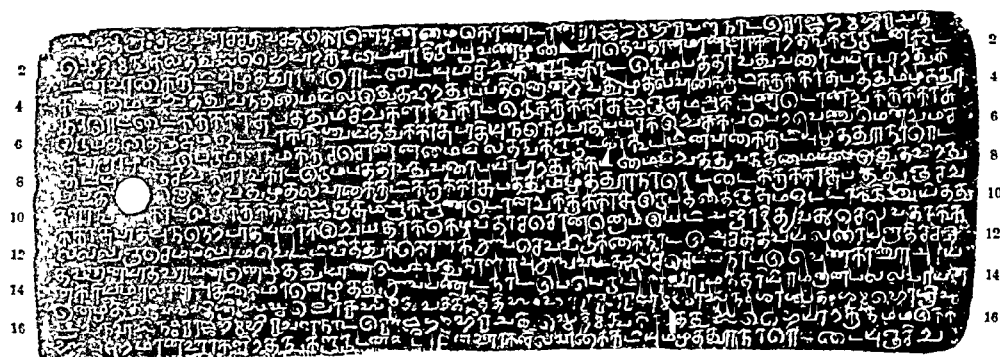
<sup>1</sup> The left hand portion of the medial *ō* sign is entered in the previous line.



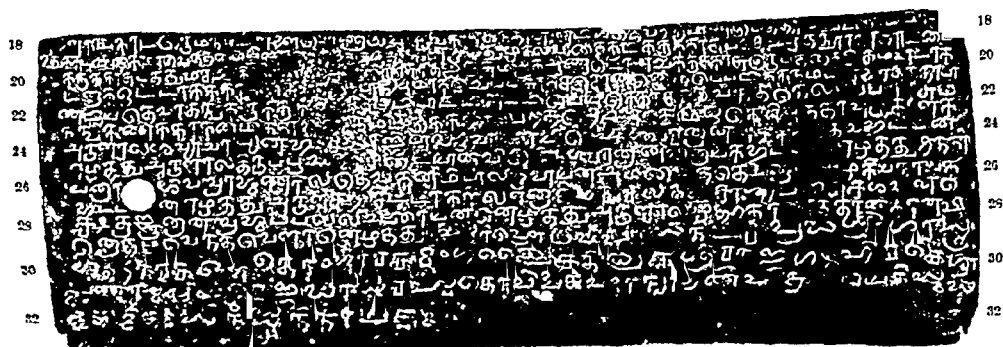


TIRUPPUVANAM SUPPLEMENTARY PLATE.

*First Side.*



*Second Side.*



*Eleventh Plate ; Second Side.*

- 327 *Ṣuṇḍaṇḍakuruchchi=tteṇṇ-ellaiyum=i-kKuḍaṇḍāḍi vaḍav-ellaiyum-āṇa i-kkuḷattu nīr-nakkalē-*  
 328 *y kiḷakku nōkkiyum teṇ-kiḷakku nōkkiyuṇ=cheṇṇu i-kkuḷattukku=kkil-kaḍaiyāl nīr pā-*  
 329 *ygiṛa kālaiy=ūḍaruttu=tteṇ-kiḷakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Vēlūr-Ṣirukuḍi Iḍaikkāṭṭūril-niṇṇum*  
 330 *Vēmbaṇḍuḍikku=ppōṇa valiyaiy=ūḍaruttu=kkilakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Kāṭṭu-tteyvam-*  
*eṇṇum Piḍā-*  
 331 *rikuḷam-eṇṇum pēr kūva[ppa]ṭṭa<sup>1</sup> Uḍaikuḷatt=agavāyēy kiḷakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu i-kkuḷattu=*  
*kkil-*  
 332 *kaḍaiyil=ēri=tteṇ-kiḷakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Kīraṇṇāḍālvāṇkōṭṭai-ppakkattāṇa Ṣem[be]rum-*  
 333 *āṇ uluda puṇṣeyyai valattu vaittu=kkilakku nōkkiyun=teṇ-kiḷakku nōkkiyuṇ=cheṇṇu*  
*Ṣeyyakula-*  
 334 *tṭūril-niṇṇum Vēmbaṇḍuḍikku=ppōgiṛa valiyaiy=ūḍaruttu=kkilakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu*  
*Ṣeyyakula-*  
 335 *tṭūr=kuḷaṅgaḷukku nīr pāya Muttan=Ālvāṇ-āṇa Sundarapāṇḍiya-Mārāyaṇ kalluvitta*  
*kālaiy=ūḍaruttu-*  
 336 *kkilakku nōkkiyum vaḍa-kiḷakku nōkkiyuṇ=cheṇṇu Mēṛ-Chūrai Uḍaikuḷatt=agavāyēy*  
*kiḷakku nōkki=ch-*  
 337 *cheṇṇu Kiṭ-Chūrai=kkulatt=agavāyēy kiḷakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu i-kkuḷattu=kkil-kaḍai-kkombil*  
*ēṛi*  
 338 *muṇbu tuḍaṅḍiṇav=iḍattu =ppidi niṇṇadu [I\*] Ivv-aṇav-ōlai eḷuḍiṇēṇ <sup>2</sup>ivai Puravavari-*  
*kkaṇkāṇi Miḷalai-kkūr-*  
 339 *ṛattu Naḍuviṛ-kūrṇu śrī-Parāntakanallūr=<sup>3</sup>Kāṭṭikuruchchi-uḍaiyāṇ Araiyaṇ Nārāyaṇaṇ-*  
*eḷuttu [I\*] Ivai<sup>2</sup> Pu-*  
 340 *ravuvvari-kkaṇkāṇi Miḷalai-kkūrṇattu=kKiḷ-kūrṇu=tTaṇḍalaiy=uḍaiyāṇ Pirāntakaṇ Tiru-*  
*ppūvaṇam-uḍaiyāṇ=e-*  
 341 *ḷuttu [I\*] Ivai<sup>2</sup> Puravavari-kkaṇkāṇi Aḷagiyaṇḍiyakkulakkil Perumaṇaṇūr-āṇa Pala-*  
*maṇḍalāḍichchanallūr=Ka-*  
 342 *ruṇākaradēvaṇ Puṇṇavaṇam-uḍaiyāṇ=eḷuttu [I\*] Ivai<sup>2</sup> Tiruvāykkālvi Jayadara-pPalla-*  
*varayar kaṇkāṇi Tirumu-*  
 343 *ṇaippāḍi-nāṭṭu Karuppūr-uḍaiyāṇ Pillaiy-Ālvāṇ Poṇṇambalakkūttanēṇ ivai<sup>2</sup> eṇṇ=eḷuttu*  
*[I\*]*

**TRANSLATION.**

(Verse 1)—Hail ! Prosperity ! There was at first this water. In its centre (lit. inside), there lay, on the serpent (*Ṣēsha*)-couch, Hari. From his navel came forth a lotus ; and from it, by himself, the creator of the universe (*Viśvasṛiṭ*) came ; from him Atri ; and from the cavity of his eyes, the Moon ; his son was Budha ; from him was born Purūras ; and thence came these Pāṇḍya lords.

(Verse 2)—Hail ! Prosperity ! Having ascertained the (*proper*) time from *Sundarēśa*, (*king*) *Rājagambhīradēva*, in the **twenty-fifth year of his reign**, on the day of *Svātī* combined with Saturday (*Ārkki-vāra*) in the dark fortnight, and on the *tithi* of *Kanakapati* (*i.e., ēkādasi*), when the hot-rayed (*Sun*) was in the sign *Dhanus*, ordered to conduct immediately the female elephant to fix the boundaries of the village called after his own name.

(Line 5) The goddess of the flower (*i.e., Lakshmi*) lovingly taking her seat and the goddess of the earth lawfully with him ; the goddess of war resting on his victorious shoulders ; the goddess of the great arts shining on his tongue ; the moon-light of his fame shedding its lustre in the

<sup>1</sup> The letters *ppa* look like *ya*.

<sup>2</sup> The syllables *ivai* are written as a group.

<sup>3</sup> Read *r-Kaṭṭi*.

twice-four quarters; the path of the Vēdas (*maṭai*) expanding; the path of Manu clarifying the six righteous doctrinal ways and spreading out; the fish (emblem of the Pāṇḍyas) securely seated on the golden mountain, driving off the forest tiger (emblem of the Chēra); the white parasol (*of his*) affording shade to the seven seas and the seven sporting gardens surrounded by the eight hills; his righteous sceptre swaying; the fierce Kali (*age*) concealing itself with tremour in long caverns; the Villavar (*i.e.*, the Chēra), Śembiyar (*i.e.*, the Chōla), Virāṭar, Varāṭar and the Pallavar, paying due obeisance in regular succession with (*their*) tributes; his single wheel rising aloft over the two globes; the sweet and nectar-like *īyal*, *iśai* and *nāṭakam* (*i.e.*, prose, poetry and drama) steadily increasing; wearing the crown and sitting on the mountain-like high lion throne,—his eulogy being sung by able masters of arts,—along with his queen Avanimuluduḍaiyāl, who resembled the swan in gentle gait and who was praised and bowed to by queens of kings; the glorious king Jaṭavarman *alias* the Emperor of the three worlds, the illustrious Kulaśēkhara-dēva reigned.

Whereas, while the king was pleased to be seated on the reclining couch called Malavarājan in the hall of his palace at Madurai situated in (*the sub-division*) Māḍakkulaṭṭai of Madurōdaya-vaḷanāḍu, he had ordered that a village consisting of one thousand and two hundred shares should be formed and given as *brahmadēya*, with effect from the eleventh year opposite the thirteenth,—one thousand and eighty shares to one thousand and eighty Brāhmaṇas learned in the Vēdas and Śāstras and capable of expounding them, and one hundred and twenty shares as *dīvādāna* and for those who had to do service;

(Ll. 69-72) and whereas the village of Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, called (*as such*) after the sacred name of the king and included in Rājagambhīra-vaḷanāḍu, was formed in pursuance of this said order by taking up the undermentioned villages, excluding from them the lands which formed old *dēvadānas*, *paḷḷichchāṇḍam* and *kāṇāmai*, and including the rest,—and removing their previous owners, old names and the classification under *veḷḷāṇ-vagai*, as well as the prior holdings,—and bringing them all under one village with one *puravu* and one *nāḍu*,

(Ll. 72-74) and whereas the king had been pleased to say that the four boundaries of this (*new*) village may be circumambulated with the female elephant in the presence of the superintendents appointed for the purpose, and, for the boundaries thus passed through, a deed may be drawn up and given,

the following is recorded on the thirteenth year and four thousand and three hundred and sixtieth day.

(Ll. 19 to 69) The villages and lands taken up are:—

(1) In Kīraṇūr-nāḍu,—the villages of Nakkamaṅgalam and Vāgaikuḍi, (*the latter*) a *dēva-dāna* of Uḍaiyār Tiruppūvaṇamuḍaiyār; (2) including the above (*two* villages), the villages of Tiruvāvaṇam, Tuttiyūr, and Kiruṅākkōṭṭai (*with its lands called*) Kaḍuvēṭṭi, Muṭṭam, Koṇṇapēri, Taḍaiyili-Tiyāgi-ēmbal, Veḷḷattaiyēṇṇān-ēmbal, Pagavadi-ēmbal, Naḍuvirkōṭṭai and Kūḍan-Eṭṭi-kuruchchi; (3) in Paṇaṅgalūr-nāḍu,—the villages of Adikarai, Mittiravāli, Vēlaṅgulam with its land Omalaḡaiyān-ēmbal, Sōlaiyēri, Kuḍaṇjādi, Aruvurai-Pudukkuḷam, Kīṭ-Chūrai, Mē-Chūrai, Piḍarikūlam, Paṇaṅgalūr *alias* Paṇḍitapaṇjāranallūr, Sēyyakulattūr with its land Śūṅgaṇēriyūḍaiyān-kāṇipparru, Vāñjiyūr, Karkuruchchi, Ariyānkuruchchi, Araikkūlam with its lands Aṟugaśādi, Viragaṇḡappērayan-ēmbal, Virapāṇḍiyappērayan-ēmbal, Molaiyan-ēmbal, Ambalakkūṭṭan-ēmbal, Śittan-ēmbal and Pannīrāyirappērayan-ēmbal, Uvaniyamaṅgalam and its land Puḍaiḡchēḡṇkūli-ēmbal; (4) in Tiyaṇḍaikūḍi-nāḍu,—the villages of Ugaray and Kōṭṭai with the lands Śivigaṡyāṅkūli and Uḍumbandai, Ulagarai, Karaiyūr, Kuppēli, Maṭṭaḍakkiyēri with its lands Śaṅḡappērayan-ēmbal, Puṭṭēmbal, Kalaiyanēri, Sēṅkūli and Orukkoṇṇānēri, Kaḷvā-yḷmaṅgalam, Pullapēri, Sēṇḍanēri, Nakkapēri, Pārkuḷam with its land Uyyāṇ-Sūriyaṇ-ēmbal,

Marudankuḍi, Nāvarkuḍi with its land Kaṇḍiyūr-nāḍālvāṇ-ēmbal; Śīru-Nakkaṇēri, Śōlamanī, Puṟṟukkuḷam, Śīruvayal, Koṇṟaikkūḷam, Pullamaṅgalam, Kaṟṟukūḷam, Kaṟumākūḷam Eyili, Paḍai-chanṟukūḷam, Puḷiyāṅkūḷam, Puḍikūḷam, Velāṟkuṟuchchi, Vāyttalainallūr and the land Kāḍuvēṭṭi of this (last mentioned) village; (5) inclusive of three *vēli* of land, according to *pāḍagam*, situated to the east of the channel passing to Marudūr and lying within the tank of Māṇaviramadurai, the following being added to the *brahmadēya*, viz., Marudūr *alias* Madurōdaya-chaturvēdimaṅgalam with the land Śaṅgaṇ-ēmbal, Śaṅkaramaṅgalam and Tiyaṇūr-Śōlaiyēri; (6) in Kiḷāṅkāṭṭūr *alias* Puravari-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, excluding eight (*vēli*) and six *mā* of land, as measured by the rod Virapāṇḍi-yaṅkōl, consisting of *nīr-nīlam*, *karuṇchey*, *puṇṣey*, *nattam*, *tōḷam*, *tiḍal*, *ūrayi*, *kōyilāḍi*, *tirunanda-vaṇam* and *ēmbal*, which had been the *kuḍippaṟru*, up to the tenth year opposite the thirteenth, all the rest of the lands which had been owned by the adjacent people; (7) in Mēṟ-Paśalai *alias* Śrīvallabha-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, excluding four and a half (*vēli*) and three *kāṇi*, as measured by the rod Virapāṇḍi-yaṅkōl, consisting of *nīr-nīlam*, *nattam*, *karuṇchey*, *puṇṣey*, *tōḷam*, *tiḍal*, *Śrīkōyil*, *tirunandavaṇam*, etc., which, up to the tenth year opposite the thirteenth, had been the holding of the *jaṇmi*s that were residing there, the rest of the lands which were held by the adjacent people and the Maṟavas, as well as Pirāndiyēri and Kaḍukkuḍi; and also the *dēvadāna* lands of the temple of Tiruppaśalaināthar at Mēṟ-Paśalai *alias* Śrīvallabha-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, viz., *Seṭṭēḷēri*, *tirappu* Soṇḍaṇ-ēmbal, Tattaṇ-ēmbal, Vēmbōḍ-ēmbal, Pāppāṇ-ēmbal, Ediriḷṣōḷappērayaṇ-ēmbal; also the lands called Vēlaṅkāḷ, Kaṇichchey-ēmbal and the land given in exchange for *kuḍikkāṇi* which had been classed under the different head of *dēvadāna-iraiyili* and whose *kāṟṇmai* belonged to the temple of Śrī-Vaikunda-Viṇṇagar-Ālvār of Mēṟ-Paśalai *alias* Śrīvallabha-chaturvēdimaṅgalam; as also *tirappu* Panaiyaṇēri, Kiḷ-Vēḷiyāṟṟūr, Mēḷ-Vēḷiyāṟṟūr, Maṇḍaiyaṟkūḷam, Nelvēli with its land Taṇṇilattaraiyaṇ-ēmbal, Sōmāttūr, Aravaṅkuḍi, Karuṅkūḷam, Śūḷāttūr, Taḍāppirai and Kāñchiraṅkūḷam; (8) in Mēṟkuḍi *alias* Kalijayamaṅgalam in Mēṟkuḍi-nāḍu, excluding two (*vēli*) and four *mā* of land, as measured by the rod Virapāṇḍi-yaṅkōl, which up to the tenth year opposite the thirteenth, were held by *ryots* and consisted of *nīr-nīlam*, *karuṇchey*, *puṇṣey*, *nattam*, etc., the rest of the lands owned by the adjacent people; as also the villages Mēṇ-Mēṟkuḍi, Maṇ-jalūr and Koṇṟaṇēri; also Mutṭūranāroṭṭai which was the *dēvadāna* of the temple of Uḍaiyār Tiruppuvaṇamuḍaiyār; as well as Annaivāy with Sundaṇ-ēmbal near that village, Narimaṇṟam *alias* Varagaṇḍanallūr together with the lands near that village, viz., Śilaiyaṇēri, Uṟiyappi, Tāḷiyēmbal, Koṇṟaṇēri, Śūriyaṇ-ēmbal and Sōmaṇēri; (9) in *tirappu* Puṟappaṟāḷai-nāḍu, — Pullaṇēri, the lands that were added to the *karuṇcheyppaṟru* of Kaṇṇaṇūr, the *karuṇchey* of Maḍalaikuṟuchchi, the *puṟkarai* (i.e., the grassy bank) of Kiḷ-Sēḷi, Achchaṅkāṭṭirukkai-Miḷagaṇūr *alias* Rājendra-śiṅganallūr together with Miṇṇēri near that village, Kaṇṇikuḍi, Araiyaṇēri, the lands within the tank of Naḍuvir-Cheḷi, Mēṟ-Cheḷi, Kuṟuchchātti, Śīrukkilātti, Puvaṇinallūr, Ārikuḍi, Sōmaṇēri and Tāyaṇ-Pūdi-ēmbal; also Śīrukiḷāṅkāṭṭūr which (last) was a *dēvadāna* of Uḍaiyār Tiruppuvaṇamuḍaiyār; as well as Śīru-Miḷagi, *tirappu* Neṟkuṇṟam, Kaṭṭikkūḷam and Peṟṟāṇ-ēmbal.

(Ll. 74-139) The *puravuvāri-kaṇkāni* officers Araiyaṇ Nāṇyaṇaṇ of Kaṭṭikuṟuchchi residing in Śrī-Parāntakanallūr in Naḍuvir-kūṟru (a sub-division), of Miḷalai-kūṟṟam, Parāntakaṇ Tiruppuvaṇamuḍaiyāṇ of Taṇḍalai in Kiḷ-kūṟru (a sub-division) of Miḷalai-kūṟṟam, Māṇaṇūṟuḍaiyāṇ Karuṇkaṟadēvaṇ Puṟpayāṇamuḍaiyāṇ of Māṇaṇūr *alias* Palamaṇḍalāḍittanallūr in Aḷaiyaṇpāṇḍi-yaḱkūḷakkil, Piḷḷai Ālvāṇ *alias* Poṇṇambalakkūṭṭaṇ of Karuppūr in Tirumuṇaiyāṇ-ṇāḍu (a sub-division) of Śōlamaṇḍalam, who was the *kaṇkāni* of the *tiruvāyikkēḷvi* Poṇṇaṇ Śūryadēvaṇ *alias* Jayadhara-Pallavaṛaiyaṇ of Puttūr in Puṟappaṟāḷai-nāḍu, Vēḷaṇ Śāttāṇ of Kiḷ-Nettūr *alias* Kīrti-viśalaiyaṇallūr in Karuṅguḍi-nāḍu who was the *kaṇkāni* of Poyyāṇḱiḍēvaṇ, Nāṟayaṇaṇ Śāttāṇ of Vēḷiyāṟṟūr in Kēraḷaśiṅga-vaḷaṇaḍu who was the *kaṇkāni* of the *smudāyam* Kappalūṟuḍaiyāṇ Śūṟāmaṇ Tiruvuḍaiyāṇ *alias* Pottappichchōḷar of Kappalūr *alias* Ulagaḷandaśōḷanallūr in

Muttūrru-kūṛṇṇam, Arayaṇ Tirumalai-uḍaiyāṇ of Aruṅkaḷam in Poliyūr-nāḍu who was the *kaṅkāṇi* of the *māḷigaiṭṭaṇam* Śivallavaṇ Aḷagiyamaṇavaḷaṇ *alias* Kāliṅgarāyar of Āyṅkuḍi *alias* Aḷagiyapāṇḍiyanallūr in Vaḍatalai-Sembi-nāḍu, Arayaṇ Karumāṇikkam of Kiṭ-Paṣalai *alias* Dānaviṇḍānallūr in Tiyaṇdaikuḍi-nāḍu who was the *kaṅkāṇi* of Maḷavarāyar, Kappalūruḍaiyāṇ Uyyavandāṇ Poṇṇaṇ *alias* Māṇābharaṇa-Mūvēndavēḷār of Kappalūr *alias* Ulagaḷandaśōḷanallūr in Muttūrru-kūṛṇṇam who was the *adigūram* of Pillaiyār Aḷagapperumāḷ, Uḍaiyāṇ Nambi Poṇṇambalakkūṭṭaṇ *alias* Virāśiṅgaḍēvar of Śīrūpālaiyūr *alias* Kāvērivallavanallūr in Śōlapāṇḍiya-vaḷanāḍu, Malaikiṇiyaniṇṇāṇ Aḷagaṇ *alias* Vijaya-Vichehādiraḍēvar who was one of the *aṇukkar* of Aḷagiyapāṇḍiyan of Rājēndiram in Irāśiṅgaṅkuḷakkīḷ that was in charge of the business of this (*i.e.*, the said) *nāḍu*, all these being the *kaṅkāṇi*, the undermentioned persons of Māṇavīramadurai in Tiyaṇdaikuḍi-nāḍu, *viz.*, Mādavaṇ Divākara-Baṭṭaṇ, Nārāyaṇaṇ Nārāyaṇa-Baṭṭaṇ, Śi(śrī)-Mādavaṇ Nārasimha-Baṭṭaṇ, Gōvindaṇ Tirunilakaṇṭa-Baṭṭaṇ and Jātavēdaṇ Subrahmaṇya-Baṭṭaṇ; together with the following others of Marudūr *alias* Madurōḍaya-chaturvēdimaṅgalam who were concerned in the formation of the *brahmadēya*, *viz.*, Tirukkuḍandai Ādityaṇ Śēndapirāṇ-Baṭṭaṇ, śrī-Kriṣṇaṇ Aḷagiyarāghava-Baṭṭaṇ and Kāliyāyaṇ Veṇṇaikkūṭṭa-Baṭṭaṇ; as also the undermentioned residents of Mēṇ-Paṣalai *alias* Śrīvallaḷabha-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, *viz.*, Āhitāgni Śrīraṅganātha-Baṭṭa-Sōma-Kāṭhaka-yūjiyār, Nārāyaṇaṇ Nārāyaṇa-Baṭṭaṇ, śrī-Vāsudēvaṇ Nagna-pirāṇ-Baṭṭaṇ and śrī-Rāmaṇ Paramātma-Baṭṭaṇ; as well as the residents of Kiṭ-Paṣalai *alias* Dānaviṇḍānallūr, *viz.*, Arayaṇ Uyyaniṇṇāḍuvāṇ *alias* Sēmbiyadaraiyaṇ Kēśavaṇ Nārāyaṇaṇ, Karumāṇikkam Korraṇ, Kalvāyil Kēśavaṇ, Periyāṇ Perrāṇ, Naṅgaṇ Aḷagaṇ and Vāsudēvaṇ Sūriyadēvaṇ; the following residents of Poliyūr *alias* Pārthivakēśarinallūr in Poliyūr-nāḍu, *viz.*, Appaṇ Sūriyadēvaṇ, Udayaṇ Varaguṇadēvaṇ *alias* Aḷagiyapāṇḍiya-Viḷupparaiyaṇ, Sūriyaṇ Varantaruvāṇ *alias* Saṅgirāmaśiṅga-Pallavaraiyaṇ and Sundarattōḷuḍaiyāṇ Sōmadēvaṇ; the undermentioned residents of Kaḷḷikkūḍi *alias* Puravuvarinallūr in Puṇappaṇḷai-nāḍu, *viz.*, Dayānḷai Uyyavandāṇ *alias* Chēdirāyaṇ, Aṇukkaṇ Ariyāṇ and Appaṇ Arumolidēvaṇ *alias* Sēmbiyaṇ-Viḷupparaiyaṇ and the headman of Puttūr named Baṭṭaṇ *alias* Puṇappaṇḷai-nāḍu-kiḷavaṇ; also Pāḷiyāṇḷai Sūriyadēvaṇ *alias* Tamiṇāḍu-kiḷavaṇ of Irāñchirai *alias* Indīrasamāṇanallūr in Kāṇai-Irukkaḷ and Vēḷaṇ Irattai *alias* Rājakuṇṇara-Pallavaraiyaṇ; also the persons hereunder mentioned who belonged to Miḷagaṇūr, to wit, Śadiraṇ Śelvaṇ, Rāmaṇ Aḷagaṇ, Śōraṇ Mūkkaṇ, Nāgaḍēvaṇ Rāmaṇ *alias* Rājanārāyaṇa-Mūvēndavēḷaṇ and Araśariyaṇ, who were concerned in effecting the entry in accounts under the name of Achchaṅkāṭṭirukkai-Miḷagaṇūr *alias* Rājēndrasīṅganallūr, after removing the previous owners, old names and prior holdings (*mudal*) and bringing also under one *nāḍu*, one village and one *puravu* the undermentioned villages and lands, *viz.*, Achchaṅkāṭṭirukkai-Kuvaḷaiyēḷi, Puḍukkuḷam, Māraṇkīrti, Kāvīdinallūr, Kaḍambamaṅgalam, Śāttiyār-ēmbal and the lands that remained in Araiyaṅkuḷam of Kāṇai-Irukkaḷ after deducting from it the portion (*śēmpāḍi*) which formed the *kāṇi* of Mandari Rāmaṇ *alias* Pallavarāyar and which had been given in exchange for (*the old*) Miḷagaṇūr that had been added to Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimaṅgalam; Araiyaṇ Pullāṇi of Achchaṅkāṭṭirukkai-Tirumāḷiruṇjōḷainallūr a *dēvadāna* of Tirumāḷiruṇjōḷai-Āḷvār that had the *kāṇippaṇṇu* of Pullāṇi Mādēvaṇ *alias* Nuḷambādarāyar the headman of Māḷaṅguḍi in Kiṭ-Sembi-nāḍu; also the undermentioned persons of Śīrūkuḷattūr *alias* Parākrama-pāṇḍiyanallūr in Aḷagiyapāṇḍiyakkuḷakkīḷ, *viz.*, Śāṭṭaṇ Kaṇavadi, Sundarattōḷuḍaiyāṇ Dēvaṇ, Śāṭṭaṇ Kaṇḍaṇ *alias* Tirumāḷiruṇjōḷai Dāsaṇ, Vēḷaṇ Sundarattōḷuḍaiyāṇ, Śivallavaṇ Pērāyīramuḍaiyāṇ *alias* Māraṇūrnāṭṭu-Vēḷaṇ and Dēvaṇ Śivallavaṇ Araṭṭamikki-Dāsaṇ; also Udaya-divākaraṇ śrī-Kārimāra-Baṭṭaṇ of Iḷavimaṅgalam, the resident of Sūraḷuḍi *alias* Virakūmugamaṅgalam, and Nārāyaṇaṇ Subrahmaṇya-Baṭṭaṇ of this (*same*) *kuḍi*; also the undermentioned persons of Viḍattal *alias* Māṇābharaṇa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam in Kiraṇūr-nāḍu, *viz.*, Uyyaniṇṇāḍi Periyāḷvāṇ, Śēndapirāṇ Karumāṇuḷi-Baṭṭaṇ, Gōvindaṇ Māṇēndukaiyaṇ and Ādityaṇ Bhāskara-

Bhaṭṭan; also the undermentioned persons of Veḷḷurkuruchchi in Aḷagiyapāṇḍiyakkuḷakkil, viz., Veḷḷan Kōvan, Ādi Perrāṇ, Veḷḷan Aḷagan *alias* Sundarapāṇḍiya-Mūvēndavēḷan and Veḷḷan Śiṟiḷaṅkō; (inclusive of the last mentioned four) the following (three) persons, viz., Ālvān Upādhyāyar of Marudūr in Tiruvāvaṇam, Karumāṇikkam Ulagamuṇḍān-Bhaṭṭan of Perumpuliūr and Ma-yūravāhanan Āḍuvān-Bhaṭṭan of Marudūr who were concerned in the formation of the *brahma-dēya*; (also the undermentioned persons) of Veḷḷur *alias* Aḷagiyapāṇḍiyanallūr in Kīranūr-nāḍu, viz., Rāman Uyyavandān, Perrāṇ Pāttan, Dēvaṇ Nambi and Śōran Nāṭṭān; all these pointing out their respective boundaries, the following persons of Tiruppuvaṇam in Irāṣiṅgankuḷakkil, viz., *Anaittanam* Pammaṇ Āḍiyārkkunalla-Perumāṇ *alias* Pallavadaraiyaṇ, *meypu* Malaiaṇ Śōran *alias* Viṇṇattaraiyaṇ, Dēvaṇ Tillai *alias* Madurōdaya-Pallavaraiyaṇ. Śikayilāya-Bhaṭṭan *alias* Śivallava-Pallavaraiyaṇ, Kaṇavadi Śīrāman *alias* Sundarapāṇḍiya-Pallavaraiyaṇ, Ēran Periyān *alias* Pāṇḍiyan-Pallavaraiyaṇ and Pōrru Aravamūḍaiyān Villi *alias* Muḍittalaikoṇḍa-Pallavaraiyaṇ, conducting the female elephant, the following is the document of the boundaries drawn up exactly as the elephant passed :—

(Ll. 139-195) The eastern boundary (as it came to be determined) on the day of Svātī corresponding to Saturday and the eleventh *tithi* of the second fortnight and the fourth (solar) day of the month of Dhanu in the twelfth year opposite the thirteenth of (the king's) reign, lies to the west of the line commencing from the eastern extremity of Uḍaikuḷam, also called Kiṭ-Chūrai, which lies to the north-east of this village (of Rājagambhira-chaturvēdimaṅalam), passes southwards and crosses the road going to Kaḍambaṅguḍi from Seyyakulaṭṭūr, runs in a south-easterly direction, then southwards and then in south-easterly direction and crosses the road leading to Vēmbaṅguḍi from Māṇavīramadurai, and then passes eastwards and crosses the high road leading to Mūvaraiyarkōṭṭai from Seyyakulaṭṭūr, and then keeping to the right (the pit called) Pudai-chchāṅkuḷi, passes south-east along the *veṭṭipperuvali* (the big path of the *veṭṭis*) which meets the said road (at the said pit) and crosses the road leading to Māṇavīramadurai from Mūvaraiyarkōṭṭai; further, proceeding from this road in a south-easterly direction and crossing the high road which runs westwards, and then going in a south-easterly direction crossing the road leading to Māṇavīramadurai from Piḍāvūr and then passing in a south-easterly direction and reaching the eastern extremity of the tank of Karaiyūr and from its bank passing in a south-easterly direction, it lies to the west. And crossing the channel which carries water to the tank at Kunnēli, it lies to the west. Proceeding from the channel in a south-easterly direction on the eastern boundary of Śaṅgappērayan-ēmbal, then going southwards and then in a south-westerly direction and crossing the road leading from Neṭṭūr to Māṇavīramadurai and then going southwards along the *nīr-rakkal* of the tank at Chandranallūr and reaching the southern extremity of Chandranallūr, it lies to the west. Further, proceeding from here in a south-westerly direction along the way leading to Vaigai *alias* Śrīvallabhappērāru, it lies to the west. Then going southwards from this way along the *śevvai* on the eastern boundary of Śēṅkuli, then proceeding westwards on the southern boundary of the said Śēṅkuli and afterwards going southwards along Karkuḷam which forms the eastern boundary of Orukkorraṇēri, it lies to the west. Then proceeding in a south-westerly direction on the southern boundary of the said Orukkorraṇēri and getting into the Vaigai *alias* Śrīvallabhappērāru it lies to the west. Then going along this Śrīvallabhappērāru (*first*) in a north-westerly direction and then in a westerly direction, it lies to the west. Then getting up the southern bank of this river and proceeding in a southerly direction and crossing the channel which carries water to the tank of Kiṭ-Pāsalai *alias* Dāṇaviṇōdanallūr and the tank of Mēr-Pāsalai *alias* Śrīvallabha-chaturvēdimaṅalam and getting up the bank of this channel and proceeding southwards along the . . . . ridge of the half *vēli* and two *mā* of land in Araśipparru and going up the northern extremity of the tank of Māṇavīramadurai, it lies to the west. Then, proceeding



westwards on this bank and then going southwards on the eastern boundary of the three *vēli* of land, as measured by the *pāṭṭakkāl*,—which had been added to Rājagambhira-chaturvēdimaṅgalam out of the lands that were being cultivated as *pāṭṭam* on the eastern side of the channel which carries water to the tank at Marudūr and which lay within the abovesaid tank of Māṇavīramadurai,—and getting up the south bank of this tank and (*then*) reaching the channel which carries water to the tank at Marudūr, it lies to the west. Further, proceeding along the east bank of this channel in a south-easterly direction and then in southerly direction and reaching the old excavation in the south extremity of the *kudiyiruppu* of Vāṇagaṅgappēraiyaṇ, it lies to the west. Proceeding again eastwards along this excavation, and going on the ridge (*first*) in an easterly direction and then in a north-easterly direction along the southern ridge of the field in the south extremity of Māṇavīramadurai in the *agavāy* of the old tank of Marudūr, and getting up the eastern extremity of the said old tank of Marudūr, it lies to the west. Then, proceeding westwards along this bank, and then going southwards along (*the channel called*) Divākara-vāyakkāl which forms the eastern boundary of Marudūr and the western boundary of Māṇavīramadurai, till where this channel ends, then passing by this western ridge of (*the land called*) Divākara-vayakkāl, and then proceeding eastwards along the southern ridge of the field and then passing south along the *sevrāi* which has the western ridge of Sundaravayakkāl and then going along the line which forms the northern boundary of Saṅkaramaṅgalam and the southern boundary of Māṇavīramadurai, (*first*) in an easterly direction and then in a north-easterly direction and getting up the northern extremity of Saṅkaramaṅgalam and reaching the channel which carries water to the tank of Mēṇ-Paśalai *alias* Śrīvalla-bha-chaturvēdimaṅgalam and to the tank of Kīṭ-Paśalai *alias* Dānaviṇḍanallūr, it lies to the west. Then, proceeding in a south-easterly direction on the western bank of this channel, and crossing the (*other*) channel which, branching off from this channel, carries water to the tank of Mēṇ-Paśalai *alias* Śrīvalla-bha-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, and then going (*successively*) in south-easterly, easterly and southerly directions on the western bank of the channel which carries water to the tank of Kīṭ-Paśalai *alias* Dānaviṇḍanallūr and reaching the western embankment of the tank of the said Dānaviṇḍanallūr, and then getting down the grassy bank of that tank and proceeding southwards on the eastern bank of the channel which carries water to the tank of Mēṇ-Paśalai *alias* Śrīvalla-bha-chaturvēdimaṅgalam and reaching the northern extremity of the tank of the said Śrīvalla-bha-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, then proceeding (*successively*) in south and south-east directions along the Iḍukkāru (*flowing*) from the *maruvāy* of this tank, and reaching the path leading to the *nattam* of Nelvēli, it lies to the west. Then, getting up at the eastern extremity of the tank of the said Nelvēli and reaching (*the channel called*) Paṇaiakkāl, and proceeding southwards on the western bank of that channel and crossing the path leading west from Nakkaṇēri, (*it lies to the west*).

(Li. 195-267) The southern boundary: Going westwards along the road forming the southern boundary of Nelvēli and the northern entrance to the *nattam* of Eṭṭiyēri and reaching the western end of the said *nattam* of Eṭṭiyēri, thence proceeding westwards and reaching the old temple-site in the middle of this Eṭṭiyēri and Nelvēli, then going south-west and crossing (*the river*) Paraḷaiyāru, it lies to the north. Proceeding (*successively*) in south and south-west directions on the western bank of this river, and then crossing the channel which carries water to the tank of Nīram-baiyūr and (also) forms the eastern boundary of Sōmūttūr, and proceeding southwards on the western bank of this channel and reaching the middle boundary between Sōmūttūr and Śīruvāgai in the vicinity of Kaḷḷikkudī, it lies to the north. Further, passing west and south-west along the ridge which commences at the middle of this boundary, and getting into the tank at Śīruvāgai at the north end of it, then passing on the southern boundary, of Aravaṇkudī and crossing the channel which carries water to the tank of Kaḷḷikkudī, then going westwards and then in a south-westerly

direction along the road leading to Vēlāṇēri from Aravaṅkuḍi and reaching the eastern boundary of Vēlāṇēri, it lies to the north. Again proceeding in a north-easterly direction along the eastern bank of the channel, which runs along the said village of Vēlāṇēri and carries water to Puttūr, and crossing this channel and getting up the western bank, it lies to the north. Further, going westwards along the boundary which forms the northern boundary of Vēlāṇēri and the southern boundary of Karuṅkuḷam, and then going westwards along the north bank of Sūṛriṇṇaśakkaḷ-ūraṇi of Vēlāṇēri, it lies to the north. Then going along the ridge in the middle of the boundary and proceeding north along the eastern ridge of Ādichchavaśakkaḷ of Vēlāṇēri, and then going north along the northern ridge of this land, it lies to the north. Further, going north on the eastern ridge of *Karundaḍi* of Vēlāṇēri, and then westwards on the ridge which is to the north of this land and the *nāṛraikūl* of Ādichchavaśakkaḷ and of Perṛāṇṇaśakkaḷ and reaching the eastern ridge of Dayāṇṇi-vayakkaḷ in Śēṇēri which adjoins Kaḷḷikkūḍi, it lies to the north. Again, proceeding northwards on this ridge and reaching the *ellai-vāykkāl* (i.e., the boundary channel), and then going (*successively*) in north, north-west and north directions along the said channel, and afterwards going in a westerly direction on the northern ridge of Mālār-mukkāṇi of Śēṇēri, and then again going in a north-western direction on the eastern ridge of Sōmidēvi-vayakkaḷ belonging to Dayāṇṇi Ariyāṇ *alias* Arundavaṇ-Viḷupparaiyaṇ, then going northwards along the eastern ridge of the land of Dayāṇṇi Mūṇaviraṇ consisting of several *taḷis* (*in extent*), and then proceeding northwards on the eastern ridge of the *vayakkaḷ* of Uyyakkonḍāl and then westwards of the northern ridge of this field and reaching the northern bank of the tank of Śēṇēri, it lies to the north. Then going in a north-westerly direction along the grassy bank of this tank and reaching the big road leading to Dēvakōṭṭai from Kaṇṇaṇūr, and going westwards along this big road, it lies to the north. Then, leaving to the left the tamarind tree standing at the northern entrance of Pūdaṇēri-nattam, and passing westwards and getting into the tank called Taḍāppirai at its southern extremity, it lies to the north. Then passing in a north-westerly direction in the *nīr-nakkaḷ* of this tank, and then going in a north-westerly direction in the *nīr-nakkaḷ* of (the tank called) Kāñchiraṅkuḷam and reaching the northern extremity of this tank, and then passing westwards on the south bank of the channel which carries water to this tank and getting up the (bank of the tank called) Pullaṇērikuḷam at its southern end, it lies to the north. Then going northwards in the *nīr-nakkaḷ* of this tank and reaching the northern extremity of this tank, then going westwards on the south bank of the channel which carries water to this tank and reaching the big road leading to Kaṇṇaṇūr, it lies to the north. Then going northwards along this road, and then going westwards of the *śevrai* having the northern ridge of Muttaraiyaṇ-karuṇchey of Kaṇṇaṇūr-Piḍāri-ēri which forms the northern boundary of Kaṇṇaṇūr and the southern boundary of Narimaṇṇam and reaching the *kuḷappariippu* of Maḍalaikuruchchi, and going northwards within this tank to the extent of ten *kōl*, it lies to the north. Proceeding westwards along this tank and crossing the channel which carries water to the tank at Kaṇṇaṇūr and passing northwards, leaving to the right the tamarind tree standing to the east of Kāṇavāru which flows northwards, and going westwards and getting up the bank of (the tank called) Uḍaikuḷam in Kiṭ-Śēḷi, and going northwards on this bank and reaching the southern boundary of Miṇṇēri, it lies to the north. Further, going westwards along the channel which had been dug to carry water to the tank at Kiṭ-Śēḷi and which forms the northern boundary of the said tank of Kiṭ-Śēḷi and the southern boundary of this Miṇṇēri, then getting into the channel and getting up at the breach (*known as*) Malaiyaṇḍaippu, proceeding then on the bund of this tank and getting down the *agavāy* of this tank, then going (*successively*) in southerly and south-westerly directions on the eastern boundary of the dry land belonging to Miḷagaṇūr and reaching the road leading to Koṭṭakīrti in Kāñai-Irukkaḷ from Miḷagaṇūr, it lies to the north. Then going north-west along the channel which carries water to the tank of

Kaḍambaṅguḍi, which channel formed the northern boundary of the said Koṭṭakīrti and passed in the middle of the northern boundary of Vēlānēri in Kāñai-Irukkai and the southern boundary of Miḷaganūr, then getting into this (i.e., the said) channel and going north to the *karai-parippu*, which is at the southern extremity of Mēr-Śēli and forms the northern boundary of the dry land attached to Vēlānēri, then going in a north-westerly direction, and then again in a westerly direction along the southern boundary of the dry land belonging to Śōraṇ Mūkkaṇ of Miḷaganūr, then going in a northerly direction along the *ella-parippu* in the middle of the eastern boundary of Karpakīrti in Kāñai-Irukkai and the western boundary of Mēr-Śēli adjoining Miḷaganūr and reaching the southern boundary of the dry land of Sundaṇ-Ālvāṇ of Miḷaganūr, it lies to the north. Further, going in a westerly direction midway between the southern boundary of this dry land and the northern boundary of Karpakīrti and reaching the eastern boundary of the dry land of Karpakīrti, it lies to the north. Then going (first) in a northerly direction and then in north-westerly direction, along the *vēli-pparippu* in the middle of this dry land and the dry lands belonging to Miḷaganūr, and afterwards going in north and north-westerly directions midway between the eastern limit of Karpakīrti and the boundary at the western limit of the dry land that was being cultivated by Rāmaṇ Aḷagan of Miḷaganūr, and then crossing the road leading to Miḷaganūr from Iruñchirai and reaching the end of the southern extremity of Śirukiḷ-ātti adjoining Miḷaganūr, and going in a north-westerly direction along the *karai-parippu* of this tank and reaching the northern bank of the tank of Karpakīrti, it lies to the north. Then going north-west along the grassy bank of this tank and then in a north-westerly direction along the channel, which carries water to the tank of Śirukiḷātti and passes midway between the southern limit of the dry lands of Puvaiṇallūr and the bank of Karpakīrti, and crossing the *kaḷai-lombu* of the tank of Karpakīrti, it lies to the north. Then, leaving to the right the *kaḷar-parippu*, which lies to the south of Valaiyan-ūraṇi (and also) to the south of the fields of Puvaiṇallūr, and going in a westerly direction, and then again in a north-westerly direction along the southern boundary of the dry lands cultivated by the shepherd Irāśiṅga-kōṇ, the resident of Puvaiṇallūr, which lands are situated to the north of Kāṇakarai which carries water to the tank of Śirukiḷātti and reaching the channel which carries water at the western end of the tank of Karpakīrti, (it lies to the west).

(Ll. 267-316) The western boundary: Proceeding northwards along the eastern bank of this tank, and then going northwards along the eastern bank of the channel, which carried water to the tank of Karpakīrti and formed the eastern boundary of Puḍukkuḷam, that was given in exchange for Miḷaganūr which was included in Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimāṅgalaṃ, then going in northerly and north-easterly directions along the eastern bank of the channel, which carried water to the tank of Karpakīrti and formed the eastern boundary of Mārakīrti which was also given in exchange for the said Miḷaganūr, and then passing this channel, it lies to the east. Further, proceeding northwards and reaching the western end of the tank of Miḷaganūr, it lies to the east. Then getting into the *agavūy* of this tank and going northwards, then again going north along the bank of (the tank called) Minṇēri which forms the eastern boundary of Kuvaḷaivēlipparru given in exchange for Miḷaganūr and reaching the southern boundary of Nerkuṇram, it lies to the east. Then going in a north-westerly direction along the *karai-parippu*, which forms the eastern boundary of this Kuvaḷaivēli and the western boundary of Nerkuṇram, and reaching the southern end of the *nattam* of this Nerkuṇram, it lies to the east. Then going in a north-westerly direction along the southern *āsarudī* of this *nattam* and reaching the western extremity of the tank of the said Nerkuṇram, then going northwards along the eastern end of Kuvaḷaivēli through the *nīr-naḱkal* of this tank and reaching the bank of Mēlsēri, then going northwards along the *kuḷapparippu* of Mēlsēri and getting up at the southern end of Kaṭṭikuḷam and descending into the *agavūy* of this tank and then going northwards on the eastern boundary of Kaḍambamaṅgalaṃ which was given in

exchange for *Mīḷagaṇūr* and reaching the bank of *Perrāṇ-ēmbal*, it lies to the east. Then going northwards and crossing the channel which carries water to *Kaṭṭikuḷam*, and going eastwards along the southern boundary of *Tirumāliṇṇōlai* in *Achchaṅkāṭṭirukkai* which is a tax-free *dēvadāna* of *Tirumāliṇṇōlai-Ālvār* and the holding (*kāṇi*) of *Pullāṇi Mādēvaṇ alias Nuḷambādarāyār*, the headman of *Mālaṅguḍi*, and then leaving to the left the *tiruvāḷikkal* (i.e., disc-bearing stone) planted on the southern boundary of this *Tirumāliṇṇōlainallūr* and going in east and south-east directions and reaching the *tiruvāḷikkal* planted at the south-east corner of *Tirumāliṇṇōlainallūr*, and then going northwards on the western bank of the channel which carries water to the tank at *Mīḷagaṇūr* which was added to *Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimaṅgalam* and reaching the *tiruvāḷikkal* planted on the eastern boundary of *Tirumāliṇṇōlainallūr*, and then going northwards on the western bank of this channel and reaching the *tiruvāḷikkal* planted at the north-eastern corner of this *Tirumāliṇṇōlainallūr*, it lies to the east. Then going in westerly and north-westerly directions on the south bank of the channel, which carries water to the tank of this *Mīḷagaṇūr* and forms the southern boundary of *Vāgaikuḍi* and the northern boundary of *Tirumāliṇṇōlainallūr*, and crossing the channel which carries water to the tank of this *Tirumāliṇṇōlainallūr* and reaching the *tiruvāḷikkal* planted at the north-west corner of this *Tirumāliṇṇōlainallūr*, and then going north-west along the south bank of the channel of *Mīḷagaṇūr*, which forms the northern boundary of *Śīrukuḍi alias Virakāmugamaṅgalam* in *Āḷagiyaṇḍiyakkulakkīl* and the southern boundary of *Vāgaikuḍi*, and then going northwards on the west bank of the channel of *Mīḷagaṇūr* which forms the eastern boundary of *Veḷḷūrkuṛuchchi* in *Āḷagiyaṇḍiyakkulakkīl*, the *dēvadāna* of *Uḍaiyār Tiruppuvaṇamuḍaiyār* and the western boundary of *Vāgaikuḍi*, and crossing this channel and reaching the southern boundary of *Viḍattal alias Māṇābharāṇa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam* in *Kiraṇūr-nāḍu*, it lies to the east. Then going eastwards on this boundary along the *kaḷar-parippu* and reaching the northern extremity of the tank of *Vāgaikuḍi*, it lies to the east. Then going eastwards along this bank and descending this bank and going eastwards on the boundary ridge, which forms the northern boundary of *Vāgaikuḍi* and the southern boundary of *Māṇābharāṇa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam*, and leaving to the right the temple of *Māṇābharāṇa-Īsaramuḍaiyār* at *Vāgaikuḍi* and going eastwards on the boundary ridge and reaching the boundary channel flowing eastwards from the tank at *Vāgaikuḍi*, then going eastwards along the northern ridge of this channel, and passing this channel and going eastwards on the ridge, which is to the north of *Ariyāl-vayakkal* in *Vāgaikuḍi-paṇṇu* and to the south of *Uyyavandāl-vayakkal* in *Māṇābharāṇa-chaturvēdimaṅgalappaṇṇu*, and reaching the channel which carries water to the tank of *Nakkamaṅgalam*, and then going (*successively*) in north, north-west and north-east directions on the western bank of this channel and approaching the western extremity of the tank of *Tuttiyūr* and going on the western bank of this channel (*successively*) in north, north-east and north-west directions, and then going westwards on the boundary ridge, which forms the southern boundary of the land called *Araimākkūṟṟu* in *Tiruvāvaṇam* and the northern boundary of *Māṇābharāṇa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam*, and reaching the bank of the tank of *Māṇābharāṇa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam*, it lies to the east. Then going northwards along the grassy bank of this tank and reaching the bank of *Śīrēmbal* of *Araimākkūṟṟu*, then going westwards on the southern bank of this *ēmbal* and crossing the channel which carries water to the tank of *Mīḷagaṇūr*, and going (*successively*) in north and north-west directions on the western bank of this channel and getting into this channel and then getting up the eastern bank of this channel and then going northwards along the *nīr-nakkal* in the *ēmbal* of *Araimākkūṟṟu* and crossing the channel which was carrying water to the tank of *Tuttiyūr*, and going northwards on the western ridge of *Kaṇavadi-vayakkal*, which forms the eastern boundary of *Veḷḷūrkuṛuchchi* in *Āḷagiyaṇḍiyakkulakkīl*, a *dēvadāna* of *Uḍaiyār Tiruppuvaṇamuḍaiyār*, and the western boundary of *Tiruvāvaṇam*, and leaving to the right *Vāykaṭṭātturavu* in the north-western corner of this

Kaṇavadivayakkal and crossing the channel of Tiruvāvaṇam, and going northwards on the boundary, which is to the east of Veḷḷurkuruchchi and to the west of Tiruvāvaṇam, and descending into the Vaigai *alias* Śrīvallabhappērāru, (*it lies to the east*).

(Ll. 317-338) The northern boundary : Going eastwards along this Vaigai *alias* Śrīvallabhappērāru and getting up the northern bank of the channel carrying water to the tank of Paṇaṅgalūr, then going eastwards along this bank and descending into (*the river called*) Kaḷavaḷināḍaṇ-āru and going northwards along this river and reaching the road leading to Vēmbaṅguḍi from Iḍaikkāṭṭūr and getting up the eastern bank, it lies to the south. Then going in a north-easterly direction along this road and crossing the channel which carries water from this Kaḷavaḷināḍaṇ-āru to the tank of Śeyyakulattūr, then going in a north-easterly direction along this road and getting up the bank of the tank of Adikarai, and then going in a north-westerly direction along this bank and reaching what forms the northern extremity of this tank and the southern boundary of Āykuḍi, it lies to the south. Then going eastwards along this boundary and reaching the northern entrance of the *nattam* of Vēlaṅguḍi and further on reaching the western extremity of the tank of this Vēlaṅguḍi, it lies to the south. Going from this in a north-easterly direction and reaching the western boundary of Kuḍaṇjāḍi, and then going in north and north-easterly directions along this boundary and reaching the *kombu* on the western extremity of the tank of Kuḍaṇjāḍi, it lies to the south. Going from this in a north-easterly direction and then in east and south-east directions on the *nīr-naḱkal* of the tank which forms the southern boundary of Śuṇḍankuruchchi and the northern boundary of this Kuḍaṇjāḍi, and crossing the channel which flows from the eastern extremity of this tank, and then going in a south-easterly direction and crossing the big road leading from Iḍaikkāṭṭūr of Veḷḷur-Śirukuḍi to Vēmbaṅguḍi and then going eastwards, then going again eastwards on the *agavāy* of Uḍaikuḷam, which is called by the names Kāṭṭuttōyvaṁ and Piḍārikuḷam, and getting up the eastern extremity of this tank and going south-east, and then leaving to the right the dry lands ploughed by Śemberumāṇ, a neighbouring resident of Kīraṇūrnāḍāḷvāṅkōṭṭai, and going in east and south directions and crossing the road leading from Śeyyakulattūr to Vēmbaṅguḍi, then going eastwards and crossing the channel that was caused to be dug by Muttai Alvāṇ *alias* Sundarapāṇḍiya-Mārāyaṇ for feeding the tanks of Śeyyakulattūr, then going east and north-east, and (*afterwards*) passing eastwards along the *agavāy* of the Uḍaikuḷam of Mēr-Chūrai and then going eastwards along the *agavāy* of the tank of Kiṭ-Chūrai and getting up the eastern extremity of this tank, the she-elephant stopped (*having come to the place*) where she originally started.

(Ll. 338-9) I wrote this charitable edict : this is the signature of *puravuvāri-kaṇkāṇi* Araiyaṇ Nārāyaṇaṇ of Kaṭṭikuruchchi, (*a resident*) of the glorious Parāntakanallūr in Naḍuvirkūrru, (*a sub-division*) of Miḷalai-kūṛam.

(L. 340) This is the signature of the *puravuvāri-kaṇkāṇi* Parāntakaṇ Tiruppuvaṇamuḍaiyaṇ of Taṇḍalai in Kīl-kūrru, (*a sub-division*) of Miḷalai-kūṛam.

(L. 341) This is the signature of *puravuvāri-kaṇkāṇi* Karuṇākaradēvaṇ Puṇḍavaṇamuḍaiyaṇ of Perumāṇāṇūr *alias* Palamaṇḍalādichanaallūr in Aḷagiyaṇḍiyakkulakkil.

(L. 342) This is the signature of Piḷḷai Alvāṇ Poṇṇambalakkūṭṭaṇ of Karuppūr in Tirumunaippāḍi-nāḍu, the *kaṇkāṇi* of the *tiruvāykkēḷi* Jayadhara-Pallavaraiyaṇ.

#### NO. 12.—TIRUPPUVANAM SUPPLEMENTARY PLATE.

By K. V. SUBRAHMANYA AIYER, B.A., COIMBATORE.

This is a single plate which bears writing on both the sides, the first having 17 lines and the second, 15 lines.

Excepting the last two and a half lines, the writing on both the sides bears close resemblance to that on the Tiruppūvaṇam plates of Jaṭavarman Kuḷaśekhara I edited above. The sign of *visarga* is used as a punctuation mark in lines 1 and 15. This and the employment of the symbol resembling *ya* to denote *ppa* (ll. 11), the preferential use of *r* before hard consonants, *t* in *ūrgaḷiṭ*° (ll. 2 and 17), *taviṭtu* (ll. 4 and 19) and *pāṭtu* (ll. 3 and 8), *ch* in *aruḷār=ch*° (l. 27), and *k* in *sabhai-yāṭku* (ll. 2 and 16), as well as the general shape of all the letters point to the fact that the writer of this plate must be identical with the one that incised the previous set of eleven plates. In the above examples, *sabhaiyāṭku*, *taviṭtu* and *pāṭtu* are instances of wrong spelling.

There are, strictly speaking, two inscriptions on this plate. Lines 1 to 15 register an order issued by king *Tribhuvanachakravartin Kōṇṇeriṇṇaikaṇḍāṇ* to the assembly of Rājagambhira-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, while lines 15 to 32 purport to emanate from the temple of Tiruppūvaṇam to the same assembly. The subject in both is practically the same as will be seen in the sequel. The first contains the date "11th year (of reign) and 108th day" but mentions the king only by the general title *Tribhuvanachakravartin Kōṇṇeriṇṇaikaṇḍāṇ*. The second states the name of the king to be *Sundara-Pāṇḍya* 'who presented the Chōḷa country'; eleventh year (of reign) occurs in the body of the record.

In the Tiruppūvaṇam plates of Jaṭavarman Kuḷaśekhara I, we are informed that in constituting the new village of Rājagambhira-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, three of the *dēvadāna* properties of the temple of Tiruppūvaṇamuḍaiyār, viz., Vāgaikuḍi in Kiraṇūr-nāḍu (l. 20), Muttūranāroṭṭai in Mēṇkuḍi-nāḍu (ll. 59f.) and Śirukilāṅkāṭṭūr in Purapparaḷai-nāḍu (l. 68), were taken up and included in it. It is usual in such cases to give other lands in exchange. The Tiruvālaṅkāḍu plates evidence such a practice. And even in the large Tiruppūvaṇam plates we find it stated that in place of Mīḷaganūr which, like the *dēvadāna* lands of the Tiruppūvaṇam temple, had been taken up and included in Rājagambhira-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, a number of lands were given and they were formed into a fresh village called Rājendraśūṅganallūr which was placed in the Division of Achchaṅkāṭṭirukkai (ll. 111f.). But it is not stated in those plates what was done to compensate the Tiruppūvaṇam temple for the loss it sustained in being deprived of certain properties. What is not stated there forms the subject of this supplementary plate.

The first inscription on this plate states (1) that the villages of Vāgaikuḍi, Muttūranāroṭṭai and Śirukilāṅkāṭṭūr, which were among the *dēvadāna* properties of the temple of Tiruppūvaṇamuḍaiyār, had been taken away and added to Rājagambhira-chaturvēdimaṅgalam; (2) that up to the tenth year (of the reign of Sundara-Pāṇḍya I), after annual crop examination, the lands of the said three villages had been regularly paying *kaḍamai* to the temple of Tiruppūvaṇam; (3) that this payment was then put a stop to and in its place, it was settled that an amount of twenty-five *kāṣu* in all,—ten *kāṣu* for Vāgaikuḍi, ten *kāṣu* for Muttūranāroṭṭai and five *kāṣu* for Śirukilāṅkāṭṭūr,—had to be paid every year from the eleventh year onwards to the temple of Tiruppūvaṇam and that in paying this, half must be given in *kāṣu* and the other half in paddy, on the basis of a never diminishing (i.e., permanent) investment; (4) and that on this settlement being recommended to the king by his brother-in-law Aḷagapperumāl, he ordered the issue of *kēḷvi* to that effect, and directed also the engraving of the same on stone and copper. It bears the date '11th year and 108th day' and is signed by three officials.

The second inscription calls the first document a *piḍipāḍu* issued by Sundara-Pāṇḍya 'who presented the Chōḷa country' to the assembly of Rājagambhira-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, recites its contents and lays down the procedure to be adopted in making the payment, settled therein. It says that the agreed amount of money (*kāṣu*) must be paid and the quantity of paddy measured out, every year, in the premises of the temple kitchen, and for the payment thus made, receipts

must be obtained from the temple signed by the accountant and the *kaṇmi*. The signatories to this inscription are a *Śaivāchārya*, two *Śivabrāhmaṇas* and *Mudal-Kaṇakku* (the treasury accountant). At the end, it is said that the document was caused to be made by *Sāstra-Bhaṭṭāraka*, son of *Jaṭādhara* the ornament of the village of *Aṅgārakamaṅgalam*. It must have been on this occasion that the large *Tiruppūvaṇam* plates, wherein the inclusion of the three *dēvadāna* villages in *Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimaṅgalam* is specified, must have been engraved and kept along with the supplementary plate as its *mūlasāsana*. Hence, it is that we find that all the plates are written in the same hand and are in the possession of the *Tiruppūvaṇam* temple.

Ordinarily the State did not interfere with temple properties. This is made plain by such statements as “*ivv-ūrgaḷiṟ=paḷan-dēvadānam paḷlichechandam.....nīkki*” found in the large *Tiruppūvaṇam* plates.<sup>1</sup> It is also clear from the fact that the *Tiruppūvaṇam* temple, in spite of the inclusion of three of its *dēvadāna* lands in the newly formed *brahmadēya*, had been regularly getting the *kaḷamai* from them from the date of the grant of the *brahmadēya*, which, as we know from the large set, was the eleventh year opposite to the thirteenth year of the reign of *Jaṭavarman Kulasekhara I* (A.D. 1204) till the tenth year of the reign of *Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I* (A.D. 1226). When, owing to any special reasons, *dēvadānas* had to be taken away and turned to other purposes—here for forming the *brahmadēya*—the original incumbents were not deprived of their income but were adequately compensated. The king's brother-in-law *Aḷagapperumāl* must have been appointed to hold an enquiry and settle the compensation to be awarded to the dispossessed owner of the resumed *dēvadāna*. The result of his enquiry is embodied in this inscription.

The first inscription being a State document is signed by State officials, and the second, being one issued by the temple, bears the signatures of temple officials. The temples in those days had regularly constituted bodies of their own to see to their management. These bodies were known as *uṇṇāḷigaiyār* or *uṇṇāḷigai-sabhaiyār*.<sup>2</sup> I have referred to the constitutional character of the bodies known as *Paṇ-Māhēśvaras* in the case of *Śiva* temples and *Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas* in the case of *Vishṇu* temples elsewhere.<sup>3</sup> Here we may note some of the numerous officers that were employed in temple bodies.<sup>4</sup> They are (1) *Kaṇakku-Mudal* or *Mudal-Kaṇakku*, (2) *Kaṇakku*, or *Karaṇattāṇ*, (3) *Dēvakaṇmi*, (4) *Sthānāchārya* or *Śaivāchārya*, (5) *Pūjikkum-Nambi* and other *Nambis*, (6) *Kōyil-Nāyakam*, (7) *Tiruvilaicheṇṇai-kaṇkāṇi*, (8) *Poṟ-Paṇḍāri*, (9) *Śādana* (*Sāsana*)-*Paṇḍāri*, (10) *Śrī-Māhēśvara-Kaṇkāṇi*, (11) *Śrīkāryam-ṣeyvār*, (12) *Śrīkōyil-Vāriyam-ṣeyvār* or *Vāriya-Perumakkaḷ*, etc.

In transactions in which the temple is concerned, some of these officials affix their signatures. In a record of the time of *Kulōttuṅga I* five temple officials, viz., *Māhēśvara-Kaṇkāṇi*, *Śivabrāhmaṇa*, *Pūjikkum-Nambi*, *Karaṇattāṇ* and a *Paṇ-Māhēśvara* have attested.<sup>5</sup> Another record gives ten of the different officials noticed above.<sup>6</sup> A third document is addressed to *Śrīkōyil-vāriyam-ṣeyvār*, *Dēvarkaṇmis*, *Paṇḍāris* and *Karaṇattāṇ*.<sup>7</sup> It is consistent with this custom that the second document issued by the temple of *Tiruppūvaṇam* to the assembly of

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 111, text-lines 69 f.

<sup>2</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. VII, Nos. 91, 155 & 835.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. XXII, p. 275.

<sup>4</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 427; also Nos. 293, 295 & 985 of Vol. V and Nos. 33 & 36 of Vol. VI.

<sup>5</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 473.

<sup>6</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 427.

<sup>7</sup> No. 33 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. VI.

Rājagambhīra-*chaturvēdimaṅgalam* in pursuance of the royal order, was signed by the *Śaivāchārya*, *Śivabrāhmaṇas* and the *Mudal-Kaṇakku*, besides *Śāstra-Bhaṭṭāraka*, son of *Jaṭādhara*.

A few terms that occur in this plate deserve to be noted. These are *kēlvi*, *piḍipāḍu*, *aḍuk-kaḷaippuṇam*, *kaḍamai* and *vāḍā-kaḍamai*. *Kēlvi* is the noun derived from the root, 'kēl' to 'hear'. It is used in inscriptions to denote both 'an office' and 'a royal order'. Among the official attendants on the king, some were called '*kēlvi*' and the duty of the *kēlvi* officers seems to be 'to communicate to the Department concerned any order of the king just as they heard it said by him'. In communicating such oral orders, they stated the occasion when, and the attendant circumstances under which the king gave them. Besides meaning the class of officials, the term *kēlvi* came to be applied to the document containing the royal oral order put in proper form and signed by the State officials.<sup>2</sup> This term is sometimes re-placed by (*nam-ōlai*) 'Royal order'. It is worthy of note that in this plate *kēlvi* and *piḍipāḍu* are made to refer to the same thing. In the *Vēlvikuḍi* plates we meet with the expression *kēlvi-andaṇālar*<sup>3</sup> which conveys the same sense as *śrōtriya-Brāhmaṇa*. The term *piḍipāḍu* consists of the roots *piḍi* 'hold or bind' and *pāḍu* 'terms or sources' and means 'a deed of support, a letter of authority embodying the conditions to be fulfilled and authorising the possession of a thing or property', or 'a title-deed'. It is of such a general nature that it could be applied to any kind of document. The following extracts will make its application clear :—

"*īriya iṭṭa paḍikkku eṇṇum iḍu piḍipāḍāga*"<sup>4</sup> meaning "for having given it back, this shall be the deed of support"; "*iṇv-āṇḍu kār-mudal kaḍamai iṇukkumiḍattu mātṭāl nellu paḍin-kalamāga pū oṇṇukku nellu... kuḍuttu iṇar kaiyāl taravu koḷvōmāgavum ippaḍi sammadittu piḍipāḍu kuḍuttōm*"<sup>5</sup> meaning "agreeing to pay ten *kalam* of paddy on each *mā* of land at each harvest and to obtain receipt therefor we gave this *piḍipāḍu* (i.e., deed evidencing the terms of holding)". It will be seen that this passage is almost similar to the one in the *Tiruppūvaṇam* supplementary plate, and that the record belongs to the time of *Jaṭavarman Kulaśēkhara I*.

Another inscription which registers a tax-free gift of land, with its previous owners removed, as a *naṇḍavaṇappuṇam*, i.e., for the maintenance of a flower garden, uses the words "*ippaḍi nam ōlai piḍipāḍāga koṇḍu chandrādityavar śelvadāga*".<sup>6</sup> Here the word *piḍipāḍu* means 'a deed embodying the terms and authorising the holding of the land as a tax-free gift'. As in the present plate, the royal order (*nam ōlai*) is termed a *piḍipāḍu*.

*Kaḍamai* means 'assessment on land'. The fact that the temple of *Tiruppūvaṇam* was getting from the three *dēvadāna* properties *kaḍamai* annually, after crop examination, shows that they must have been assigned by the State and the temple was entitled to all the dues which it was previously entitled to. The fresh settlement by which the *sabhā* of *Rājagambhīra-*chaturvēdimaṅgalam** was made to pay annually twenty-five *kāṣu*, half in money and the other half in paddy, must be equal to the value of the *kaḍamai* which the temple was receiving. The word *kaḍan* being not much different from *kaḍamai*, *vāḍā-kaḍamai* may be equated with *vāḍā-kaḍan*. This is quite appropriate in this case where the temple had been realising *kaḍamai* on lands and the

<sup>1</sup> See above, note on *tiruvāyarkēlvi*, p. 106.

<sup>2</sup> No. 293 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. V.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. XVII, p. 300, text-line 30.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. XXII, p. 52.

<sup>5</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 415.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 419.



lands had been given over to the *brahmadēya*. The term *vāḍā-kaḍamai*<sup>1</sup> is used in other inscriptions also in the sense of 'permanent assessment on lands'. As applied to debts, *vāḍā-kaḍaṇ* means a loan in which fixed interest had to be paid, the capital remaining unchanged or undiminished. This is the case in all permanent endowments. Sometimes it is even stated that the debtor should not at any time offer to pay up the capital and free himself from the binding to pay interest. Fuller expression for such debts is *mudal-vāḍā-kaḍaṇ*.<sup>2</sup> *Aḍukkaḷaippuṇam*<sup>3</sup> means 'for the requirements of the kitchen, i.e., for offerings'. All gifts to temples are *dēvadānās*. According to the purpose for which the gifts are made, they fall under different heads such as *tirunandarappuṇam*, *tirumālaippuṇam*, *aḍukkaḷaippuṇam*, *tiruviḷakkuppuṇam*, etc.

### TEXT.

#### First Side.

- 1 Svasti śrī ॐ Tribhuvanachchakra[ra\*]tti Kōṇēr[i\*]ṇmaikoṇḍāṇ Rājagambhīra-vaḷanāṭṭu Rājagambhīra-chatu-
- 2 rrvēdimāṇgalattu=ssabhaiyārku [i\*] Uḍaiyār Tiruppūvaṇam-uḍaiyār dēvadāṇamāṇa ūrgalīṇ-  
taṇḡaḷ=ūruḍaṇ kūṭ-
- 3 ṭiṇa Vāgaikuḍiyu[m\*] Muttūranāroṭṭaiyūm Śīrukilāṅkāṭṭūrum pattāvaduvarai payir pārtu=  
k-
- 4 kaḍamaiy=iṇuttu-vandamaiyil idu tavīrtu=ppaḍiṇ-onṇāvadu-mudal Vāgaikuḍikku=kkāśu pat-  
tum Muttū[ra\*]-
- 5 nāroṭṭaiḷkku=kkāśu pattum Śīrukilāṅkāṭṭūrukku=kkāśu aiṇjūm āga āṇḍ-onṇukku=kkāśu
- 6 irubatt-aiṇjūm oṭṭāga niśchayittu=kkāśu pāḍiyun=ner-pāḍiyum-āga iṇukka-pperaṇṇum-  
eṇru mach-
- 7 chuṇṇār=Aḷagapperumāḷ namakku=chechoṇṇamaiyil taṇḡaḷ=ūruḍaṇ kūṭṭiṇa Vāgaikuḍiyu[m\*]  
Muttūranāroṭ-
- 8 ṭaiyūn=Chīrukilāṅkāṭṭūrum pattāvaduvarai payir pārtu=kkāḍamaiy=iṇuttu-vandamaiyil idu  
tavīrtu=
- 9 ppaḍiṇ-onṇāvadu-mudal Vāgaikuḍikku=kkāśu pattum Muttūranār[o\*]ṭṭaiḷkku=kkāśu pattuṇ=  
Chīru-
- 10 kilāṅkāṭṭūrukku=kkāśu aiṇjūm āga āṇḍ-onṇukku=kkāśu irubatt-aiṇjūm oṭṭāga niśchayittu=
- 11 kkāśu pāḍiyun=ner-pāḍiyum-āga iṇuppadāga<sup>4</sup> kēlvi tara=chechoṇṇōm [i\*] ippaḍi<sup>5</sup> Chandr-  
Ādityavat śelvadāga ka-
- 12 ililū=chembilum veṭṭivittu=kkolga [i\*] Ivai<sup>6</sup> Śevvirukkai-nāṭṭu Achchutavayal=Araiyaṇ-  
Ādichecha-
- 13 dēvaṇ-āṇa Yādavarāyaṇṇ=eḷuttu [i\*] Yāṇḍu 11-vadu nāḷ 108 [i\*] Ivai<sup>6</sup> Vaḍatalai=chChembi-  
nāṭṭu Veṇkāṇūr Araya-

<sup>1</sup> S. I. I., Vol. IV, 373 and Vol. V, No. 416.

<sup>2</sup> No. 345 of S. I. I., Vol. VIII.

<sup>3</sup> See Nos. 416 and 450 of S. I. I., Vol. V.

<sup>4</sup> The right hand portion of the medial o sign of *ro* has been omitted to be engraved.

<sup>5</sup> The letters *ppa* are written as a group whose symbol resembles *py*.

<sup>6</sup> The word *ivai* is expressed by a single symbol combining the two letters *i* and *vai*.

<sup>7</sup> The *ē* sign of *dē* is at the end of the previous line.

- 14 ṇ Kariyamāl-āṇa Adigaimāṇ=eluttu [i\*] Īvaiy<sup>1</sup>=Aṇḍa-nāṭṭu=pPerumaṇalūr Mandariy-Irūmaṇ-  
āṇa Pallavarāyaṇ-  
15 ṇ=eluttu ° Svasti śrī ° Sarvva-lōka-samutpatti-sti(sthi)ti-saṁhāra-kāraṇam [i\*] śāsanaṁ  
śāsvataṁ Śambhō[h\*] śrī-Pu-  
16 sbpavana-vāsinaḥ [i] Rājagambhira-vaḷanāṭṭu Rājagambhira-chaturvvedimaṅgalattu=  
ssabhaiyūṅku namm-aḍukka-  
17 laippuram-āṇa ūrgaḷiṟ=taṅgaḷ=ūruḍaṇ kūṭṭiṇa ūrgaḷil Vāgaikuḍiyum Muttūranāroṭṭaiyuṅ-  
Chiṟu-

*Second Side.*

- 18 kiḷāṅkāṭṭūrum nam piḷḷai Śōṇāḍu vaḷaṅgiṇa Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēvaṅku yāṇḍu pattāvadu-  
varai payir pā-  
19 ṛtu=kkāḍamai koṇḍu-vandamaiyil idu tavīrtu paḍiṇ-oṇṇāvadu<sup>2</sup>mudal Vāgaikuḍikku=kkāśu  
pattum Muttūranāroṭṭai-  
20 kku=kkāśu pattum Śiruki[ḷāṅkāṭṭūru]kku=kkāśu aiṇḍum āga āṇḍ-oṇṇukku=kkāśu irubatt-  
aiṇḍum vāḍa-ka-  
21 daṇ-āga oṭṭāga=kkāśu [pādiyun=neṟ]=pādiyum-āga iruppadaḍa=chchoṇṇō[m] [i\*] ippaḍikku  
nam piḷḷai Sundara-Pā-  
22 ṇḍiyadēvar taṅgaḷukku=k[kuḍutta] piḍipāṭṭiṇṇaḍiyēy i-kkāśāl vanda nel[um kā]śum  
23 naṇ=kaṇakkar kaṇmigaḷ va[śa]m namm-aḍukkaḷaippurattēy=aḷandum oḍukki[yu]n=taravu  
kolga [i\*]  
24 Aruḷāl \*Śavyāchāryyaṇ Bhāradvāji Pāraṇvā[ya]ṇ Viśvēśvaraṇ-āṇa [Aḷagiya]dēva-Bhaṭṭaṇ  
25 eluttu [i\*] Aruḷāl Tiruppuvaṇamuḍaiyāṇ Vighnēśvaraṇ-āṇa Viṇāyaka-Bhaṭṭaṇ eluttu [i\*]  
I-nNā-  
26 yaṇār Śivabrāhmaṇaril dēvakaṇmi Pāraṇvāyaṇ Ammaiddēvaṇ-āṇa Aḷagiyaṇāyaka-  
27 Bhaṭṭaṇ eluttu [i\*] Aruḷār=Chaṭṭargaḷil Ēnādimāṅgalattu Kāśyapaṇ Kēśavaṇ  
28 \*Kshētrajñāṇ-āṇa Brahma-pallavaraiyaṇ=eluttu [i\*] Aruḷāl mudar-karaṇattāṇ Dāṇavi-  
29 ṇḍa-Mūvēṇḍavēḷāṇ=eluttu [i] Vidyā-prauḍha-vilāsinī-paribṛiḍha<sup>5</sup>-śrī-Śāstra-  
30 Bhaṭṭāraka[h\*] khyāt=Ōṁgārakamaṅgal-aika-tilaka[s\*]=śrī-Rājagambhīrakē [i\*] grā-  
31 māṇām pravarē<sup>6</sup> Jaḍā(ṭā)dhara-sutō vidvat(d)-vadāny-āgraṇ[h\*] patraṁ kārāyati sma sa-  
32 [ta]tam=ita(da)m sīmnaś=su-ninā(rṇā)yakam<sup>7</sup>]

**TRANSLATION.**

(Lines 1 to 15) Hail ! Prosperity ! From the Emperor of the three worlds Kōṇṇēriṇmai-  
koṇḍāṇ to the assembly of Rājagambhīra-chaturvvedimaṅgalam in Rājagambhīra-vaḷanāḍu.

<sup>1</sup> The word *ivai* is expressed by a single symbol containing the two letters *i* and *vai*.

<sup>2</sup> This line is written over an erasure from the beginning to *oṇṇāvadu*.

<sup>3</sup> Read *Śaivā*.

<sup>4</sup> The *ē* sign of *Kshē* is engraved at the end of the previous line.

<sup>5</sup> Read *°vriḍha*.

<sup>6</sup> *Va* looks exactly like *pa*.

<sup>7</sup> The Sanskrit verse at the end covering the latter part of line 29 and the subsequent two and a half lines is engraved in a different hand. Perhaps Śāstra-Bhaṭṭāraka himself wrote it and the engraver incised it.

As Vāgaikuḍi, Muttūranāroṭṭai and Śirukiḷāṅkāṭṭūr which were among the *dēvadāna* villages of (the god) Uḍaiyār Tiruppuvaṇam-uḍaiyār and which, up to the tenth year (of Our reign), had been subject to (annual) crop examination and payment of *kaḍamai* (to the temple of Tiruppuvaṇam), had been included in your village, this (payment of *kaḍamai*) had been made to cease, and as Our brother-in-law Aḷagapperumāl had told Us that (an amount of) twenty-five *kāṣu*,—ten *kāṣu* for Vāgaikuḍi, ten *kāṣu* for Muttūranāroṭṭai and five *kāṣu* for Śirukiḷāṅkāṭṭūr,—had been determined to be paid as *oṭṭu*, for every year from the eleventh year (onwards), and that out of this amount, (one) half had to be paid in *kāṣu* and (the other) half in paddy, We have ordered the issue of *kēḷvi* to the same effect.<sup>1</sup> You may have this engraved on stone and copper so as to last till the Moon and the Sun (endure). This is the signature of Araiyaṇ Ādichhadēvaṇ *alias* Yādavarāyaṇ of Achchutavayal in Śevvirukkai-nāḍu. The year 11 and days 108. This is the signature of Araiyaṇ Kariyamāl *alias* Adigaimāṇ of Veṇkāṇūr in Vaḍatalai-Śembi-nāḍu. This is the signature of Mandari<sup>2</sup> Rāmaṇ *alias* Pallavarāyaṇ of Perumaṇalūr in Aṇḍa-nāḍu.

(Ll. 15ff.) Hail ! Prosperity ! This is the permanent edict, which was the cause of creation, protection and destruction of all the worlds, of (the god) Śambhu residing in the glorious Pushpavana. To the assembly of Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimāṅalam in Rājagambhīra-vaṇa-nāḍu.

Whereas, after (annual) crop examination, We<sup>3</sup> have been receiving, up to the tenth year of (the reign of) Our son<sup>4</sup> Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva who had presented the Chōḷa country, *kaḍamai* from Vāgaikuḍi, Muttūranāroṭṭai and Śirukiḷāṅkāṭṭūr which were among the villages attached to Our kitchen and which had been included in your village, and whereas this (payment of *kaḍamai*) had been made to cease and (in its place) We had declared that an amount of twenty-five *kāṣu* in all—ten *kāṣu* for Vāgaikuḍi, ten *kāṣu* for Muttūranāroṭṭai and five *kāṣu* for Śirukiḷāṅkāṭṭūr—should be paid to Us as *oṭṭu* on the basis of a permanent investment, every year from the eleventh year (onwards), (therefore), in accordance with the *piḍipāḍu* issued to you in this wise by Our son<sup>4</sup> Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva, (the amount of) paddy and *kāṣu* should be measured out and given to Our accountants and *kaṇṇi*s (servants) at the premises of Our kitchen and receipt taken. By order,<sup>5</sup> this is the signature of the *Saivāchārya* Pāḷarāvāyaṇ *alias* Aḷagiyadēva-Bhaṭṭaṇ of the Bhāradvāja-gōtra. By order, this is the signature of Tiruppuvaṇam-uḍaiyāṇ Viḡṇēśvaraṇ *alias* Viṇāyaka-Bhaṭṭaṇ. By order, this is the signature of Pāḷarāvāyaṇ Ammaidēvaṇ *alias* Aḷagiyānāyaka-Bhaṭṭaṇ, a *dēvakaṇṇi* among the *Sivabrāhmaṇas* of this god. By order, this is the signature of Kōṣavaṇ Kshētrajāṇ *alias* Brahma-Pallavaraiyaṇ, a *Kāṭṭyapa* and one of the *challar* (students). By order, this is the signature of the treasury accountant<sup>6</sup> Dānaviṇḍa-Mūvēndavēḷāṇ.

(Ll. 29ff.) The illustrious Śāstra-Bhaṭṭāraka, who was the lord of the lady Learning, who was famous as the sole forehead-mark of Aṅgārakamaṅgala, who was the son of Jātādhara and who was foremost among scholars, had this permanent grant, properly fixing the boundaries, written at Rājagambhīraka, the best of villages.

<sup>1</sup> The whole of what has been said above is repeated here.

<sup>2</sup> This word may stand for *mantrin* 'minister'. But as in all places where it occurs, both here and in the previous inscription, it is consistently spelt Mandari, there is strong suspicion that it may form part of the proper name of the individual.

<sup>3</sup> 'We' here refers to god.

<sup>4</sup> The king is called the son of the god.

<sup>5</sup> The term *aruḷal* which literally means 'by the grace' seems to be employed in the sense of 'by command or order' to denote the fact that the individual signs on behalf of the temple.

<sup>6</sup> The term *mudal* may also be taken as 'chief, head or first'.

## No. 13.—KODURU GRANT OF ANA-VOTA-REDDI: ŚAKA 1280.

By H. K. NARASIMHASWAMI, B.Sc., MADRAS.

The set of plates containing the inscription edited below was discovered in the village of **Kōḍūru** in the Guḍivāḍa taluk of the Kistna District by the villagers while ploughing a field. The plates are now in the possession of Vidvān Pūrṇakuṣumba Rao of Guḍḷavallēru, from whom I secured them during my tour in the district in November 1936. The inscription has been reviewed in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for that year (Appendix A, No. 4) and I now publish it with the kind permission of the Superintendent for Epigraphy.

The set consists of five plates strung on to an oval ring  $3\frac{1}{2}$ " by  $4\frac{1}{2}$ " and weighs together with the ring 287 tolas. The ring does not bear any seal. The plates measure 10" by  $4\frac{1}{2}$ " each and are inscribed on both the sides including the first and the last. The writing is in an excellent state of preservation. The inscription is in the **Telugu** script of the medieval period. The alphabet does not call for any special comment except that the letter *bha* is written with or without the mark of aspiration at the bottom, as in *nābhēr*= in l. 6, *gagan-ēbha* in l. 28, etc., but it invariably occurs without it when the vowel signs *ā* or *ū* are attached to it or when it occurs in a conjunct consonant, e.g., *bhāga* (l. 2), *bhū-dāna* (l. 9), *bhūpaḥ* (l. 18), etc., and *°d=bhayarasō* (l. 21), *viprēbhyaḥ* (l. 32), etc. The letter *ri* is written like the modern *bhu* without its lower stroke of aspiration but with an additional *kommu* or *u* sign attached to it (ll. 36, 39, 41, etc.). The whole record is written in **Sanskrit** verse and prose, except the portion specifying the boundaries of the village granted, which is in **Telugu** (ll. 57 to 72). Lines 1 to 32 consist of fourteen verses in different metres while lines 33 to 56, in which the donees with their respective shares are specified, are in prose. The inscription ends with the usual imprecatory verses and a verse which gives the name of the poet who composed the grant (ll. 72 to 77). In respect of **orthography** the following points may be noted :—(a) The use of the *anusvāra* instead of the class nasal and the unnecessary doubling of the following consonant as in *jagamūti* for *jaganti* (l. 1), *°vamūtau* for *°vantau* and *rathāmga* for *rathānga* (l. 4), etc.; (b) doubling of the consonant after the *rēpha* as in *kīrtti* (l. 12), *°r=vvibhinā* (l. 15), *Yajur-vvēdi* (l. 42), etc.; (c) incorrect omission of the aspirate as in *Pārtta* for *Pārtha* (l. 15), and the sonant for the surd as in *tīdhau* for *tithau* (l. 29), *Radhītara* for *Radhītara* (l. 50). In *rya* the *r* is always written in full and the secondary form of *ya* attached to it as at present.

The grant belongs to the time of king **Ana-Vōta** of the **Reḍḍi** dynasty of **Koṇḍaviḍu**. The inscription opens with a verse in praise of the Boar incarnation of **Vishṇu**. The subsequent nine verses which are identical with those of the Pachchani-Tāṇḍiparṇu grant of **Ana-Vēma**<sup>1</sup> recount, in order, the praise of the Sun and the Moon (v. 2), the birth of the fourth caste, i.e., that of the Śūdras from the lotus-feet of **Vishṇu** and the birth in it of **Prōlaya-Vēma** who constructed the flight of steps leading to **Śrīsaṭa**, made all the gifts enumerated by **Hēmādri**, performed various meritorious deeds and who defeated several hostile kings (vv. 3-7). To him were born **Ana-Vōta** and **Ana-Vēma** who were in splendour, like the Sun and the Moon (v. 8). The next three verses are devoted to the description of the might and valour of **Ana-Vōta**, the donor of the grant, who instilled fear into the hearts of his enemies by the very sound of his war-drums (vv. 9-12). In the **Śaka** year 1280 (expressed by the chronogram *gagana 0, ībha 8, and sūrya 12*) in the month of **Pausha**, on **darśa**, **Tuesday**, during the solar eclipse, king **Ana-Vōta** granted to sixty-one **Brāhmins** of different *gōtras* and *sākhas*, the village of **Kōḍūru** renamed **Annavōtapuram**, on the bank of the **Malāpabā**, along with the eight kinds of

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXI, p. 269.

*aishvarya* and *bhōga*. The English equivalent of the date according to the *Indian Ephemeris* of L. D. S. Pillai is A.D. 1358, January 9, Tuesday, on which day *amāvāsya* commenced at 51 of the day. The solar eclipse, however, is shown to have occurred on the next day, i.e., Wednesday, on which day *amāvāsya* lasted till 43 of the day.

The composer of the grant is *Bālasarasvatī*, a name which sounds very much like a title probably acquired by the person on account of his profound scholarship. Besides the Pachchani-Tāndiparru grant already referred to, he is the composer of two other inscriptions of Ana-Vēma, of which one is a copper-plate record,<sup>1</sup> and the other a stone inscription at Śrīśailam<sup>2</sup>. In all these records *Bālasarasvatī* calls himself the *Vidyān* of the king's court and he seems to have held this position up to Śaka 1299, in which year he composed the Śrīśailam inscription mentioned above; for, in the next year, i.e., Śaka 1300, we find Trilōchanāchūrya figuring as the court-poet of Ana-Vēma and composing a copper-plate grant of the king.<sup>3</sup>

Attention may be drawn here to an unpublished fragmentary copper-plate inscription of Ana-Vōta recorded in the Elliot Collection of *Telugu Inscriptions*<sup>4</sup>, which furnishes us with some important facts. One of the donees figuring in it is a certain Mallu-bhaṭṭa who is called a *Vidyādihikārin*. We know that the famous poet Śrīnātha was the *Vidyādihikārin* in the court of Kōmaṭi-Vēma.<sup>5</sup> Probably he succeeded Mallu-bhaṭṭa in this office. Of the duties of a *Vidyādihikārin* nothing is known from inscriptions, but that it must have been a responsible and high office is evident from the fact that so eminent a poet as Śrīnātha held it.<sup>6</sup> Unfortunately nothing is known of his predecessor Mallu-bhaṭṭa. Another donee figuring in the Elliot Collection record is a certain Errāya-pregaḍa. His *gōtra*, however, is not mentioned as in the case of the other donees, but he is introduced in respectful terms and is stated to be a recipient of an exclusively large share of land. It is therefore likely that this person is identical with the famous poet Errā-pregaḍa, who belonged to the Śrīvatsa-gōtra and who is reputed to have completed the *Āndhra-Mahābhārataṃ* which was left unfinished by the previous authors, and who dedicated his work *Harivaṃśaṃ* to his patron Prōlaya-Vēma. A certain Redḍi-Vēma is known to have granted several *agrahānas* to Vennalaganṭi Sūranna.<sup>7</sup> The late Rao Bahadur Viresalingam Pantulu who identifies this Redḍi-Vēma with Prōlaya-Vēma believes that Sūranna could not have had a place in Vēma's court as long as Errā-pregaḍa held his position there; and therefore, in as much as Sūranna was patronised by Redḍi-Vēma, Errā-pregaḍa must have died during the time of Prōlaya himself.<sup>8</sup> This supposition of the author is untenable, as instances of more than one poet patronised by kings in their courts are not uncommon. The present reference to the poet is therefore important in establishing that he lived in the court of Ana-Vōta also. Besides the *Mahābhārataṃ* and the *Harivaṃśaṃ*, Errā-pregaḍa is the author of two other works, the *Rāmāyaṇaṃ*, and the *Nṛsiṃhapurāṇaṃ*, of which he dedicated the former to Mallā, a brother of Prōlaya-Vēma and the latter, known also as the *Ahōbala-māhātmyaṃ*, to the

<sup>1</sup> A. R. on S. I. Epigraphy for 1922-23, App. A, No. 9.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* for 1915, App. C, No. 20.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. III, p. 59.

<sup>4</sup> Vol. I, p. 296, kindly brought to my notice by Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, M.A., Ph.D., of the Madras University.

<sup>5</sup> Mr. V. Prabhakara Śāstri writes, in his *Śrīnāthārīnāthaṃ* (p. 52), that *Bālasarasvatī* held the position of the *Vidyādihikārin* in the courts of Ana-Vōta and Ana-Vēma. But in no inscription of his composition does the poet call himself a *Vidyādihikārin* like his other contemporary Mallu-bhaṭṭa or the famous Śrīnātha.

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol. XI, p. 316, fn. 2.

<sup>7</sup> Jakkana's *Vikramārka-charitaṃ*, 1, 62.

<sup>8</sup> Complete Works of Rao Bahadur K. Viresalingam Pantulu, Telugu Poets, Vol. X, part-1, p. 172.

god Narasimha, the presiding deity of Ahobalam, the well-known place of pilgrimage in the Kurnool District.

The chief interest of the present grant lies in the fact that it is the only copper-plate inscription<sup>1</sup> of the king so far discovered. Stone inscriptions of Ana-Vöta known till now number only five and range in date from Saka 1275 to 1283<sup>2</sup>. The earliest date known for his father Prölaya-Vëma is Saka 1254,<sup>3</sup> and an inscription from Mallavaram in the Ongole taluk of the Guntur (formerly Nellore) District gives for him the Saka year 12[7]7, which, if correct, would be his latest date.<sup>4</sup> But the reading of the latter date appears to be wrong for reasons cited in the foot-note below and may have to be equated with Saka 1267.<sup>5</sup> An inscription of this king from Tripurantakam is dated in Saka 1268<sup>6</sup> and this is the latest date so far known for him. His son Ana-Vöta also figures in this record, probably as the crown-prince. That he was a *yuvarāja* in his father's reign is referred to in a verse in *Harivamśamu* also.<sup>7</sup> He may therefore be presumed to have succeeded his father some time between Saka 1268 and Saka 1275. The record bearing the Saka date 1283 quoted above refers to the reconstruction of the Amāreśvara temple at Dharānikōṭa by Vëma-Chāmūpati, the son of Mallinātha who was the minister of Ana-Vöta. As the renovation was made for the increase of the life, health and prosperity of Ana-Vöta, it may be reasonably presumed that he was ruling in Saka 1283. His defeat at the hands of Mādā and Ana-Vöta, sons of Śiṅga, a general, probably, of the Kākatiya king Pratāparudra, is referred to in the *Velugōṭivāri-Vaṁśāvali*, and this incident has been assigned to Saka 1283.<sup>8</sup> Ana-Vëma is said to have succeeded his brother Ana-Vöta after the latter's death.<sup>9</sup> We do not know of any record of Ana-Vëma earlier than Saka 1293.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The only other copper-plate grant of this king known to us is that given in the Elliot Collection mentioned already, but its whereabouts are not now known.

<sup>2</sup> The five records referred to above are (1) *Nellore Inscriptions*, Part III, p. 1037. This record, dated in Saka 1275, is included in Rangacharya's *Topographical List of Inss.* (Guntur No. 405) and it refers to Ana-Vöta's minister Mallinātha on whose death his brother made some grants. (2) No. 185 of 1905 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection, dated in Saka 1278. (3 and 4) Nos. 601 and 602 of 1909, both dated in Saka 1280 and (5) No. 258 of 1897. Another record (No. 250 of 1905) dated in Saka 1269 belongs to the reign of Annama Reddi. This has been assigned to Ana-Vöta by Sewell and Krishnāswami Ayyangar (*Historical Inscriptions of Southern India*, p. 191). But it is reasonable to ascribe it to Anna, a younger brother of Prölaya-Vëma, since the date falls within the period of the latter's rule.

<sup>3</sup> No. 340 of 1915 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

<sup>4</sup> *Nellore Inscriptions*, Part III, Ongole 73.

<sup>5</sup> The eclipse is stated to have occurred at the end of (the month) Āśvina. It must therefore have been an eclipse of the Sun (*aḥimāṁśu*, not *himāṁśu*, i.e., Moon, as understood by Butterworth and Venugopala Chetty, *ibid.*, p. 1025). According to the *Indian Ephemeris* the details given in the inscription, viz., *Āśvinaṁśu-āvaṁśānē rāhu-grastē-himāṁśau sura-guru-divasē*; i.e., the ending of Āśvina, solar eclipse, Thursday, agree regularly for the Saka year 1267 (current) = A. D. 1344, October 7, Thursday, on which day there was a solar eclipse. In calculating the above date, the months have to be counted as *amānta* ones as it is the system adopted in South India. The word *vārdhī* in the chronogram *śaila-vārdhī-dyumanī* as read by the authors mentioned above has therefore to be altered suitably by some such word as *tarkka* to give us the numeral 6 in place of 7, and the chronogram equated with 1267.

<sup>6</sup> No. 191 of 1905.

<sup>7</sup> Ka || Vitāta-yuvarāja-vibhavaṁ-

nata Pōṭhya-sainyanātha nāya-mārgga samī-

hitā-santata-sēva-vila-

sita-putrā śrisamiddhā śivagaṇa-siddhā ||

(*Harivamśamu*, Part II, Canto 9, v. 260.)

<sup>8</sup> Above, Vol. VIII, p. 12.

<sup>9</sup> Above, Vol. XXI, p. 270.

<sup>10</sup> A. R. on S. I. *Epigraphy* for 1922-23, App. A, No. 9.

which date is nearly a decade later than Ana-Vōta's supposed defeat in Śaka 1283. Whether Ana-Vōta's reign ceased with his defeat at the hands of Śiṅga's sons, and his brother succeeded to the throne forthwith, we must leave for future discovery of fresh records to decide.

A few details about this king gathered from the Elliot Collection record referred to already<sup>1</sup> may be added here. The inscription begins, as usual, with the genealogy of the Redḍi chiefs commencing with Prōla and his sons Mācha, Vēma, Doḍḍa, Anna and Malla by his wife Annamāmbā. Here Vēma's two sons Ana-Vōta and Ana-Vēma are mentioned and the former's exploits recounted. His conquests are said to have extended as far as the banks of the rivers Kṛishṇā and Gautamī, a fact which is corroborated by a verse in the *Viṣṇupurāṇamu* which refers to the defeat by Ana-Vōta of a certain Rāvutu-Kōśa on the banks of the Kṛishṇā before the very eyes of god Amarēśvara.<sup>2</sup> Ana-Vēma associates himself in this inscription with his brother Ana-Vōta in endowing lands to more than 180 Brāhmanas, amongst whom, besides the *Viḍyādhikārin* Mallu-bhaṭṭa already mentioned, the mention of Erraya-pregaḍa is of particular interest. Ana-Vēma, it must be noted, is here called Ana-Vēma-Bhūpati Mahārāju (the wording in the inscription is : *yī rāju tammunḍu Ana-Vēma-Bhūpati Mahārāju*). The date of this inscription is unfortunately lost; but it must have been executed some time prior to Śaka 1293, which is the earliest year known for Ana-Vēma, the successor of Ana-Vōta.

Of the place-names mentioned in the inscription under publication the following, viz., Saṅkanipalli, Vinnakōṭa, Kanumerla, Poṭṭipāḍu and Kalavapūmḍi, may be identified respectively with the modern Saṅkarshaṇapuram, Vinnakōṭa, Kanumerla, Poṭṭipāḍu and Kaluvapūḍi—all in the Guḍivāḍa taluk of the Kistna District. *Gurumājakōḍu* may possibly be identical with Guṇṭa-Kōḍūru. The other villages, viz., Rājināyini Pālaparti, Kṛiṅkulamirtti or Kṛiṅkulamirru, Pālakōḍu, and Pulipāḍu, I am unable to identify. Alliguṇṭa may be a pond and Aluka-pannāsa, probably a field. Dāṅkēru and Vannēru must be two local streams. The village Kōḍūru is said to be situated on the banks of the Malāpahā; but there is no stream of this name anywhere in this locality now. The Drujjavaram grant of Ana-Vēma (Śaka 1293) refers to this river as situated in Kurtti-dēśa and the grant village Drujjavaram *alias* Anna-Vēmapuramas situated on the banks of this stream.<sup>3</sup> Drujjavaram is evidently the modern Juḷhavaram, which is 12 miles south west of Kōḍūru. Both these villages are situated close to the present Pullēru canal, which appears to be the present representative of the river Malāpahā referred to in the above copper-plate records.

A list of the donees is appended hereto in a tabular form specifying in each case the *gōtra* and the *śākhā* to which they belonged, as well as the shares of land which they received.

No.	Name of the donee.	Gōtra.	Vēda or Śākhā.	No. of shares.	Remarks.
1	Vissayārya . . . . .	Harita . . . . .	Yajus . . . . .	2	
2	Smggayārya . . . . .	Do. . . . .	Do. . . . .	2	
3	Sūrayārya . . . . .	Do. . . . .	Do. . . . .	2	
4	Dēvayārya . . . . .	Do. . . . .	Do. . . . .	2	

<sup>1</sup> See fn. 4, p. 138.

<sup>2</sup> *Andhra Viṣṇupurāṇamu* by Sūraṇa, Āśvāsa I, v. 22.

<sup>3</sup> *A. R. on S. I. Epigraphy* for 1922-23, App. A, No. 15.

No.	Name of the donee.	Gōtra.	Vēda or Śākhā.	No. of shares.	Remarks.
5	Gaṁggayārya . . . . .	Harita . . . . .	Yajus . . . . .	2	
6	Mādhava-dvivēdi . . . . .	Do. . . . .	Do. . . . .	1	
7	Annayārya . . . . .	Do. . . . .	Do. . . . .	1	
8	Annayārya . . . . .	Do. . . . .	Rig. . . . .	2	
9	Mādhavārya . . . . .	Bhāradvāja . . . . .	Yajus . . . . .	2	
10	Siṁggayārya . . . . .	Do. . . . .	Do. . . . .	1	
11	Lakṣṭhayārya . . . . .	Do. . . . .	Do. . . . .	1	
12	Appayārya . . . . .	Do. . . . .	Do. . . . .	1	
13	Tallaya-daivajña . . . . .	Do. . . . .	Do. . . . .	1	
14	Allāḍa-bhaṭṭa . . . . .	Do. . . . .	Do. . . . .	1	
15	Allāḍanātha . . . . .	Do. . . . .	Do. . . . .	1	
16	Vallabhārya . . . . .	Do. . . . .	Do. . . . .	1	
17	Erapōta-bhaṭṭa . . . . .	Do. . . . .	Do. . . . .	1	
18	Chamuḍayārya . . . . .	Do. . . . .	Rig. . . . .	2	
19	Rāmārya . . . . .	Śrīvatsa . . . . .	Yajus . . . . .	2	
20	Appale-bhaṭṭa . . . . .	Do. . . . .	Do. . . . .	2	
21	Chāṁchayārya . . . . .	Do. . . . .	Do. . . . .	1	
22	Appayārya . . . . .	Do. . . . .	Do. . . . .	1	
23	Errayārya . . . . .	Do. . . . .	Do. . . . .	1	
24	Prōlayārya . . . . .	Do. . . . .	Do. . . . .	1	
25	Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭa . . . . .	Do. . . . .	Rig. . . . .	1	
26	Māchayārya . . . . .	Do. . . . .	Yajus . . . . .	2	
27	Bhāskarārya . . . . .	Kauṇḍinya . . . . .	Do. . . . .	1½	
28	Mādhavārya . . . . .	Do. . . . .	Do. . . . .	1	
29	Gaṁgādhārārya . . . . .	Do. . . . .	Do. . . . .	1	
30	Brahmadēva . . . . .	Do. . . . .	Do. . . . .	1	
31	Siṁggayārya . . . . .	Do. . . . .	Do. . . . .	1	
32	Appayārya . . . . .	Do. . . . .	Do. . . . .	1	
33	Sarasvati-bhaṭṭa . . . . .	Do. . . . .	Do. . . . .	1	
34	Maṁchchenārya . . . . .	Do. . . . .	Do. . . . .	1	
35	Dēvayārya . . . . .	Kāśyapa . . . . .	Rig. . . . .	2½	
36	Ayyalu-bhaṭṭa . . . . .	Do. . . . .	Do. . . . .	2	



No.	Name of the donee.	Ġētra.	Vēda or Śākhā	No. of shares.	Remarks.
37	Sōmaya-bhaṭṭa . . . . .	Kāśyapa . . . . .	Rig. . . . .	1	Kāṇva-śākh- ādhyāyī.
38	Nilakamṭhārya . . . . .	Do. . . . .	Do. . . . .	1	
39	Peddanārya . . . . .	Do. . . . .	Yajus . . . . .	1	
40	Annamārya . . . . .	Do. . . . .	Do. . . . .	2	
41	Viśvēśvara-bhaṭṭa . . . . .	Do. . . . .	Do. . . . .	1	
42	Appayārya . . . . .	Śāṇḍilya . . . . .	Do. . . . .	1	
43	Nāgayārya . . . . .	Do. . . . .	Do. . . . .	1	
44	Siṅggayārya . . . . .	Do. . . . .	Do. . . . .	1	
45	Mādhavārya . . . . .	Do. . . . .	Do. . . . .	1	
46	Appayārya . . . . .	Do. . . . .	Do. . . . .	1	
47	Nārāyanārya . . . . .	Do. . . . .	Do. . . . .	1 <sup>1</sup>	
48	Narahari-bhaṭṭa . . . . .	Vasiṣṭha . . . . .	Rig. . . . .	2 <sup>1</sup>	
49	Narasimha-jyautishika . . . . .	Do. . . . .	Do. . . . .	2	
50	Sūrayārya . . . . .	Rathitara . . . . .	Yajus . . . . .	2	
51	Vallabhārya . . . . .	Do. . . . .	Do. . . . .	1	
52	Suṅgayārya . . . . .	Gautama . . . . .	Do. . . . .	1	
53	Māchayārya . . . . .	Do. . . . .	Do. . . . .	1	
54	Jiyyanārya . . . . .	.. . . .	Rig. . . . .	1	
55	Perumāṇḍi-bhaṭṭa . . . . .	Kauśika . . . . .	Yajus . . . . .	1	
56	Mārayārya . . . . .	Do. . . . .	Do. . . . .	1	
57	Maṁchenārya . . . . .	Maitrēya . . . . .	Do. . . . .	2	
58	Tippayārya . . . . .	Bhārgava . . . . .	Do. . . . .	1 <sup>c</sup>	
59	Gōpāla-bhaṭṭa . . . . .	Vishnuvardhana . . . . .	Rig. . . . .	1 <sup>f</sup>	
60	Vāmaya-bhaṭṭa . . . . .	Kāṇva . . . . .	Do. . . . .	1	
61	Mallayārya . . . . .	Gārgya . . . . .	Yajus . . . . .	2	

TEXT.<sup>1</sup>

[Metres:—Vv. 1, 7 and 9, *Vasantatīlāḥ*; vv. 2, 5, 6 and 8, *Upajāti*; vv. 3 and 4, *Indrayāri*; vv. 10-13, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; vv. 14-18, *Anuṣṭubh*.]

## First Plate; First Side

1 Pāyōd=Varāha-vapushaḥ paramasya puṁsō daṁśhtrā jagamṭti(ti) śi-  
2 kharē dharaṇīm dadhānā [\*] [śrī]m-g-āgrabhāga-parichumbita-mēgha-bi-

<sup>1</sup> From original plates.

- 3 m̐bā saṁlakshyamāṇa-susham=ēva śaśāṁka-rēkhā || [1\*] Tamō ha-  
 4 rētām tava pushpavam̐ttau(vantau) rākāsu pūrvv-āpara-śaila-bhājau [|\*] rath-  
 āṁgga(ga)-lilā-  
 5 m=iva darśayam̐ttau(tau) purā Purārēḥ prīdhi(thi)vī-radha(tha)sya || [2\*] Pād-āraviṁ-  
 6 dād=Araviṁdanābhēr=gGaṁg=ēva puṇyā ghana-jivana-śrīḥ | jāt=ābbijātā śatadhā  
 7 vibhinnā jātis=chaturthī jagatām hitāya || [3\*] Tasyām=abhūt=Prōlaya-Vēma-  
 8 nāmā Śrīśaila-sōpāna-vidā(dhā)na-śāli | Hēmādrī-kalp-ōḍita-dāna-dakshō nis-si-

*First Plate ; Second Side.*

- 9 ma-bhū-dāna-nirūḍha-kīrtiḥ || [4\*] Vēma-kshitiśō vṛisham=ēka-pādaṁ khamja-prachāraṁ  
 10 Kali-kāla-dōshāt | datt-āgrahāra-dvija-vēda-śaktyā pada-kramair=askhalitām chakāra || [5\*]  
 11 Dharmātmaḥ Dāsarathīḥ Prithuś=chatyudīryya<sup>1</sup>māṇāni yugāṁtta(ta)rēshu | vitarka-  
 12 yē Vēma-narēśvarasya puṇyāni nāmāni purātanāni || [6\*] Yat-kīrtti-gāna-sa-  
 13 mayē phaṇi-sundarīnām=ālōkitūṁ cha mukha-rāgam=anaṁga-  
 14 mūlam | śrōtūṁ cha gīta-rachanām yugapan=na dakshō nāg-ādhipō na saha-  
 15 tē nayana-śrutitvaṁ(tvam) || [7\*] Saṁgrāma-Pārtta(ttha)sya śarair=vvibhinnā yasy=  
 āri-chū-  
 16 ḍāmanayō vichēluḥ || (l) ākrāmatas=saṁyati rāja-varṁśān<sup>2</sup> pratāpa-vahnē

*Second Plate ; First Side.*

- 17 r=iva viṣphulim̐gāḥ || [8\*] Tasmāch=cha Vēma-nripatēr=udayād=iv=ādrēr=jātau pratāpa-  
 vara-kā-  
 18 rntti(ti)-nidhī kumārau | sūry-ēṁdu-tulya-mahasāv=Ana-Vōta-bhūpa[h\*] śrīy-Anna-Vē-  
 19 ma-nripatir=jaga-raksha-pālāḥ || [9\*] Vira-śrīy-Ana-Vōta-bhūtala-patēr=ggaṁbhīra-bhērī-  
 ravaiḥ śa-  
 20 trūṇām hṛidayēshu saṁgga(ga)ra-mukhē bhinnēshu pūrvam̐ rasam̐(sam) | yad=vī-  
 21 ram̐ nirakāsayat(d)=bhaya-rasō vēgāt kutō=py=ūgatō yuktaṁ prākta-  
 22 nam=ambu nirggamayati pratyagram=aty-ūrjitam̐(tam) || [10\*] Yadhiklāṭishu<sup>3</sup> virōdhi-rā-  
 23 ja-nilayē yōdh-ālayē yōjitō vaḥniḥ kalpita-hēma-kutṭima-ghana-syam̐-  
 24 da-sphulim̐g-ōjva(jjva)lah | Hēmādrēr=iva bhūmikām kalayati prauḍhaḥ pratāp-ō-

*Second Plate ; Second Side.*

- 25 shmaṇā sa-pratyam̐tta(ta)girēḥ sa-hēmasaritaḥ saṁvyāpta-tār-āvalēḥ || [11\*] Yasy=ārīn  
 kuliś-  
 26 dhvaniṁ kalayatō dhātīshu bhērī-ravam̐ nāmāni drutam=Arjunassa<sup>4</sup> japatas=saṁgrāma-  
 27 Gāṁdivinaḥ | saṁgrām-ōpapaḍāni tāni bhavatām rakshā-kpītē sarvvadā varnyam̐ttām(tām)=i-  
 28 ti bōdhayam̐ty=adhipatin dhī-yam̐trīṇōmam̐trīṇaḥ. || [12\*] Śāk-ābdō-gagan-ēbha-sū-  
 29 rya-gaṇitō.Paushasya darśē tidhau(thau) Bhūsūnōr=divasē him-ētara-ruochaḥ  
 puṇy-ōpa-  
 30 rāg-āṁtta(ta)rē | grāmaṁ prādīśad=Anna-Vōta-nripatīḥ Kōḍūru-nām-āṁkki(ki)taṁ  
 31 s-āshṭ-aiśvaryaṁ=ashṭa-bhōga-sahitam̐ bhūḍevatābhyō mudā || [13\*] Malāpah[ā]-  
 32 nadi-tīrē viprēbhyah̐ pratipāditam̐(tam) | Annavōtapuram̐ nāmāni jayaty=ā-chandra-  
 tā-

<sup>1</sup> Read =ch=ēty=udīryya°.

<sup>2</sup> Read =vam̐śyān.

<sup>3</sup> Read yaḍ-dhātīshu.

<sup>4</sup> Read =Arjunasya.

*Third Plate ; First Side.*

- 33 rakam(kam) || [14\*] Asya grāmasya pratigrāhītārāḥ || Haritagōtrāḥ | Vissayāryaḥ |  
 Siṃggayā-  
 34 ryaḥ | Sūrayāryaḥ | Dēvayāryaḥ | Gaṃggayāryaḥ | ētē pañcha pratyēkam dvi-  
 bhāgināḥ |  
 35 Mādhava-dvivēdī | Annayāryaḥ | ētē dvādaśa Yajuh-śākḥ-ādhyāyinaḥ | Annayāryaḥ ..  
 36 dvi-bhagī Rīg-vēdī | Bhāradvāja-gōtrāḥ Mādhavāryaḥ dvi-bhagī | Siṃggayāryaḥ |  
 37 Lakkhayaṛyaḥ | Appayāryaḥ | Tallaya-daivajñāḥ | Allāḍa-bhaṭṭaḥ | Allāḍanāthaḥ |  
 38 Vallabhāryaḥ | Erapōta-bhaṭṭaḥ | ētē daśa Yajuh-śākḥ-ādhyāyinaḥ | Chamuḍayā-  
 39 ryaḥ | dvi-bhagī | Rīg-vēdī | Śrīvatsa-gōtrāḥ Rāmāyāryaḥ dvi-bhagī | Appale-  
 bhaṭṭaḥ |  
 40 dvi-bhagī | Chāṃchayāryaḥ | Appayāryaḥ | Erayāryaḥ | Prōlayāryaḥ | ētē  
 aṣṭa

*Third Plate ; Second Side.*

- 41 Yajuh-śākḥ-ādhyāyinaḥ | Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭaḥ Rīg-vēdī | Māchayāryaḥ pād-ō-  
 42 na-bhagī | Yajur-vvēdī | Kaumḍinya-gōtrāḥ | Bhāskarāryaḥ s-ārdhdha(ārdha)-bhagī |  
 Mādhavāryaḥ | Gaṃgādha(ḍha)-  
 43 rāryaḥ | Brahma-dēvaḥ | Siṃgayāryaḥ | Appayāryaḥ | Sarasvatī-bhaṭṭaḥ |  
 Mañchenāryaḥ | ētē  
 44 Yajuh-śākḥ-ādhyāyinaḥ | Kāśyapa-gōtrāḥ | Dēvayāryaḥ s-ārdhdha(ārdha)-dvi-  
 bhagī |  
 45 Ayyalu-bhaṭṭaḥ dvi-bhagī | Sōmaya-bhaṭṭaḥ | Nilakamṭhāryaḥ | ētē Bhurag(Rīg)-  
 vēdi-  
 46 naḥ | Peddanāryaḥ | Annamāryaḥ pād-ōna-bhagī | ētau Yajur-vvēdināu | Viśvēśvara-  
 bhaṭṭaḥ  
 47 Kāṇva-śākḥ-ādhyāyī | Śāṃḍilya-gōtrāḥ | Appayāryaḥ | Nāgayāryaḥ | Siṃgga-  
 48 yāryaḥ | Mādhavāryaḥ | Appayāryaḥ | Nārāyaṇa(nā)ryaḥ ārdhdha(ardha)-bhagī |  
 ētē Ya-

*Fourth Plate ; First Side.*

- 49 juh-śākḥ-ādhyāyinaḥ | Vasishṭha-gōtrau ||(l) Nārāhari-bhaṭṭaḥ s-ārdhdha-dvi-bhagī | Narasiṃ-  
 50 ha-jyāntishikāḥ dvi-bhagī | ētau Rīg-vēdināu | Radhī(thī)tara-gōtrau | Sūrayāryaḥ dvi-bhā-  
 51 gī | Vallabhāryaḥ [\*] ētau Yajur-vvēdināu | Gautama-gōtrau | Siṃggayāryaḥ | Māchay-  
 āryaḥ  
 52 ētau Yajur-vvēdināu | Jiyyanāryaḥ Rīg-vēdī | Kauśika-gōtrau | Perumām-  
 53 ḍi-bhaṭṭaḥ | Mārāyāryaḥ | ētau Yajur-vvēdināu | Maitrēya-gōtrāḥ Mañ-  
 54 chenāryaḥ dvi-bhagī | Yajur-vvēdī | Bhārggava-gōtrāḥ Tippayāryaḥ | Yajur-vvēdī | Vi-  
 55 shṇuvardhdhana(varddhana)-gōtrāḥ Gōpāla-bhaṭṭaḥ Rīg-vēdī | Kāṇva-gōtrāḥ Vāmāya-  
 bhaṭṭaḥ  
 56 Rīg-vēdī [1\*] Gārgya-gōtrāḥ Mallayāryaḥ pād-ōna-bhagī Yajur-vvēdī || Śrī[h][\*]

*Fourth Plate ; Second Side.*

- 57 Atha grāmasya sīmā-chihṇāni | tūrpunaku Mrānikonḍa-guṃṭa paḍumaṭi gaṭṭu-  
 58 nnu ā kuṃṭṭa dakṣhiṇapu maḍi tūrp-gaṭṭunnu dakṣhiṇa-mukhamai Dāmkēru sabi-

59 tamai ā ēṇu dāṁṭi Saṁkka(ka)ṇipalli kōḍu sīmagānu vachchi a(ā)gnēyaṁ mūla Sa-  
 60 ṁkanipalli polamēra-gaṭṭu mōchenu | dakṣiṇamunaku Vinnakōṭa polamu vāya-  
 61 vyaṁ mūla magiḍi dakṣiṇaṁ-mukhamai pōyi Alligumṭa mōchi aṭṭē pa-  
 62 ḍumara-mukhamai pōyi nairṇiti-mūla Kanumallapūṁḍi polamu mōchenu[\*]  
 63 paḍumaṭi sīma Vaṭṭūri Akka-ḍomka paḍumaṭi kara paṭṭikoni vachchi Vannēru  
 sahita-  
 64 mu-gānu Prattipāṭi polamu āgnēyaṁ mūla mōchi uttarāṁ-mukhamai

*Fifth Plate ; First Side.*

65 Naṁdi-vamppu sahitamugā vachchi Rājināyini-Pālapaṭi vellaḍi polamu mō-  
 66 chi mēditāpai Kṛiṁkulamiṭṭi polamu paḍumaṭi kara-vaṭṭukoni uttarāṁ-mukhamai  
 67 pōyi Pālakōḍu dāṁṭi uttara-mukhamai pōyi vāyavyaṁ mūla Kalu-  
 68 vapūṁḍi kara mōchenu | uttarāṁ sīma ā karē sīmagānu tūrpu mukhamai  
 69 sāgi vachchi aluka-pannāsa dakṣiṇapūṁ-gara sīmagā vachchi Vannēru mōchi  
 dakṣiṇaṁ<sup>1</sup>  
 70 mukhamai Vannēre sīmagānu Kṛiṁkulamiṭṭu Pulipāḍu sahitamugā vachchi  
 71 Gurumjakōḍu vāsina chōṭunu Vannēru dāṁṭi tūrpu-mukhamai iṣānyaṁ  
 72 mūla Mrānikomḍa polamu mōchenu || Sva-dattā[d\*]=dviguṇaṁ punyaṁ para-datt-ā-

*Fifth Plate ; Second Side.*

73 nupālanam(nē) | para-datt-āpahārēpa sva-dattam nishphalaṁ bhavēt |[ 15\*] Sva-  
 dattam para-dattam  
 74 vā yō harēta vasumddharām(rām) | shashṭim varsha-sahasrāpi viśṭhāyām jāyatē  
 kṛimih |[ 16\*]  
 75 Ēk=aiva bhaginī lōkē [sarvvēśhām=api bhūbhujām(jām) | na bhōgyā na kara-grāhyā  
 vipra-dattā vasum-  
 76 ddha(dha)rā || [17\*] Ana-Vōta-narēṁdrasya vidvān Bālasarasvatī | akarōd=ākarō  
 vūchām ni-  
 77 rmmalam dharma-sāsanaṁ(nam) || [18\*] Śivam=astu | Śrī[h] ||\*

**TRANSLATION.**

(Verse 1) May the tusk of the Boar-incarnation of the Supreme Being, bearing the earth on its extremity and looking most beautiful like the crescent which is kissed at its cusp by the clouds, protect the worlds.

(Verse 2) May the Sun and the Moon resting (*respectively*) on the western and eastern mountains during the full-moon evenings and displaying, as it were, (*their*) former act of being the wheels to the chariot, the earth, of Purāri (*i.e.*, Śiva), dispel your darkness.

(Verse 3) From the lotus feet of the lotus-navelled god (*i.e.* Viṣṇu) was born, for the good of the world, the noble fourth caste, virtuous, illustrious with rich life and divided hundredfold like the sacred Ganges rich with profuse water and split into a hundred branches.

<sup>1</sup> The *anusvāra* is written in the next line.

(Verse 4) In that (caste) was born (a king) named Prōlaya-Vēma who constructed steps to Śrīśaila (mountain), who was expert in making gifts mentioned in the work on rituals (Kalpa) by Hēmādri and whose fame was established by his gifts of limitless lands.

(Verse 5) King Vēma made the Vṛisha (lit. bull, i.e., Dharma) which was one-legged on account of the evil of the Kali age and (so) was limping in his walk, steady in its course by the power of the Vēdas (being chanted with pada and krama) by the Brāhmins to whom agrahāra (villages) had been given.

(Verse 6) I fancy that the names spoken of in other yugas such as Dharmātmaja, Dāśarathi and Prithu are the sacred old names of king Vēma (himself).

(Verse 7) When the Nāga women were chanting his (i.e., Prōlaya-Vēma's) glory, the serpent king, being unable to see the beauty of their faces, which was the root of love, and at the same time listen to the musical composition (sung by them), could not bear (the reputation of) hearing through the eyes

(Verse 8) When he attacked (the enemy) kings in fight, the crest-jewels of his foes, split by the arrows of him who was (like) Pārthu in battle, scattered about as though they were the sparks of the fire of his valour.

(Verse 9) From this king Vēma were born as from the eastern mountain, two sons (viz.), prince Ana-Vōta and prince śrī-Anna-Vēma, the protector of the world—who were the receptacles of valour and great splendour, who were equal to the Sun and the Moon in lustre.

(Verse 10) When the hearts of the enemies were broken by the deep sounds of the war-drums of king Ana-Vōta, the sentiment of fear coming from some unknown quarter drove away the spirit of heroism which was there already. It is meet that a powerful (current) of new water drives away the old water.

(Verse 11) The fire lit to the military barracks during the attacks on the palace of the enemy kings, shining with sparks that are the thick drops flowing from the pavement made of gold, looks, by the heat of its great glow, like (lit. puts on the garb of) the golden mountain (i.e., Hēmādri) which is combined with its hill ranges and the golden streams and is covered with rows of stars.

(Verse 12) The shrewd (lit. who had wisdom as their support) ministers (of the enemy kings) advise their masters, who were repeating the names of Arjuna immediately after hearing the sound of his (i.e., Ana-Vōta's) war-drums which resembled the sound of thunder, that those military titles of him who was the Arjuna on the battle-field (i.e., Ana-Vōta) should (instead) be repeated always for their protection.

(Verse 13) In the Śaka year counted by gaganā (0), vha (8), and sūrya (12), (i.e., 1280), in the month of Pausa, on a Tuesday which had the darśa (tithi)—during the solar eclipse, king Ana-Vōta gladly gave to the Brāhmins the village Kōḍūru along with the eight anśvayas and eight bhōgas.

(Verse 14) May the village by name Annavōtapuram situated on the banks of the river Malāpahā and given to the Brāhmins shine (supreme) as long as the Sun and the Moon (last).

(Lines 33 to 56) The names of the 61 donees with their gōḍras and shares are enumerated (see list on pp. 140 ff.).

(Lines 57 to 72) The boundaries of the gift village are specified in Telugu.

(Lines 72 to 77) Three imprecatory verses and a verse stating that the composer of the grant was Bālasarasvatī, the vidvān of king Ana-Vōta, are given here.

No. 14.—THREE COPPER-PLATE GRANTS FROM MAYURBHANJ.<sup>1</sup>

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## A.—Ādipur Copper-plate of Narēndrabhañjadēva.

This is a single plate measuring about 11" by 8½". It contains 41 lines of writing engraved on both sides. A circular seal, representing a full-blown lotus, is attached to the middle of the top of the plate. The seal has a diameter of 3½", and on its surface is engraved, in relief, inside a raised circular rim, the figure of a humped bull with that of a small crescent above it, and the legend 'Śrī-Narēndrabhañjadēvasya' below. There is a floral design underneath the legend. The seal bears a very close resemblance to that of Tribhuvana Mahādēvi of the Kara dynasty.<sup>2</sup>

The plate was discovered in 1927 by a Kōl peasant in course of digging a field near the village of Ādipur in the Pāñchpir Sub-division of Mayūrbhanj State, and is now preserved in the Mayūrbhanj State Museum at Bāripadā. Mr. K. C. Neogy, the Dewan of the Mayūrbhanj State, kindly sent the plate to me for decipherment, and I am editing it from the original.

The plate is in a fair state of preservation, except a small part of the reverse which is badly corroded, with the result that a few letters in the formal portion of the grant are not legible.

The alphabet belongs to the Northern type and resembles that used in the Pāla records of the tenth century A. D. It contains numerical symbols for 200, 90, 3 and 1.

The language is Sanskrit. With the exception of eleven verses, including the usual imprecatory verses, the inscription is written in prose. Some of these verses are, however, very faulty, and require addition or omission of letters to suit the requirements of the metre. The author's knowledge of Sanskrit was rather poor and there are many mistakes both in spelling and in grammar.

As regards orthography, *ḍ* and *v* are not distinguished; the *anusvāra* is represented in some cases by guttural *ṇ* (*vaṇṣe* in line 6), while the final dental *n* is represented by *anusvāra* (*śatrūṇ* in line 11, *bhūpālāṇ* in line 15). Consonants are usually doubled after *r*, but there are exceptions (*kṛmīr=bhūtrā* in line 29). Some other peculiarities seem to have been due to the ignorance of the author. Mention may be made of the use of *ś* for *s* (*āśit* in line 3, *Śmara* in line 10, *praśaktaś* in line 13, *śalila* in line 20); of *ṛi* for *r* (*kṛiyatē* in line 32, *śṛiyam* in line 34); of *i* for *ī* (*Bhātānīsah* in line 2, *āśit* in line 3, *śarīram* in line 31, *kīrtayō* in line 35); and of *u* for *ū* (*purvīa* in line 17).

As examples of the faulty knowledge of grammar may be mentioned *mānīs=tyāgīr* in line 6, *uktañ=cha ddharmā-sāstrē* in line 24, *chēta* in line 32, and *vundu=llōlām* in line 33.

The author's scanty knowledge of Sanskrit literature is best exemplified by the way in which the names of *gōtras* and *pravaras* are given in lines 17-18.

The inscription records the grant of the village **Vṛi(Bṛi)hat-Sārāi** in **Urṭti-vishaya** in **Khij-jīṅga** by king **Narēndrabhañja**, son of king **Vibhramatuṅga**, and grandson of **Kōṭṭabhañja**. At the end of the record proper, there is a sort of postscript written in smaller characters, referring to a Grant in the same district by **Mahārāja Raṇabhañjadēva**, son of **Vibhramatuṅga**, and, therefore, a brother of **Narēndrabhañja**. The date, **samvat 293**, at the end of the record, evidently refers to this latter Grant. It appears at first sight that after the inscription recording the grant of **Narēndrabhañja** was engraved on the copper-plate, a small space remained vacant,

<sup>1</sup> For the sake of convenience the historical materials in all the three Grants have been discussed together in the Introduction to A.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. e.g., the plate facing p. 425, *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. II.

and it was subsequently utilised for making a brief record of the other Grant, leading to the natural presumption, that Raṇabhañja was the younger brother of Narēndrabhañja and ruled after him. But some peculiarities in Inscription B, edited below, seem to point to the opposite conclusion.

The donee in the first Grant was Bhaṭṭaputra Śītaladēva-śarman belonging to Bahv-riṣha-*charaṇa*, Āśvalāyana-*sūkhā*, and Vatsa-*gōtra*. The donee in the other case was Bhaṭṭaputra Trivikrama.

The inscription is of great historical importance as it furnishes new materials for the reconstruction of the history of the Bhañja dynasty. The kings mentioned in it, viz., Kōṭṭabhañja, his son Vibhramatuṅga, and the two sons of the latter, viz., Narēndrabhañja and Raṇabhañja, belong to what has been called the second group of Bhañja kings by Mr. R. D. Banerji.<sup>1</sup> This group is now known to us from the following eight copper-plate grants, though Mr. Banerji knew only the first three of them.

1. Bāmangbhāṭi<sup>2</sup> plate of Raṇabhañja.<sup>3</sup>
2. Khaṇḍadēuli plate of Raṇabhañja.<sup>4</sup>
3. Bāmangbhāṭi<sup>2</sup> plate of Rājabhañja.<sup>5</sup>
4. Ukhunda plate of Prithvibhañja.<sup>6</sup>
5. Kēśari plate of Śatrubhañja<sup>6</sup> (re-edited below, C).
- 6-7. Two Ādipur copper-plates of Narēndrabhañjadēva (edited below, A and B).
8. Ādipur copper-plate of Durjayabhañjadēva.<sup>7</sup>

The first two Grants now edited (Nos. 6-7) closely resemble Nos. 1-4 and possess all the special characteristics which distinguish them from those of the other Bhañja kings.<sup>8</sup> As a matter of fact the texts of the historical portion of all these Grants (except Nos. 5 and 8) seem to have been derived from a common draft, though slight modifications have been introduced here and there. No. 5 contains some important additions which are not to be found in others, while No. 8 omits altogether the traditional account of the origin of the family.

All these records (except No. 8) begin with a reference to Virabhadra, the Ādi-Bhañja or the First Bhañja, also called Gaṇadaṇḍa. He is said to have come out of an egg of pea-hen in the hermitage called Kōṭyāśrama and was brought up by the sage Vasiṣṭha.<sup>9</sup> Only No. 5 adds a few more details, particularly that he was the lord of 88,000 villages.<sup>10</sup> All the records (except No. 8) refer next to Kōṭṭabhañja who must be regarded as the first historical king of the

<sup>1</sup> R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 178.

<sup>2</sup> The Grant is also known as Jamdāpir plate from its findspot (above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 300-1).

<sup>3</sup> Nos. 1 and 3 were originally edited by Babu Pratāpa Chandra Ghōṣa in *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XL, pp. 161ff., and subsequently re-edited by Babu Nagendranāth Vasu in the *Archaeological Survey of Mayurbhanja*, Vol. I, pp. 141ff. A stanza engraved on the pedestal of an image, now in the Khiching Museum, refers to a king called Rāyabhañja who may be the same as this king Rājabhañja (*Ann. Rep. Arch. Survey*, 1922-3, p. 128). But it contains no historical information. According to Mr. R. D. Banerji this Rāyabhañja was a different king (*Orissa*, p. 183).

<sup>4</sup> Edited by MM. H. P. Śāstri in *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. IV, p. 172.

<sup>5</sup> *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XIII, pp. 427 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 429 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Below, pp. 172 ff.

<sup>8</sup> For these characteristics cf. Banerji, *op. cit.*, p. 180. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. XII, pp. 231 ff.

<sup>9</sup> Ins. No. 8 applies some of these epithets to Raṇabhañja.

<sup>10</sup> Mr. Misra, who edits the plate, translates the passage as follows: "..... Virabhadra who formerly was busily engaged by 88,000 sages, and in view of their request Rāmadēva served him and then made him the lord of 88,000 villages". This meaning is very doubtful. The word read as 'muni' is probably 'sūnu'. Cf. C, edited below.

family known to us. The names of the successors of Kōṭṭabhañja are, however, given differently in the different plates (Nos. 1-8).

In No. 1 the genealogy is given as follows :—

Kōṭṭabhañja  
|  
Digbhañja  
|  
Raṇabhañja.

In No. 4 Raṇabhañja is said to have been born in the family of Kōṭṭabhañja, and no mention is made of Digbhañja. The son of Raṇabhañja is Prithvibhañja. The genealogy may therefore be described as follows :—

Kōṭṭabhañja  
|  
Raṇabhañja  
|  
Prithvibhañja.

No. 5 gives the following genealogy :—

Kōṭṭabhañja  
|  
Durjayabhañja  
|  
Raṇabhañja  
|  
Śatrubhañja  
|  
(yuvarāja) Narēndrabhañja.

In No. 6 the genealogy is given as follows :—

Kōṭṭabhañja  
|  
Vibhramatuṅga

Raṇabhañja.

Narēndrabhañja.

In No. 7 we find the same genealogy, though the relationship of Raṇabhañja with the other kings is not clearly stated.

No. 8 gives us the following genealogy :—

Mahārājādhīrāja Raṇabhañja  
|  
Vibhramatuṅga  
|  
(yuvarāja) Kōṭṭabhañja.

The genealogies given in Nos. 2 and 3 have been interpreted differently and a short discussion is necessary to explain the different points of view.

No. 2 mentions Kōṭṭabhañja, his son Digbhañja, and the latter's son Raṇabhañja, and so far it agrees with No. 1. But after Raṇabhañja it adds two more names in the following passage : *tasya ch=ō(au)payī(i)k-ātmajaḥ śrī-Prithvibhañja-suta-śrī-Narēndrabhañjadēvō bhūtaḥ*. In addition to the two emendations noted within brackets, MM. H. P. Śāstri, who edited the record, made a further emendation by omitting the *visarga* in 'ātmajaḥ'. He, therefore, translated the passage as follows :—

“ His reputed son Prithvibhañja, whose son Narēndrabhañja was born. ”



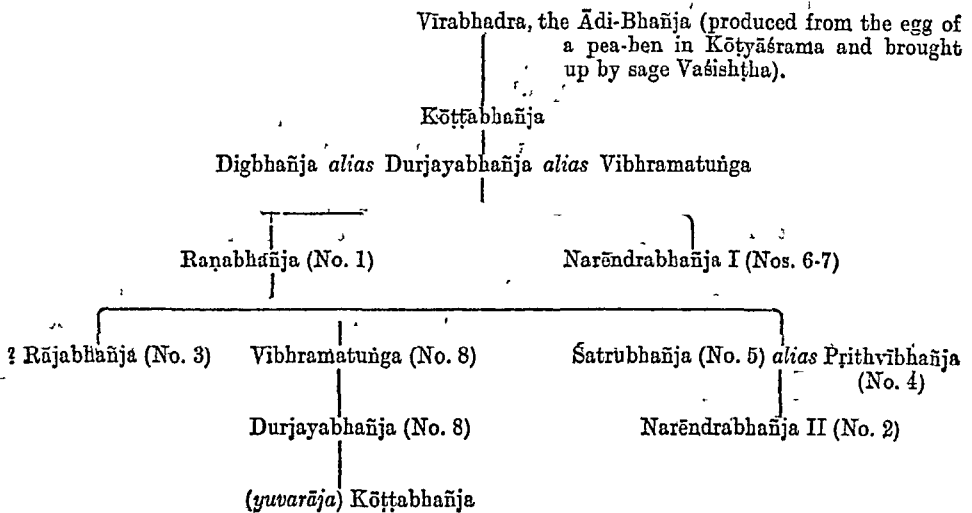


At first sight, the different genealogical accounts seem to be hopelessly conflicting and any attempt to reconcile them may justly be regarded as a vain and fruitless task. But there are some points of agreement in the majority of records which might give us a clue to the ultimate solution of the problem.

All the records are unanimous, firstly, in their accounts of the origin of the founder of the family, Virabhadra, from the egg of a pea-hen in the hermitage of Vāśiṣṭha known as Kōṭyāsrama; and secondly, in regarding Kōṭṭabhañja as the first historical ruler. Here the unanimity ends. But with the exception of Nos. 3 and 4 all the other records represent Raṇabhañja as the grandson of Kōṭṭabhañja, and as the statement in No. 4 is not in conflict with this view, we may accept it as an established fact. The name of the father of Raṇabhañja is given as Digbhañja in Nos. 1 and 2, Durjayabhañja in No. 5, and Vibhramatuṅga in No. 6. There would thus appear to be three different kings bearing the same name Raṇabhañja. But on the other hand we should remember that all of them ruled in Khijjiṅga, and all of them evidently were contemporaries, being grandsons of the same king. This is specifically proved in respect of two of them as they issued Grants in the years 288 (No. 1) and 293 (No. 6). Three grandsons of the same king, bearing the same name, and ruling in the same locality at the same time (or at least within a few years of each other), may not be theoretically impossible, but must be regarded as very unusual indeed. We may, therefore, reasonably infer the identity of the three kings bearing the name Raṇabhañja. This would imply also the identity of Digbhañja, Durjayabhañja and Vibhramatuṅga, though it must be regarded as very unusual that the same king should have been referred to by three different names in the official records of the family.

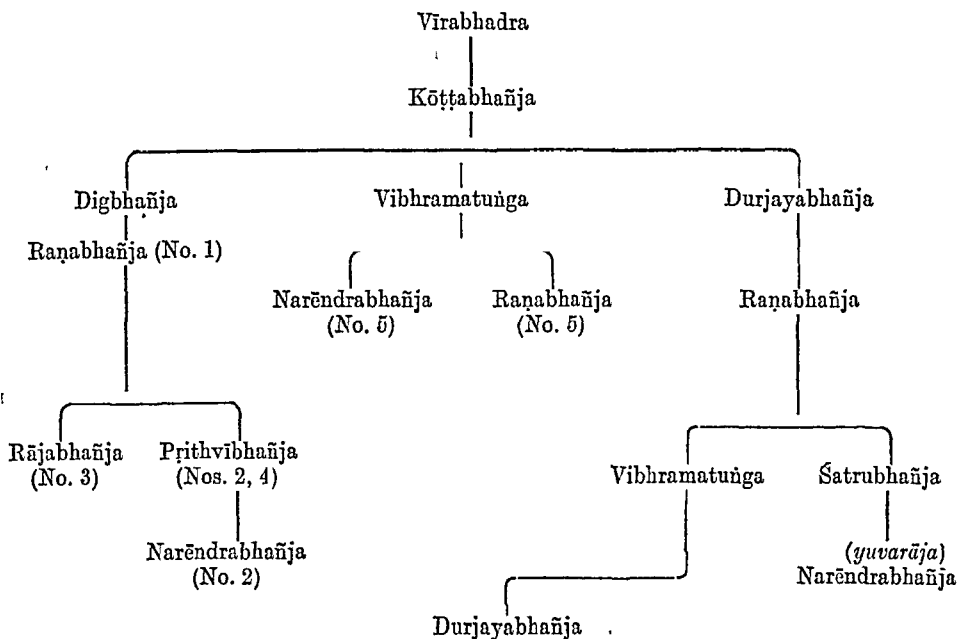
Then, again, according to MĀ. Śāstri's interpretation of No. 2, Raṇabhañja had a son (*aupayika* or reputed) named Prithvibhañja and the latter's son was Narēndrabhañja. Now No. 4 confirms the first part of the statement, viz., that Raṇabhañja had a son called Prithvibhañja, and No. 5, the second part of the statement, viz., that he had a grandson called Narēndrabhañja. No. 5, however, gives Śatrubhañja as the name of the father of Narēndrabhañja, and the only way of reconciling Nos. 2, 4, and 5 is to identify Śatrubhañja with Prithvibhañja.

On the basis of the above hypotheses we may draw up the genealogy of the family tentatively as follows :—



Although this genealogy of the family cannot be regarded as finally settled, the above represents, I believe, the most reasonable inference that can be drawn from the data at present available to us.

If we reject the proposed identifications, and treat the kings with different names as so many different persons, the resulting genealogy would be as follows :—



It is unnecessary to discuss here the history of the other Bhañja kings known from copper-plate grants; no connection or relationship between them and the Bhañja kings discussed above has yet been established. The late Rai Bahadur Hiralal upheld the view that all the known Bhañja kings belonged to one single family,<sup>1</sup> but this theory has been shown to be untenable by Mr. R. D. Banerji<sup>2</sup> and Mr. C. C. Das Gupta.<sup>3</sup>

As to the status of these kings, the late Mr. R. D. Banerji laid much stress on the fact that the kings of this group bore no royal titles. "The absence of any title", says Mr. Banerji, "at a time when even petty kings had assumed the imperial titles of the Gupta period, is extremely significant. It proves that the second group of Bhañja kings were subordinates to some higher power".<sup>4</sup> The title *Mahārāja* applied to Raṇabhañja in the two Grants (Nos. 6, 7) edited below, and the title *Mahārājādhirāja* applied to the same king (or another king of the same name) in Ins. No. 8, prove the erroneous character of Mr. Banerji's assumption. For he himself concluded, from the assumption of the title *Mahārāja* by Raṇabhañja of the first group, that he was an independent king.<sup>5</sup> And we may, equally presume that Raṇabhañja of the second group

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 286.

<sup>2</sup> *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 179.

<sup>3</sup> *Annals, Bh. Or. Res. Ins.*, Vol. XII, pp. 231 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 181. Dr. H. C. Ray also holds the same view, cf. *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. I, p. 423.

<sup>5</sup> *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 166.

was also an independent king. Indeed in this respect the fact that a ruler issues land grants with a distinctive royal seal of his own is a far stronger evidence in support of his status as a *de facto* independent ruler than mere assumption of royal or imperial titles. It would be more reasonable, therefore, to regard the Bhañja kings, who issued royal charters with their own seals, as independent rulers, at least for all practical purposes, irrespective of the question whether they assumed royal and imperial titles or not.

The Grant No. 5 refers to Virabhadra as *Chakravarti-samah* or 'like an emperor', gives the titles '*Mahāmaṇḍal-ādhipati-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara*' to Śatrubhañjadēva, and calls him the lord of eighty-eight thousand (villages). This is also an indication of the power and independence of the Bhañja kings of this group.

As to the period when these kings flourished we have two specific dates of Raṇabhañja, viz., Samvat 288 (No. 1) and Samvat 293<sup>1</sup> (No. 6). The era to which these dates are to be referred is not easy to determine. Mr. B. C. Mazumdar held that the alphabets of the records could not be earlier than the tenth century A.D., and referred the year 288 to the Gāṅga Era, which began according to him in 778 A.D.<sup>2</sup> This view was accepted by Mr. R. D. Banerji<sup>3</sup> and Mr. C. C. Das Gupta.<sup>4</sup> Many scholars, however, now hold that the epoch of the Gāṅga Era is to be placed in the sixth century A.D. or at the close of the fifth century A.D.<sup>5</sup> Accordingly, king Raṇabhañja has to be placed towards the close of the eighth or in the ninth century A.D. Mr. Binayak Misra refers the date to the Harsha Era.<sup>6</sup> That would place Raṇabhañja towards the close of the ninth century A.D. The palaeographic evidence, as noted above, does not militate against this view.<sup>7</sup>

Assuming that the Harsha era was used, the date of the present Grant would be A.D. 899, and Raṇabhañja must have been on the throne during the years 894-899 A.D. The rule of the Bhañja dynasty of Mayūrbhanj from Kōṭṭabhañja to Narēndrabhañja II may thus be placed between 850 and 950 A.D.

Utkala or Orissa was conquered by Dēvapāla in the first half of the ninth century A.D. This must have brought about the political disintegration of the kingdom, and as soon as the Pāla power was weakened by the middle of the ninth century A.D., local feudal chiefs found a good opportunity to carve out independent kingdoms for themselves. The rise of the Bhañja family to power may be explained in this way.

The Capital of these kings was undoubtedly Khijjiṅga, modern Khiching (situated about ninety miles to the west of Bāripadā the present Capital of Mayūrbhanj) which contains extensive ruins and has yielded a large number of fine medieval sculptures. All the Grants, except Nos. 5 and 8, refer to Khijjiṅga as the place of residence of the king. The village granted in No. 5 is situated in Urtti-*vishaya*, and this district, according to the present Grant, was included in

<sup>1</sup> The numerical symbol used to denote 200 is 'lu'. Kielhorn, in his *List of Northern Inscriptions*, expressed a doubt about the correctness of this interpretation (Above, Vol. V, App. p. 88, n. 6). Buhler's chart, however, gives the value 200 for the symbol (Pl. IX, Col. XVIII). Subsequently, Kielhorn also changed his view and took the symbol as denoting 200 (Above, Vol. VI, p. 134). This is now generally accepted (*History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 181).

<sup>2</sup> *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. II, p. 361.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 181.

<sup>4</sup> *Annals, Bh. Or. Res. Ins.*, Vol. XII, p. 245.

<sup>5</sup> *Indian Culture*, Vol. IV, pp. 171 ff.; *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. V, pp. 272-4; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXI (1932), p. 237.

<sup>6</sup> *I. H. Q.*, Vol. XIII, p. 427. Mr. Misra says that this was also the view of Kielhorn. He does not, however, give any reference, and I cannot find any in support of this statement.

<sup>7</sup> Buhler in his *Palaeographic Chart* places the alphabet of the Bāmaṅghāṭi Ins. of Raṇabhañja in the 9th century A.D. (Plate IX, Col. XVIII).

Khijjiṅga (*Khijjiṅga-matibaddha*). The villages granted by the records seem to indicate that the kingdom of this group of Bhañja kings corresponded roughly to the present states of Mayūrbhanj and Keonjhar which are still ruled by chiefs bearing names ending in Bhañja. The name Mayūrabhañja undoubtedly preserves the tradition that the Bhañja family originated from the egg of a *mayūri* (pea-hen), and the legends that the ancestor was born out of an egg of pea-hen and nursed by the sage Vaśiṣṭha are to be found in the records of the present ruling family.<sup>1</sup> It is, therefore, very probable that the present Bhañja chiefs are descended from the group of Bhañja kings referred to above.

An attempt has been made to connect this Bhañja family with the famous Maurya clan, and even to identify Virabhadra, the traditional founder of the family, with the Maurya emperor Chandragupta. The suggestion which rests mainly on the following grounds was first made by Mr B. Misra while editing No. 5<sup>2</sup> (re-edited below as C.).

1. The *Mayūra*-origin of the family really indicates an association with the Moriya clan, Moriya being the Prākṛit form of *Mayūra*.<sup>3</sup>

2. According to the Pāli *Mahāvagga*, the dominion of Bimbisāra embraced 80,000 townships. It is needless to say that the same dominion was included in the empire of Chandragupta. Evidently the lordship of Virabhadra over 88,000 villages (as recorded in No. 5) has some similarity with that of Chandragupta.

3. *Gaṇadaṇḍa*, the epithet of Virabhadra, means Republican Chief and signifies one whose army consisted of individuals combined for a definite object. If taken in this sense, Virabhadra may be supposed to have raised an army as Chandragupta did to overthrow the Nanda dynasty.

The arguments are wholly unconvincing. As regards the first, it refers merely to a totemic conception, and we need not necessarily find any historical allusion in it unless there are other valid grounds for doing so. As regards the second, the inference rests palpably on a very weak foundation. As to the third, *Gaṇadaṇḍa* has been interpreted by Rai Bahadur Hiralal as an officer of some *Gaṇa* or Hindu Republic. He takes it to be an abbreviated form of *Gaṇadaṇḍa-nāyaka* or *Gaṇa-daṇḍapāla*, i.e., either a minister or a commander of army.<sup>4</sup> There is no justification for going further beyond this.

Of the localities mentioned in the inscription other than Khijjiṅga, *Kōṭyāśrama*, the reputed hermitage of Vaśiṣṭha where Virabhadra was born, has been identified with Kuting, thirty-two miles from Bāripadā.<sup>5</sup> *Urtti-vishaya* may be identified with a village called Urti in the Keonjhar State, about twelve miles to the north-west of Khiching, on the right bank of the river Vaitaraṇī. There is a village called Sorai near Urti,<sup>6</sup> and this may represent either of the two villages, *Bṛihat-Sārāi* and *Svalpa-Sarāyi* mentioned in the Grant. It is not also impossible that both the names referred to two parts of the same village distinguished by the prefixes *bṛihat* and *svalpa* (i.e., big and small) and that this entire village is now represented by Sorai.

<sup>1</sup> While recently visiting the Museum at Bāripadā, I noticed the following documents: (1) Copy of a *Sanad* granted by Mahārājā Viravikramāditya Bhañja in 1121 A.D. (i.e., 1713-14 A.D.) in which the ancestor of the royal family is said to have been born of an egg of pea-hen and nursed by the sage Vaśiṣṭha. (2) A letter from the ruler of Talcher addressed to Lakṣmī Nārāyaṇa Bhañja, ruler of Mayūrbhanj (1650 A.D.) containing reference to the same legends. Upendra Bhañja, the famous poet of Orissa, who flourished about the end of the seventeenth century A.D., refers to these legends in respect of the kings of Mayūrbhanj.

<sup>2</sup> *I. H. Q.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 420 ff.

<sup>3</sup> [It may be pointed out that *mora* is the Pkt. form of *mayūra* and *Moriya* that of *Maurya*.—Ed.]

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 289.

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 300. But Mr. P. Acharya, the archaeologist of the Mayūrbhanj State, rejects this identification on the ground that there are no remains of antiquities in the place.

<sup>6</sup> I am indebted to Mr. P. Acharya, the State Archaeologist of Mayūrbhanj, for the information about the discovery of Plates A and B and for the identification of villages mentioned in them.

The fact that the villages are situated on the right bank of the Vaitarani river, in the State of Keonjhar, is of great importance, as it proves that at least a part, if not the whole, of this state was included within the dominions of the Bhañjas of Mayurbhanj in the ninth or tenth century A.D. This in a way lends some support to the local tradition recorded by Hunter that Keonjhar originally formed part of Mayurbhanj and was formed into a separate state about two centuries ago.<sup>1</sup>

The two copper-plates (Nos. 6 and 7) now edited being clearly engraved, enable us to correct some mistakes and remove some doubts about the reading and interpretation of the records of this group of Bhañja kings. MM. H. P. Śāstri, while editing the Khaṇḍadēulī plate claimed to have corrected some mistakes. "For instance," observed he, "my predecessors read *Kōṭyāsrama*, but my plate distinctly says *Kautsāsrama*. They read the same word *Suladaṇḍa* in one plate and *Svarṇadaṇḍa* in another, but it is really *Galad-aṇḍa*, the *breaking egg*". The present records confirm the reading *Kōṭyāsrama* and show beyond doubt that the other word is really *Gaṇa-daṇḍa*, which also seems to be quite clear on the estampage of the Khaṇḍadēulī Inscription. In the three published records the adjective '*Khiṇṇiṅga-Kōṭavāsī*' is applied to Raṇabhañja and it has been taken to mean that the king was usually resident in *Khiṇṇiṅga*. The corresponding expression in the present records is *Khiṇṇiṅga-kōṭṭ-ādihivāsāt* meaning that the Grant was issued from *Khiṇṇiṅga*. This is the more usual expression used in land-grants, and there is hardly any doubt that it was the original form which was misconstrued in others.

### TEXT.

[Metres : vv. 1-4, 6, *Āryā* ; v. 5, *Vasantatilakā* ; vv. 7-9, *Anuṣṭubh* ; v. 10, *Drutavilambita* ; v. 11, *Pushpītāgrā*.]

### Obverse.

- 1 Ōm<sup>2</sup> svasti [||\*] Sakala-bhuvan-aika-nāthō
- 2 bhava-bhaya-bhidurō Bhavō Bhavāni(nī)śaḥ | vividha-samādhi-vi-
- 3 dhijñāḥ sarvavajñō vaḥ Śivāy=āstu || [1||\*] <sup>3</sup>Āsi(si)t=Kōṭyāsrama-ma-
- 4 hā-tapōvanāt=māyūr-aṇḍaḥ bhit[t\*]vā Gaṇa-daṇḍa-Virabhadra-ākhyāḥ [1\*]
- 5 pratipakṣa-nidhana-dakṣhō Vaśiṣṭha-muni-pālītō nṛpa-
- 6 tiḥ || [2||\*] Tasy=Ādi-Bhañja-vaṇ(van)śe mānīs<sup>4</sup>=tyāgī<sup>5</sup>=adaṇḍakaḥ khyā-
- 7 taḥ [1\*] śūrah śuchir=vvinitō |<sup>6</sup> jāta[h\*] śrī-Kōṭ(ṭ)abhañj=ēti || [3||\*] Pu-
- 8 tras=tad-ānurūpa<sup>7</sup> |<sup>8</sup> śrēṣṭhaḥ śrīmān=maśakṣha<sup>9</sup>-sāmantaḥ [1\*] nṛ-
- 9 pati-sat-ārchchita-charaṇō śrī<sup>9</sup>-Vibhramatuṅgō jagat-prathi-
- 10 taḥ || [4||\*] Tasy=ātmajaḥ Śma(Sma)ra-samō va(ba)lavān=varishṭhaḥ śūrah
- 11 [samuna]nta<sup>10</sup>-yaśāḥ pravijitya śatrūm(n) | rājā Yudhiṣṭhira

<sup>1</sup> Hunter's *Oriasa*, Vol. II, App. III, p. 86.

<sup>2</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>3</sup> In this verse the words *Kōṭyāsrama-mahā-tapōvanāt* must be left out in order to suit the metre. Read *Āsin=māyūr-aṇḍaḥ* etc.

<sup>4</sup> Read *mānī*.

<sup>5</sup> Read *tyāgī*.

<sup>6</sup> *Daṇḍa* unnecessary.

<sup>7</sup> Read *tad-ānurūpaḥ*.

<sup>8</sup> This is probably a mistake for *asamkhyā*.

<sup>9</sup> Omit *śrī* as in B for the sake of the metre.

<sup>10</sup> Read *samunnata* as in B below.

- 12 riv=āvani<sup>1</sup>-pālanē cha |<sup>2</sup> nityam rataḥ kuśala-karma-vidhau  
 13 praśa(sa)ktaḥ [|5|\*] Khijjiṅga-kōṭṭ-ādhivāsāt |<sup>3</sup> Hara-charaṇ-ā-  
 14 rādhana-kshapita-pāpaḥ | śrīmān=Narēndrabhañja-dēvaḥ<sup>4</sup> s-ā-  
 15 nunayam prāha bhūpālām(lān) | [|6|\*] Khijjiṅga-prativaddhō(baddha) Urtti-visha-  
 16 ya-saṁmandha<sup>5</sup>-Vṛi(Bṛi)hat-Sārāi-grām-ābbidhānō |<sup>2</sup> grāmō=yam  
 17 pu(pū)rvva - vidita-sīmāntaḥ |<sup>2</sup> Vāvbbi<sup>6</sup>-charaṇāya |<sup>2</sup> Aślāya-  
 18 na<sup>7</sup>-śākhāya |<sup>2</sup> Vachcha<sup>8</sup>-gōtrāya |<sup>2</sup> pañchā-rishaya<sup>9</sup>-pravara-  
 19 ya |<sup>2</sup> Tilapudraka-vinigrata<sup>10</sup>. |<sup>2</sup> bhaṭṭaputra-Śi(Śi)tala[dēva]-  
 20 [śa]rmaṇāya<sup>11</sup> |<sup>2</sup> śa(sa)lila-dhārā[m<sup>12</sup>] puraskṛity-ākaraṭv[na vā]

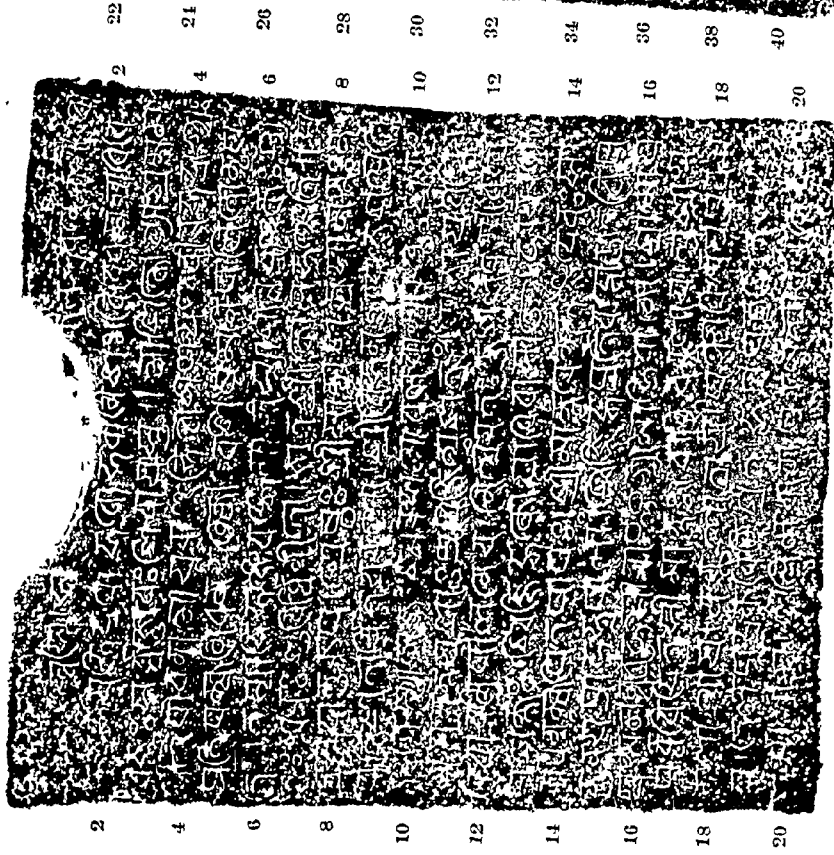
## Reverse.

- 21 ..[māttā(tā)]-pitṛōr-ātmana ....  
 22 ....ndatō=smābhiḥ puṇyasētun=dadāya<sup>13</sup> [|\*] yāvat=pri-  
 23 [thvi]dharmma-dākshinya(nya)tō vā | tāvat=kālam=pāla[niyō]  
 24 bhavadbhiḥ [|\*] uktañ=cha ddharma<sup>13</sup>-śāstrē | Va(Ba)hubhir=vvasudhā dattā  
 25 rājabbis=Sagar-ādibhiḥ | yasya yasya yadā bhūmi[s\*]=ta-  
 26 sya tasya tadā phalam(lam) || [|7|\*] Mā bhūya phala-śānkā vaḥ para-  
 27 dat=ēti pāṛthivām | svadattā phalam=āntam para-  
 28 datt-ānupālānē<sup>14</sup> || [|8|\*] Sva-datta para-dattām=vā |<sup>2</sup> yō harēti  
 29 vasundharām<sup>15</sup> | sa vishṭhāyām kṛimir=bhūtvā |<sup>2</sup> pitṛibhiḥ sa-  
 30 ha pachyatē || [|9|\*] api cha[|\*] Kshitir=iyam kulaṭ=ēva va(ba)hu-  
 31 priyā |<sup>2</sup> hata-śari(rī)ram=idañ=cha vini(na)śma(śva)ram(ram) | su-kṛi[tam]  
 32 adya na chēta<sup>16</sup> kṛi(kṛi)yatē dhruvam |<sup>2</sup> vipadi dhakshyatī vō=  
 33 nuśay-ānalāḥ || [|10|\*] Iti kamala-dal-āmbu-vindu-lōl-  
 34 lām<sup>17</sup> śṛi(śri)yam=anuchintya manushya-jīvitāñ=cha | sakala-  
 35 m=idam=uddhṛitadbhi<sup>18</sup> vudhvām<sup>19</sup> |<sup>2</sup> na hi purushai[h\*] para-ki(ki)rtta-  
 36 yō vilōpyām(pyāḥ) || o || [|11|\*] Likhitam Rājakula-Hēra-  
 37 mvē(mbē)ṇ=ēti || o || Śrī-Vibhramatunga-sutēna Mahārāja-śrī-Raṇa-

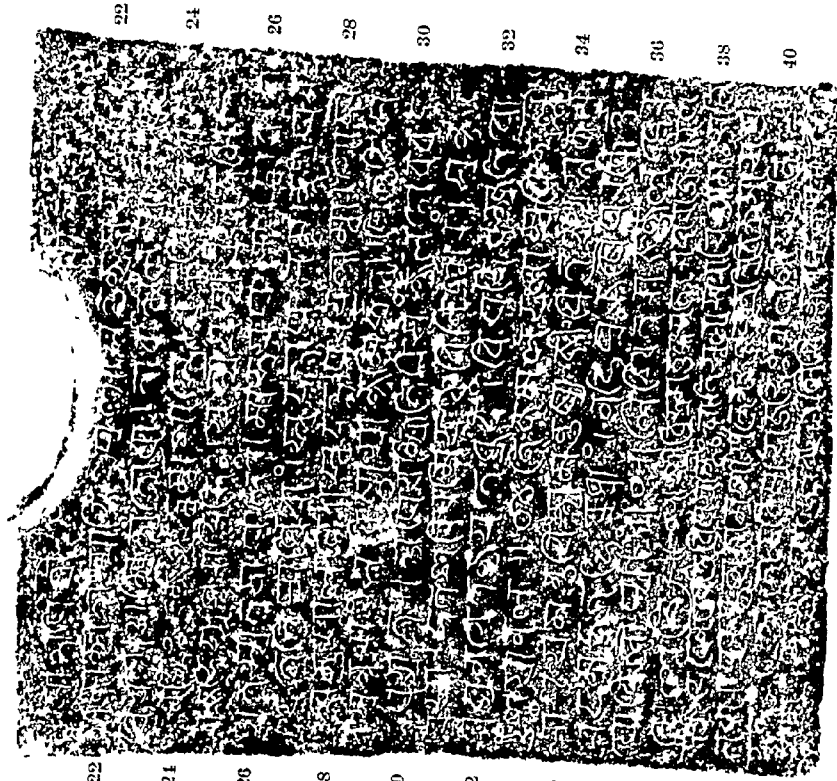
<sup>1</sup> Read *iv=āvani*.<sup>2</sup> *Danda* unnecessary.<sup>3</sup> The *danda* is unnecessary; to suit the metre we have to read *lōṭṭa-āsād=Dhara*-, or *Khijjiṅga-kōṭṭavāsī* as in other inscriptions.<sup>4</sup> Omit *dēva* for the sake of the metre.<sup>5</sup> Read *sambaddha*-.  
<sup>6</sup> Read *Bahvricha*-.  
<sup>7</sup> Read *Aśvalāyana*-.  
<sup>8</sup> Read *Vatsa*-.  
<sup>9</sup> Read *Pañcharshi*-.  
<sup>10</sup> Read *vinigrata*-.  
<sup>11</sup> Read *-śarmmaṇē*.  
<sup>12</sup> Perhaps the correct reading is *dattō=smābhiḥ puṇya-sīl-ādayāya*. [The text from *mātū* to *bharadbhiḥ* seems to form a verse in *Śālinī* metre.—Ed.]  
<sup>13</sup> Read *dharmma*-.  
<sup>14</sup> Read *Mā bhūd=aphala-śānkā vaḥ para-datt=ēti pāṛthivāḥ | sva-dattāt=phalam=ānantyam para-datt-ānupā-*  
<sup>15</sup> *lanē* ||  
<sup>16</sup> Read *Sva-dattām para-dattām vā yō harēti vasundharām*.  
<sup>17</sup> Read *sulṛitam=adya na chēti*.  
<sup>18</sup> Read *Iti | amala-dal-āmbu-bindu-lōlām*.  
<sup>19</sup> Read *udāhṛitāñ=cha*.  
<sup>20</sup> Read *buddhvā*.

A.—ADIPUR COPPER-PLATE OF NARENDRABHANJADEVYA.

Obverse.



Reverse.







- 38 bhañja-dēvāna Uratti-vishay-āntaḥpāti - Svalpa-Sarāyi-grāmaḥ sali-  
 39 la-dhārā[m\*] puraskṛitya tāmra-śāsanēna bhaṭṭaputra-Trivikramāya pra-  
 40 dattaḥ āto<sup>1</sup> bhavishyad-rājabhiḥ pālaniya iti [||]  
 41 Samvat 200 90 3 Phālguṇa va di 1 likhitaṁ kulaputraka-[Yaksha.....]²

## TRANSLATION.

*Om svasti.* (Verse 1) May the omniscient Bhava (Śiva), who is the sole protector of all the worlds, the destroyer of the fear of re-birth, the lord of Bhavānī, and conversant with the rules of the various modes of meditation,—bring you prosperity.

(V. 2) There was a king called Gaṇadaṇḍa (an officer in a republic ?) Virabhadra, skilful in killing enemies, who burst out of an egg of a pea-hen in the great hermitage, called Kōṭyāśrama, and was brought up by the sage Vāsiṣṭha.

(V. 3) In the family of this first Bhañja (*king*) was born śrī-Kōṭṭabhañja, who was highly honoured, liberal, famous, brave, pure, and modest, and was averse to inflicting punishment (*adaṇḍaka*).

(V. 4) Then there was his worthy son śrī-Vibhramatuṅga, who was famous in the world, most excellent, and endowed with beauty ; who had numerous feudatories, and whose feet were worshipped by hundreds of kings.

(Vv. 5-6) His son śrīmān Narēndrabhañjadēva—who was like cupid (*in appearance*), strong, weighty, and brave ; who had acquired fame by defeating enemies ; who, like king Yudhiṣṭhira, was constantly engaged in protecting the earth, and was extremely fond of performing good deeds ; and whose sins were expiated by the worship of the feet of Hara ;—from his residence at the fort of Khijjiṅga says respectfully to the kings :

(Ll. 15-21) (*There is*) a village called Bṛihat-Sārāi, in the district (*vishaya*) of Urtti, situated close to the city of Khijjiṅga. This village, the boundaries of which are already known, is granted by me, free of rent, for the sake of (the religious merits of) my mother, father, and myself, with libations of water, to Bhaṭṭaputra Śītaladēvaśarman an emigrant from Tilapudraka and belonging to Bahvṛicha-charaṇa, Āśvalāyana-śākhā, Vatsa-gōtra, and having the five *ṛishis* as his *pranaras* (or the noble ancestors).

(Ll. 22-35 contain the usual imprecations.)

(L. 36) Written by the Rājakula Hēramba.

(Ll. 37-40) By Mahārāja-śrī-Raṇabhañjadēva, son of śrī-Vibhramatuṅga, the village of Svalpa-Sarāyī in the district (*vishaya*) of Uratti has been granted to Bhaṭṭaputra Trivikrama, after sprinkling water and by a copper-plate deed. So this should be upheld by the future kings.

(L. 41) The year 200 (and) 90 (and) 3 ; (*the month*) Phālguṇa ; the dark fortnight ; (*the lunar*) day 1.

Written by Kulaputraka Yaksha.

## B.—Ādipur Copper-plate of Narēndrabhañjadēva.

This is a single plate measuring about 10·6" by 8·8". It contains 38 lines of writing engraved on both sides. The engraver at first deliberately left a margin of about 3 inches at the top on the reverse side, but later, as the inscription could not be contained in the remaining part, he engraved the concluding portion in this space with the letters written in an opposite direction. This is a very natural and common method in letter-writing of the present day, but seems to be

<sup>1</sup> Read *atō*.

<sup>2</sup> There seem to be only two letters at the end ; the reading may, therefore, be *Yakṣhēy=ēti*.—Ed.]

rather unusual in respect of engraving copper-plates. The original plate contained a circular projection at the middle of the top, and to this was later soldered a circular seal with a diameter of about 3". It bears the legend "*Śrīmān=Narī(rē)ndīabhañjadērasya*" in a single line. Above the legend are the figures of a crescent with a conch below, and underneath it is the figure of a humped bull above a floral design, resembling those in the Plate A noticed above. The edge of the seal is turned up so as to form a raised rim all round. A portion of the back of the seal had to be cut away, as otherwise some letters, already engraved on the reverse of the plate, would have been hidden by it. This is an important and interesting point. For, as in Plate A, this portion of the plate contains, like a post-script, a short record about the donation of king Raṇabhañja. It is obvious that it was not a later addition, but was already engraved before the royal seal was attached.

The plate was found in the possession of one Sira Dās of the Ādipur village, the same person from whom Plate A was obtained. According to the statement of Sira Dās it was found some eighty years ago, and kept concealed in a house which was washed away by the flood of 1927 and hence abandoned. It was again brought to light some six years ago while digging the earth in that deserted plot. The plate is now in the Museum, at Bāripadā. The Curator of the Museum, Mr. P. Acharya, who supplied me with the above account, kindly gave me the plate on loan, and I am editing it from the original.

The plate is in a fair state of preservation, except that a small portion of the edge, on both sides, along the length of the plate has been corroded, with the result that some letters at the beginning and the end of a number of lines have been rendered indistinct or altogether effaced.

The language is Sanskrit and the alphabet closely resembles that used in Inscription A. As a matter of fact the record is a close copy of that record with a few modifications. The only important additions are: (1) some additional conventional concessions in the formal portion of the grant (ll. 16-17), and (2) one additional imprecatory verse (ll. 29-30). These are, however, well-known phrases and occur in other Orissa records and the verse occurs in another grant of this family (cf. C below).

The author's knowledge of Sanskrit was rather poor, though he has avoided some of the glaring mistakes of A. As the errors and orthographic peculiarities in the two records are very similar, these need not be noticed in detail.

The inscription records the grant of the village Śārapadraka in the Kērakēra-vishaya by king Narēndrabhañja whose genealogy is given in the same words as in A. The donee, whose name I doubtfully read as Bhaṭṭa Dēvadēvadāma<sup>1</sup>, migrated from Ōdra-vishaya and was evidently associated (in a manner which is not quite clear) with the village Rāmaparkaṭi in the Khijjiṅga-maṇḍala<sup>2</sup>. The grant was made on the day on which the summer solstice began (*Ravisankramana-vilāyām*). The second record, at the end, refers to the grant of a village by Raṇabhañja. The name of the village may be doubtfully read as Pāḍēvā, but there may be another letter at the beginning.

Of these localities Kērakēra is still the name of a village in Ghoshdāpir in Ādipur Parganā, situated about twelve miles to the South-South-East of Khicbing. It is shown as Kerkerā in the Indian Sheet Atlas (Scale 1"=4 miles, sheet 73 G). Near by is a village called Soras in the same sheet and this may be the same as Śārapadraka. The village called Saradaha in Karanjia Parganā may also be the modern representative of Śārapadraka. Rāmaparkaṭi may be identified with the village called Ramasahi in Kiapir in Joshipur Parganā. I am unable to identify Pāḍēvā. The

<sup>1</sup> [See p. 160, n. 10 below.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> [To me it appears that the donee was a resident of the village Rāmaparkaṭi in Khijjiṅga-maṇḍala and that he originally hailed from Ālāvādraha, a Brahman village (? Bhaṭṭa-grāma) in the Ōdra-vishaya.—Ed.]

mention of *Ōdra-vishaya* is very interesting, showing that the name which was afterwards applied to the whole province was as yet confined only to a small region and originally denoted only a small district.

The history of *Narēndrabhañja* and his predecessors has already been discussed. As noted above, the inscription also records, at the end, the grant of a village by *Bhañja Mahārāja-Raṇabhañja*. The word immediately preceding this seems to be clearly *naptā* or grandson. Unfortunately, the word of three letters before *naptā*, although very clearly engraved, cannot be read with certainty. The first and third letters are 'ā' and 'va', but the letter in the middle is a peculiar one, and looks like *sai* or *stai*, none of which, however, gives any sense. In any case, for the present, *Raṇabhañja* of this short record must be identified with king *Raṇabhañja*, a similar short record of whom is engraved at the end of Plate A. It is very curious that a short record of this king was in both these instances added as a sort of post-script to the record of *Narēndrabhañja*. In the present case, at any rate, we are tolerably certain, by the position of the last few letters of the plate in respect of the back part of the seal, that the whole record was engraved before the seal was attached, *i.e.*, during the reign of king *Narēndrabhañja*. The only reasonable conclusion seems to be that *Raṇabhañja* was a predecessor of *Narēndrabhañja*, and an earlier grant made by him, perhaps to the same donee or to his family, was repeated in brief at the end at the latter's request, so that the same plate might serve him as a charter for both the grants.<sup>1</sup>

One peculiarity in the text of this grant requires special mention. In all the copper-plate grants of this family of kings, the word *kuśālī* or *kuśalinah*, generally added as an adjective of the king in the prose portion, immediately after his proper name, is omitted, and in most of them the words *s-ānunayaṁ prāha bhūpālān* take the place of the usual verbs *mūnayati bōdhayati samādiśati*. In the present grant we have all these three combined, with the exception only of *samādiśati*.

Attention may be drawn to the expression '*Śiva-charaṇa-sarōja-shaṭpada*' (l. 13) used with reference to *Narēndrabhañja*. The corresponding expression in A is '*Hara-charaṇ-ārādhana-kshapita-pāpaḥ*' (ll. 13-14). These prove that king *Narēndrabhañja* was a devoted worshipper of Śiva. The invocation to Śiva at the beginning also shows that the family was Śaiva. The discoveries at Khiching fully corroborate this. The finest image unearthed from the ruins at Khiching is that of a standing Śiva which was no doubt installed in the main temple whose magnificent ruins have been laid bare by recent excavations.

#### TEXT.

[The metres are noted above in connection with A, but the verses 2 and 3 are defective as some words have been left out as pointed out in the footnotes.]

#### Obverse.

1 Svasti [!]\*

2 Ōm<sup>2</sup> namō Avighnēśvarāyaḥ<sup>3</sup> || Sakala-bhuvan=aika-nā-

3 thō bhavaḥ-bhaya-bhidurō Bhavō Bhavānu(nī)śaḥ [\*] vividha-samādhi-vi-

<sup>1</sup> [It is difficult to believe that *Raṇabhañja* of the postscript grants in A and B was a predecessor of *Narēndrabhañja*. It is not impossible that a portion of the back of the seal of B had to be cut away to make room for the last line of the subsidiary record for which no other space was available. In ll. 36-37 B clearly states that the subsidiary grant was inserted in the original grant (*ētasminn-ēva śāsanē prakshipya*). The duct of writing in these additional grants is quite different from that of the original grants. The writer in the two additional grants appears to be the same person, *viz.*, *Yakshadatta* and the donor is also the same *Raṇabhañja* in both. The reading in l. 35 of B is *śaiva naptā*. If *śaiva* stands for *asy=aiva*, the person referred to must be the first ruler mentioned in the original grant, *i.e.*, *Kōṭṭabhañja* whose grandson *Raṇabhañja* was.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> There is a symbol preceding *Ōm*.

<sup>3</sup> Read *namō= vighnēśvarāya*.

- 4 dhijñō(jñah) sarvajñō vah śivāy=āstu || [1||\*] Āśi(śi)t=Kōtyāśrama-  
 5 mahātapōvanān<sup>1</sup>=māyūr-āṇḍam bhitvā<sup>2</sup> Gaṇa-daṇḍa-Vīrabhadra-ākhyā[h\*] [1\*]  
 6 kṣha<sup>3</sup> -nidhana-dakṣhō Vasishṭha-muni-pālītō nripatī[h\*] | [1 2||\*] Tasy=Ādi-Bhaṁ-  
 7 ja-vanśē(vanśē) māni(nī) tyūgi(gi) adaṇḍaka[h\*] khāta(kbyātah) [1\*] jūtō(tah)<sup>4</sup> śrī-Kōṭṭa-  
 bhaṁjō=pi [1 3 ||\*]  
 8 Putras=tad=ānūrūpaḥ śrēṣṭhah śrīmān=asaṅkṣha(saṅkhyā)-sūmantah | nripatī-śa-  
 9 t-ārchchita-charaṇō Vibhramatuṅgō jagat-prathitah || [4 ||\*] Tasy=ātmajaḥ  
 10 Smara-samō va(ba)lavān=varī(ri)śbṭah śūrah samunnata-yaśā yudhī ni-  
 11 rjjit-āriḥ<sup>5</sup> | rājā Yudhisṭhira iv =āvani-pālanē cha nityam rataḥ  
 12 kuśala-karma-vidhau praśa(sa)ktah [1 5 ||\*] Khijjīṅga-kōṭṭ-ādhivāsakāt [1\*]  
 13 Āśi(si)-dhār-ārjjita-kirtīḥ Śiva-charaṇa-sarōja-shaṭpadaḥ śrī[mā-  
 14 n] | ripu-vanītā-vaidhavya-da-Narēndrabhaṇja-kuśalī(li) jagata(t)-khyā(tah) [1\*]<sup>6</sup>  
 15 sūnūyām prā[ha\*] bhūpālān yatb-ārham mānayatī vō(bō)dba[ya]ti Kērakē-  
 16 ra-vishaya-pratīva(ba)[ddha]-Śarapadraka-grāmaś=chatuḥ-sīmā-paryantah ś-ō-  
 17 pari(ri)kara-s-ōd(dā)śa-sa-tantravāya-gō-kūta-śaundī(ṇḍi)k-ādī(di)kaṁ prā-  
 18 [kri]tika-sarvva-pīdā-varjjit-ālēkhani(nī)-pravēśatayā bhūmī(mi)chchhi(chchhi)dr-ā-

## Reverse.

- 19 pi(bbi)dh[ā]na-nyāyēn=āchandr-ārka-kṣhīti-sama-ka(kā)la[m\*] mātā-pitrōr=ātmanah [ya]-  
 20 śah-puny-ābhividdha[yē] | Ōdra-vishayē Bhaṭṭagrāma Āllavida . . .<sup>7</sup>  
 21 nirgataḥ Khijjīṅga-maṇḍalasya Rāmaparkaṭi-grāma-śāsa . . . . .  
 22 Vyavbhīcha-charaṇāya<sup>8</sup> Vatsa-gōtra-pañchārshaya<sup>9</sup>-Ya(Ja)madagni(gni)-pravara(rāya)  
 bhaṭṭa-  
 23 D[ē\*]vadēvadāma(h)<sup>10</sup> bhaṭṭa-[Vadḍha]kā<sup>11</sup>dāma-suta(sutāya) Ravisāṅkramaṇa-  
 vēlāyām  
 24 hast-ōdakēna tāmra-śāsanīkrīty=ākṣhaya-mi(nī)vi-dharmmēṇ=ākaratvē-  
 25 na pratipādītō=śmābhīḥ || tad=ēś(sh)=āsmad-[d\*]attir=ddharma-gauravād=bha-  
 26 vadbhīḥ paripālani(nī)yā | uktañ=cha dharmma-sā(śā)strē [1\*] Va(Ba)hubhir=vasudhā da-  
 27 ttārājabhīḥ Sagar-ādībhīḥ | yasya yasya yadā bhūmī[s\*]=tasya tasya tadā  
 28 phalam(lam) | [1 6 ||\*] Mā bhūḥ(bhūd=a)phala-śāṅkā va[h\*] para-datt=ēti pārthivāḥ |  
 sva-dattāt phalam =ā-  
 29 nantyam para-datt-ānupālānē | [1 7 ||\*] Sva-dattā[m] para-dattām=vā(ttām vā) [12] yō harēta  
 vasundharām(rām) [1\*]

<sup>1</sup> To omit the metre omit *Kōtyāśrama-mahātapōvanān=* as in A.

<sup>2</sup> Read *bhitvā*. There is a sign after this which is redundant.

<sup>3</sup> Read *pratīpakṣa* as in A, the first three syllables of which have obviously been dropped through mistake in this record.

<sup>4</sup> The words *śūrah śuchir=vinītō* occurring in A have been left out before *jūtō(tah)* through inadvertence.

<sup>5</sup> A has *pravijitya śatrūn(n)*.

<sup>6</sup> This seems to be a verse in *Gitā* metre.

<sup>7</sup> [To me the reading appears to be *Āllavadraka-vinirgataḥ(tāya)*.—Ed.]

<sup>8</sup> Read *Bahvīcha*. [Reading after *grāma* seems to be *śāsaṭa-vāstavya-Ya(Ba)hvīcha*. *Śāsaṭa* may be a mistake for *śāsaṭa* in which case *Rāmaparkaṭi*, the residence of the donee, would be an *agrahāra* or a gift village.—Ed.]

<sup>9</sup> Read *pañchārshī* or *pañch-ārshīya*.

<sup>10</sup> [I think the name of the donee is *Dēvadāman*. The syllables *Dava* at the beginning of the line seem to have been wrongly written and may be considered superfluous. Read *Dēvadāmnē*.—Ed.]

<sup>11</sup> The reading of this name is very doubtful.

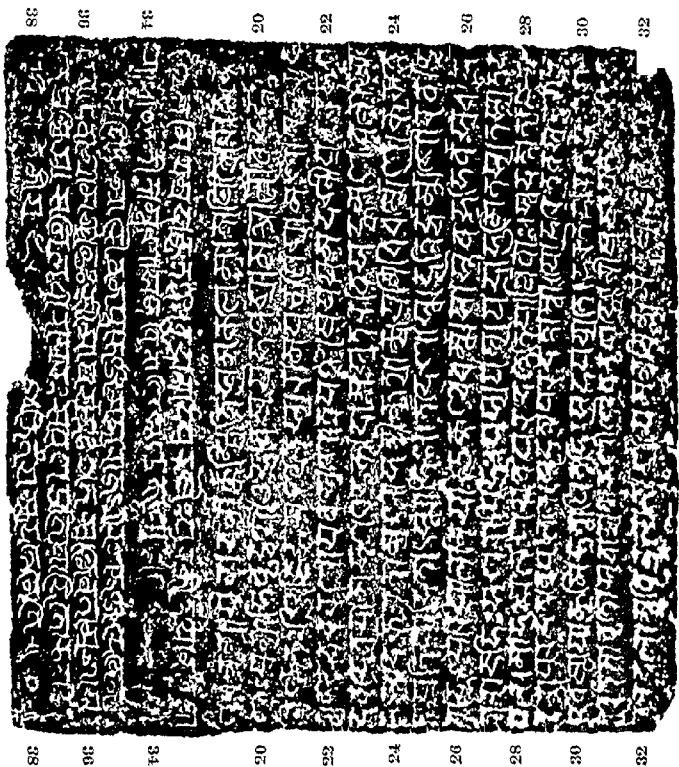
<sup>12</sup> *Dapita* unnecessary.

B.—ADIPUR COPPER-PLATE OF NARENDRABHANJADEVA.

Obverse.



Reverse.



N. P. CHARTAVARTI  
Rte No 1956 E. 39 275.

SCALE ONE-HALF.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.



- 30 sa vishṭhāyām kṛimī[r\*]=bhūtvā pitṛibhiḥ saha pachyatē ([/ 8 [\*] Haratē hāratē(yēd)  
bhūmih [manda]-  
31 [bu\*][ddhi][s\*]=tamā(mō)vṛitō(taḥ) [\*] sa va(ba)ddhō vāruṇī-[pā\*]śā=ēva tṛigayyōnī  
shu<sup>1</sup> jāyatē ) [/ 9 [\*] Iti ka-  
32 mala-dal-āmvu(mbu)-vi(bi)ndu-lōlām śrī(śrī)yam=anuchintya manushya-[jivitañ=cha] [I\*]  
33 [saka]lam=idam=udāhṛitañ=cha <sup>2</sup> vuddhā(buddhvā) na hi purushaiḥ para-kīrttayō<sup>3</sup>  
vilō-  
34 pyāḥ || [10 [\*] Iti(ti) tāmbra<sup>4</sup>-śāsana-vitāṇi-bhāṇḍa kāryyaḥ<sup>5</sup> ||  
35 Ōm<sup>6</sup> svasti [\*] āsaiva<sup>7</sup> [na]ptā Bhañja-mahārāja-śrī-Raṇabhañjadēvēna  
36 Pādēvā<sup>8</sup>-grāmaś=chatuḥ-sīmā-paryantaḥ ētasma(smi)nn=ēva tāmbra-śāsa-  
37 nē prakshipya salila-dhārā-puraḥsarēṇa pratipādītō bhavadbhiḥ  
38 paripālaniyaḥ | khanitaṁ Yakshadattē=ēti ||

C.—Kēsari Copper-plate of Śatrubhañjadēva.

This is a single plate measuring  $8\frac{3}{4}$ " by  $6\frac{1}{2}$ ". It contains twenty-four lines of writing engraved on both sides. A circular seal, a little more than  $2\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter, is attached to the middle of the top of the plate on its longer side. It contains one line of legend with the figure of a couchant bull below, and there are figures of a trident and a crescent respectively on the upper right and upper left of the bull. The edge of the seal is turned up so as to form a raised rim all round.

The record was first published with a text and English translation by Mr. Binayak Misra in *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XIII, pp. 429 f. and 431. According to him it was discovered by a Ho servant of Arjun Giri at Kēsari, 10 miles north-west of Khiching. The plate is now in the Bāripadā Museum. I am indebted to Mr. P. Acharya for having kindly lent the original plate for re-editing it.

The plate is in a good state of preservation. The alphabet belongs to the Northern type and resembles that used in Plates A and B edited above. The language is Sanskrit. As regards metre, orthography, and the author's knowledge of Sanskrit, the remarks made in connection with Plate A apply equally well in this case, and detailed notices are unnecessary.

The inscription records the grant of the village of Syallāmāyī in the Urtti district by Mahā-maṇḍalādhipati-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara Śatrubhañjadēva, lord of eighty-eight thousand (villages). He was the son of Raṇabhañja, grandson of Durjayabhañja, and great-grandson of Kōṣṭhabhañja. Reference is made to Virabhadra's birth, as in Plates A and B. Some additional information is, however, given about this Virabhadra in ll. 3-5 which is not to be found in the other records of the family. The exact meaning of the passage is obscure, as the grammatical construction seems to be faulty. It begins with a reference to Virabhadra's eighty-eight thousand sons (and not sages as interpreted by Mr. Misra). What follows seems to indicate that on account of the prayer of these sons Virabhadra was protected (sēvitaḥ) by Rāmadēva and made lord of eighty-eight thousand villages.<sup>9</sup> Rāmadēva is no doubt the god Rāma. The phrase 'Rāmadēvēna

<sup>1</sup> Read vāruṇaiḥ pāśais=tiryag-yōnisha.

<sup>2</sup> Danda unnecessary.

<sup>3</sup> There is a superfluous na after yō.

<sup>4</sup> Read tāmbra.

<sup>5</sup> The reading of the word is very doubtful. The word vitāṇi-bhāṇḍa can be clearly read but offers no meaning. There is a letter ka written just below the space between the last two letters.

<sup>6</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>7</sup> The second letter looks like sai but the word offers no meaning. [See above, p. 159, n. 1.—Ed.]

<sup>8</sup> A letter may have been effaced at the beginning of this line.

<sup>9</sup> [According to my reading only one son, who was protected by Rāmadēva, seems to have been favoured with this gift. See p. 162 n. 13 below.—Ed.]



*sēvitaḥ* ' can therefore be hardly interpreted as ' served by Rāmadēva ' as translated by Mr. Misra. According to the dictionary, the root ' *sēv* ' also means ' to protect, ' and I have taken that interpretation. The word ' *vyāpitaḥ* ' is also a difficult one. I think *v* is a mistake for *dh* (which resembles it very closely) and the word ' *dhyaṇitaḥ* ' has been used to indicate that the eighty-eight thousand sons were made to perform meditations (*dhyaṇa*) in order to please Rāmadēva and obtain the boon from him.

The very important and far-reaching conclusions of Mr. Misra based on the above data have already been discussed above.<sup>1</sup> The only other information of historical character supplied by the record is the mention of two members of the royal family viz., *Anakaḥdēvi* (perhaps a mistake for *Anakadēvi*), the chief queen, and *Narēndrabhaṇja*, the *Yuvarāja* (ll. 12-13), and of a number of officers (ll. 13-14).

Attention may be drawn to the expression *Bhagavad-bhaṭṭāraka-Śaṅkaram samuddiṣya* occurring in ll. 14-15. The reference may be to the great Saṅkarāchārya in whose honour the gift was made, though it is possible to take it in the ordinary sense to refer to God Śiva. In the latter case, however, the form ordinarily met with, is ' *Bhagavat-Śiva* [*Nārāyaṇa* or *Buddha*]-*bhaṭṭāraka*.

As to the localities mentioned, *Urtti-vishaya* has been discussed above. I am unable to identify the village *Syallāmāyi*. Mr. Misra reads the name of the village as ' *Llāmāyi* ' remarking in a footnote that ' *syā* ' is unnecessary. I do not see any reason to uphold this view.

#### TEXT.

*Obverse.*

- 1 Ōm<sup>2</sup> svastiḥ<sup>3</sup> [||\*] Sakala-bhuvan-aika-nāthō bhava-bhaya-vi(bbi)durō Bhavō Bhavāni-(nī)śa[h]\*] vivi-
- 2 dha-samādhi<sup>4</sup>-samādhi-vi[dbi\*]jñāḥ sarvva<sup>5</sup>jñō vaḥ si(śi)vāy=āstu || [||\*] Āśita(sit)<sup>6</sup> Kōṭṭā-śrama(mō) nā[ma]<sup>7</sup>
- 3 tapō-dhishṭhānam=uttamam<sup>8</sup> [\*] mayūr-āṇḍ-ōdbhava[s\*]=tasmāta(d=) gaṇa-daṇḍō Vi<sup>9</sup>(Vi)-rabhadra-ākhyah<sup>10</sup> [|| 2 ||\*] Aṣṭāśi-
- 4 ti-sahasrai[h\*] sūnubhi[h\*]<sup>11</sup> vyāpitaḥ<sup>12</sup> purā [I\*] tēshān=tu prā[r]thanām dṛishṭvā Rāmadēvāna sēvitas(taḥ) [|| 3 ||\*] Tatō=<sup>13</sup>
- 5 sbṭāśīti-sahasra<sup>14</sup>-grāmaśy=ādbipatiḥ kṛitaḥ [I\*] ebakravi(va)[r]tti<sup>15</sup>-sama(maḥ) sarvvaṇḍō-nañcha vasthuti<sup>16</sup> [|| 14 ||\*]

<sup>1</sup> See p. 154 above.

<sup>2</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>3</sup> Read *svasti*.

<sup>4</sup> The second *samādhi* is redundant.

<sup>5</sup> M. reads *saria* (M. denotes Mr. Binayak Misra).

<sup>6</sup> M. reads *āśit*, but the word actually engraved is *āśila*.

<sup>7</sup> M. reads *Kōṭṭāśrama-mahā*.

<sup>8</sup> M. reads *uttama[m]*.

<sup>9</sup> There is no sign of medial *i* on *v* as M. reads.

<sup>10</sup> This *pāda* conforms to the fourth *pāda* of an *Āryā* metre. This is apparently due to its being copied verbatim from the other records.

<sup>11</sup> M. reads *sahasraś=tu mu[ni\*]bhik*. [ I would read *-sahasraś=tu [sū\*]nubhi[r=]*.—Ed.]

<sup>12</sup> M. reads *vyāpīh*.

<sup>13</sup> [ To me the reading appears to be *sēvita(taḥ)* [||\*] *Sutā=* — Ed.]

<sup>14</sup> [ Read *-sahasra-* as the sixth syllable in this *pāda* should be long.—Ed.]

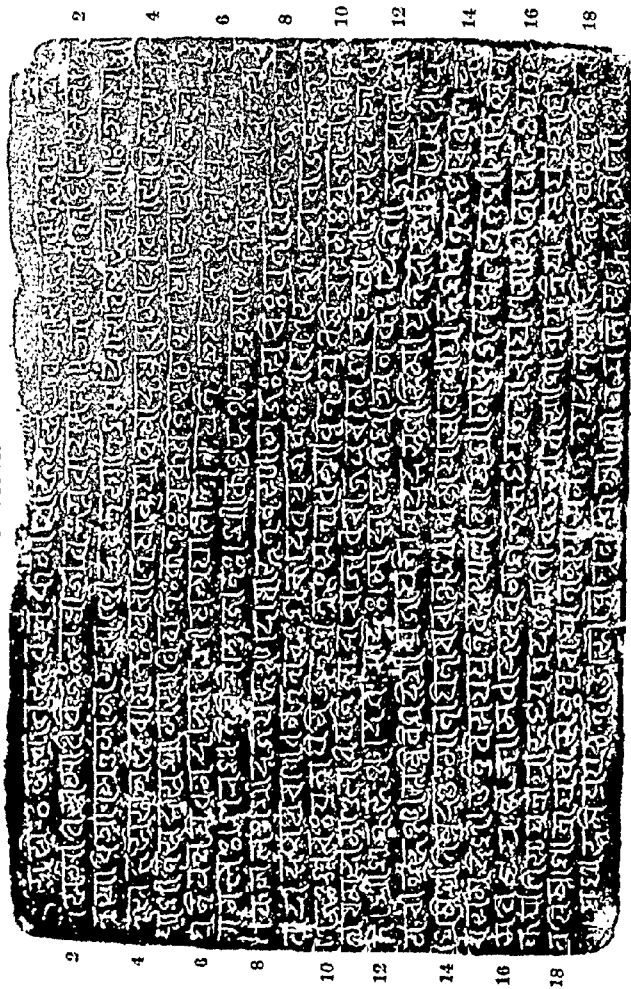
<sup>15</sup> M. reads *\*varti*.

<sup>16</sup> M. reads *sarv-ṇḍōpādānāñ=ch=ārasṭhiliḥ*. [ But this would make the *pāda* short by one syllable.—Ed.]



C.—KESARI COPPER-PLATE OF SATRUBHANJADEVA.

Obverse.



Reverse.

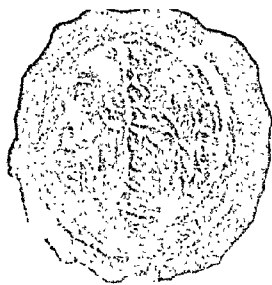


N. P. CHAKRAVARTI.

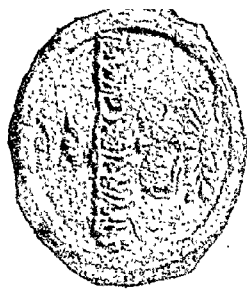
Res. No. 1956 E.J.9-276.

SCALE: TWO-THIRDS.

SEALS.  
(From Photographs)  
A.



B.



C.



- 6 pratipaksha-nidhana-dakṣhō Vasi(śi)shṭha-mu[m\*]-pēlitō nripatih<sup>1</sup>. A<sup>2</sup>(Ā)dibhañjah  
ripu-dahana<sup>3</sup>-dā.
- 7 vānalah | śaraśvatirvinitto<sup>4</sup> jātaḥ | Śrī-Kōṭṭabhañja-suta-māṇḍalika-sa(śa)t-ārchchita-  
chara-
- 8 ṇa-kamalah | śrī-Dū(Du)rjayabhañjadēvō=bbūta(t) [l] tasy=ātmajaḥ su(śu)chih<sup>5</sup> pratāpi(pī)  
k[ī]tajñah satya-
- 9 vādi<sup>6</sup> Hara-charaṇ-ā[rā\*]dhāna-tatparaḥ guru-dēva-pūjakaḥ śrī-Raṇabhañjadēvō=  
'bhūta(t) tasy=ā-
- 10 tmajaḥ śūrah<sup>7</sup> pratāpi(pī) nirjita-satruḥ satya-dhaim-ā[n]vitaḥ Yūdhisṭhira-samah<sup>8</sup> prajā-  
pālana-ta-
- 11 tpara[h\*] Mahāmaṇḍalādhipati-Mā(Ma)hārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara[h\*] aṣṭāśīti-sahaśrā-  
a(sr-ā)dhipa-
- 12 ti[h\*] | śrī-Śatrubhañjadēva-pādaiḥ<sup>9</sup> | mā(ma)hādēvi(vī)-śrī-Anakaḥdēvi(vī) || ju(yu)-  
varājū(ja)-śrī.
- 13 Narīndrabhañja | sandhivigrahi-śrī-Prajāpati[h\*] | mudrabasta-śrī-Bhī(ī)ma[h\*] | prati-  
hāra<sup>10</sup>-śrī-Manōratha[h\*] | pura-
- 14 śrēṣṭhi-śrī-Vishṇudattaḥ mātā-pitarō<sup>11</sup>r=ātma[n\*]ś=chā<sup>12</sup> <sup>13</sup>dharmma-yashō(śō)-vī[d\*]-  
dhayē<sup>14</sup> | Bhāgavata(d)-bhaṭṭāraka-Śaṅka-
- 15 ra[m\*]<sup>15</sup> samu[d\*]dīś[ya] Urtti-visa(śha)ya-prativa(ba)ddha-Śyallāmāyī<sup>16</sup>. grāma(mah) sa-  
jala-sṭhala(lah) chatu[h\*]śīmāvatsina<sup>17</sup>
- 16 sa-viṭapa-latā <sup>18</sup>Madhya<sup>19</sup>dēsa(śa)-vina(ni)rgata-bhaṭṭaputra-Nārāyaṇasya pautrāya  
bhaṭṭaputra-Cha-
- 17 krapāṇisya<sup>20</sup> putrāya | Bhaṭṭaputra-Daṇḍapāni<sup>21</sup> | Kauśī(Kauśi)ka-sagōtrāya triyāri-  
shaya<sup>22</sup>-pra[va\*]rāya<sup>23</sup> ||<sup>24</sup>
- 18 Vasishṭha-gōtrāya Vasishṭha-pra[va\*]rāya | tāmra<sup>25</sup>-sā(sā)sanī(nī)kṛita(tya) pradat-  
[t\*]jō=smābhīh<sup>26</sup> ||<sup>27</sup> Bhūmī[m\*] yaḥ pratigrihṇā-
- 19 ti <sup>28</sup>yaś=chā bhūmī[m\*] prayachchbati | ubhau ttau<sup>29</sup> punya(ṇya)-kārmamāḥau niyatau<sup>30</sup>  
svargga-gāminau || [5 ||<sup>31</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This forms half of a verse in *Aryā mette*. See A, v. 2.

<sup>2</sup> The initial vowel is *a* and not *ā* as M. reads.

<sup>3</sup> M. reads *dādhana*.

<sup>4</sup> M. reads 'sarasvatirvinitto' and emends it as *Sarastati-nimittō*. There is no doubt that the phrase intended is *śūrah śuchir=vinittō* as in A, l. 7.

<sup>5</sup> M. reads *sarapāpa*, but the word *satya* is quite clear.

<sup>6</sup> M. reads *pādēh*. The correct form should be *pādāh*.

<sup>7</sup> M. reads *Pratihāri*.

<sup>8</sup> Read *-pitrōr=*.

<sup>9</sup> M. reads *pitararātmasya*.

<sup>10</sup> *Daṇḍa* unnecessary.

<sup>11</sup> M. reads *dharmayasō(śō)bhūridh(ādh)ayē*.

<sup>12</sup> M. reads *Bhagavantam bhaṭṭārakam Sanlaram*.

<sup>13</sup> M. reads 'yi'.

<sup>14</sup> Read *-sim-āvachchhinnaḥ*.

<sup>15</sup> M. reads *madha*.

<sup>16</sup> Read *'pānēh*.

<sup>17</sup> Read *'pānāyē*.

<sup>18</sup> Read *tryārshīyā*.

<sup>19</sup> M. reads *ścha* after it, but I find no trace of it. [As there seems to be only one doneś the *gōtra* and *pravaran* mentioned first were probably engraved by mistake and later corrected as found in I. 18.—Ed.]

<sup>20</sup> *Daṇḍas* unnecessary.

<sup>21</sup> Read *tāmra*.

<sup>22</sup> Read *tau*.

<sup>23</sup> Read *niyatām*.

## Reverse.

- 20 Ānandanti<sup>1</sup> pitara[h\*] prava[lgā]nti<sup>2</sup> pitāmahā[h\*] [l\*] bhūmi-dātā kulē jātā ssami-  
trātā bhaviśya(sya)-
- 21 ti<sup>3</sup> | [16 ||\*] Haratō hūrayatē(yēd=)yas=tu manda-vudhis<sup>4</sup>=tamā(mō)vṛitaḥ<sup>5</sup> | sa  
va(ba)ddhū Vāruṇē pāsē triyaga<sup>6</sup> yō-
- 22 nisu(śhu)<sup>7</sup> jāyētē<sup>8</sup> | [17||\*] Sva-dattā[m\*] para-dattām=vā yō harētā<sup>9</sup> vasundharā[m\*]  
sa vishṭhāyā[m\*] kṛimira<sup>10</sup> bhūtvā<sup>11</sup>
- 23 pitribhi<sup>12</sup> saha pachyatē | [19 ||\*] Sva-dānātā<sup>13</sup> phalam=ānantam<sup>14</sup> para-dat[t\*]-ānu-  
pālānē[\*\*] sashṭhi-varisha.<sup>15</sup>
- 24 sahaśrā(srā)ṇi svarggē mōdati bhūmidah || [10\*] ||<sup>16</sup>

## No. 15.—AN INCOMPLETE GRANT OF SINDA ADITYAVARMAN: SAKA 887.

By PROF. V. V. MIRASHI, M.A. AND M. G. DIKSHIT, B.A.

Of the two leaves of a set of copper-plates, which are edited here for the first time, the first is from the collection of the late Mr. G. K. Chandorkar, a well-known researcher of Khāndesh. It is now deposited in the Rājwāde Saṁśōdhana Maṇḍala, Dhūlia. The second plate was found in the collection of the Bhārata Itihāsa Saṁśōdhaka Maṇḍala, Poona. No definite information is available regarding the original findspot of these plates, but they were probably discovered somewhere in the Poona District of the Bombay Presidency.<sup>17</sup> They are edited here with the kind permission of the authorities of the two Institutions in which they are now preserved.

They are the last two plates of a set which must have originally consisted of three or four copper-plates. The initial one or two plates, which probably contained a glorification of some ancestors of the donor, are not now forthcoming. The present plates contain a hole  $\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter at the top, which indicates that the plates were held together by a ring. But the ring together with the seal, if it had any, is now lost. The plates measure from 9·5" to 9·7" broad and from 7·5" to 8·2" high. The first plate weighs 66 *tolas* and the second 44½ *tolas*.

<sup>1</sup> M. reads *āspālayanti*. The usual expression is *āspṛōḥayanti*.

<sup>2</sup> M. reads *pragalbhanī*.

<sup>3</sup> M. reads the passage as follows: *bhūmi-dātā kulē jātā(h\*) sa na[s]=trātā bhaviśhyati*. This is undoubtedly the correct form, (cf. Manhali Copper-plate line 53, *J. A. S. B.*, 1900, pp. 65 ff) but not the correct reading of the text.

<sup>4</sup> Read *-buddhis-*.

<sup>5</sup> M. reads *tamōvṛitaḥ* which is undoubtedly the more usual form.

<sup>6</sup> Read *tiryag-*.

<sup>7</sup> M. reads *tiryag-yōnau [sa] jāyātē*.

<sup>8</sup> Read *jāyātē*.

<sup>9</sup> M. reads *jō harat*.

<sup>10</sup> Read *kṛimir-*.

<sup>11</sup> M. reads *kṛimīrbbhūtrā*.

<sup>12</sup> Read *pitribhiḥ*. This is M's reading.

<sup>13</sup> Read *-dānāt*.

<sup>14</sup> Read *=ānantyam*. M. reads *ānantam*.

<sup>15</sup> Read *śashṭhi-varsha-*.

<sup>16</sup> There is one ornamental mark between the two sets of *daṇḍas*.

<sup>17</sup> As shown below, the donated village is in the Poona District. Another Sinda copper-plate, dated Saka 938, has been recently discovered at Nārāyaṅgaon near Junnar in the same district.

The extant portion of the inscription, which is in a state of excellent preservation, contains fifty-two lines of writing, of which sixteen are engraved on the first and seventeen on the second side of the first plate. The second plate has nineteen lines inscribed on one side only. The characters are of the Nāgarī alphabet. Several letters appear in a transitional stage and exhibit more than one form each. Besides, the record was written in a cursive hand and engraved in a careless manner, several strokes being left out. The reading of a few *akṣaras*, especially in lines 32-33 and 51-52, is consequently not free from doubt. As regards individual letters, attention may be drawn to the forms of *kh* in *Bhīm-ākhyō*, l. 1 and *śākhā*, l. 28, the former of which has a loop in the left limb, while the latter is without it. Similarly the letters *g*, *m*, *n* and *r* present looped and unlooped forms, see, e.g., *g* in *garvabhasthō*, l. 5 and *nagara*, l. 10; *m* in *chihātāmaṇi*, l. 3 and *viṣmaya*, l. 18; *n* in *janānām*, l. 4 and *sēnāpati*, l. 9 and *r* in *jarad-*, l. 12 and *guṇa-rāṣi-*, ll. 1-2. The several forms of the palatal *ś* seen in *śrī-*, l. 2, *guṇa-rāṣi-*, ll. 1-2 and *āśrita*, ll. 3-4 and of *v* in *vilōṭāḥ*, l. 19 and *ēv-aikah*, l. 21, are also noteworthy. The left limb of *dh* is undeveloped, *bh* and *h* are almost identical in shape, and *ph* is drawn cursorily, see *samadhiḡat-*, l. 6, *Bhīm-ākhyō*, l. 1, *mahōdadhiḡ*, ll. 4-5 and *phaṇindra* l. 7. Finally, the record exhibits here and there the use of the *prishṭha-mātrās* to denote medial diphthongs.

The language is Sanskrit. The inscription is composed in a good style, but contains several mistakes due to careless writing. The extant portion contains one incomplete and ten complete verses<sup>1</sup> in ll. 1-5, 17-21, 40-45, and 48-51, the rest being in prose. As regards orthography, the only points that call for notice are the use of the vowel *ṛi* for *ri* in *āśrita*, ll. 3-4 and that of *v* for *b* as in *mahāśavda*, l. 6 and the reduplication of a consonant following *r* as in *kuhara-varṭti*, l. 14 and *gandharvva*, l. 16.

The inscription is one of the Sinda king, the *Mahāsāmanta* Ādityavarman, who had obtained all *mahāśabdas* and was born in the lineage of Dīśṭīviṣha, the lord of Nāgas.<sup>2</sup> The object of it is to record the grant, by Ādityavarman, of a village named *Kiṇihikā* which was included in the (larger) village *Paṅgarikā* and was situated in the *Rāmatīrthikā*-Eighty-four. Among the boundaries of the village, which are specified in ll. 33-35, are mentioned a *layaṇa-giri* (hill containing cells) which bounded it on the west and a river named *Indra* which flowed on its north. The donee was the Brāhmaṇa *Navaśiva*, son of *Chandrabhaṭṭa*, who belonged to the *Kauṇḍinya-gōtra* and was a student of the *Bahvṛicha-śākhā* (of the *Rīgvēda*). He had emigrated from the *Madhyadēśa*. The grant was made by Ādityavarman, while residing at *Junninagara*, on the occasion of a solar eclipse which occurred on the new-moon day of *Chaitra* in the expired Śaka samvat 887, the cyclic year being *Krōdhana*. The date is regular. The expired Śaka 887 (corresponding to A.D. 965-66) was *Krōdhana* according to the southern luni-solar system and there was a solar eclipse on the *amāvasyā* of the *paurṇimānta* *Chaitra*. The corresponding Christian date is Monday, the 6th March A.D. 965.

The genealogy of Ādityavarman which was given in the initial portion of the record is now almost wholly lost. The extant portion of the record contains only two names, viz., *Bhīma* and his son *Muñja*, the grandfather and the father respectively of Ādityavarman. About *Muñja* we are told that he was superior to (another) *Muñja* in merits. It is not clear who this latter personage was. The reference can scarcely be to the homonymous king of the *Paramāra* dynasty, the celebrated poet and patron of Sanskrit learning; for he was not a contemporary of

<sup>1</sup> The verse in ll. 17-19 occurs also in the *Bhādāna* grant of *Aparājita*, Śaka 919, above, Vol. III, pp. 273-74,

<sup>2</sup> *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. XII, pp. 141ff.

Ādityavarman's father and had not in fact ascended the throne even at the time when the present record was incised. His father Siyaka was ruling in V. S. 1029<sup>1</sup> (i.e., A.D. 972-73) and was, therefore, on the throne for at least seven years after the issue of the present charter. It is not, therefore, likely that Muñja was already so famous in A.D. 965 as to induce the author of the present record to institute a comparison between him and the father of Ādityavarman. The name of one other Muñja, who also belonged to the Sinda family, is known from his Tidgundi plates,<sup>2</sup> but he belongs to a much later age, as he was a feudatory of Vikramāditya VI of the Later Chālukya dynasty.

As said above, Ādityavarman belonged to the Sinda family and claimed descent from the Nāga lineage. He had on his banner the figure of a golden lion. As he does not claim a higher title than *Mahāsāmanta*, he was plainly subordinate to some paramount power. His suzerain was probably the powerful Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III, for whom, it is interesting to mention, we have a record bearing the same date as the present record, viz., 6th March A.D. 965.<sup>3</sup>

The Sindas, Chhindas or Chhindakas of the Nāgarāmāṣa are known from several earlier and later records. Most of these come from the Kanarese districts of the Bombay Presidency and Mysore and Hyderabad states, while some are found in the Bastar state of the Central Provinces. Legendary accounts of the origin of the family are furnished by some later inscriptions. Thus, according to the Bhairanmaṭṭi stone inscription the eponymous founder of the family was a certain long-armed Sinda, who was born from the serpent king Dharaṇendra at Abichchhatra in the region of the river Sindhu and reared by a tiger.<sup>4</sup> According to another account Sinda was born from the union of the god Śiva and the river Sindhu and was brought up by the king of serpents on tiger's milk.<sup>5</sup> It seems, therefore, that the original habitat of the family was somewhere in North India, probably in the valley of the Indus. Many of these Sinda or Chhinda kings call themselves *Bhōgavatī-pura-var-ādikāvara* 'the lord of Bhōgavatī, the best of towns'. The exact location of Bhōgavatī is not settled, but according to the *Navasahasāṅkacharita* of Padmagupta it was situated to the south of the Narmadā, perhaps in the Bastar state.<sup>6</sup>

From their original home in North India several branches of the family migrated to the South and established themselves in different parts of the peninsula. According to one account the aforementioned Sinda married the daughter of a Kadamba king and had by her three sons who established the family of Sinda kings. This Sinda was probably a feudatory of the contemporary Kadamba king and seems to have been ruling somewhere in the Kuntala kingdom. The Jāvali plates<sup>7</sup> of the Western Gāṅga prince Śrīpuruṣa-Piṭhivī-Kōṅguṇi speaks of a *Sindavishaya* which, according to Mr. Rice<sup>8</sup>, extended over parts of the Dhārwar, Bijāpur and Bellary Districts. Another account states that the long-armed Sinda, the founder of the family, settled in the Karahāṭa-Four-thousand province, which evidently comprised the territory round Karhād in the Sātār District of the Bombay Presidency. Later on we find several branches of the family established at Bāgnāgā<sup>9</sup> (Būgalkōṭ in the Bombay Presidency), Erambaragē<sup>10</sup> (Yelburgā in the Nizām's Dominions) and Chakrakōṭya<sup>11</sup> (in the Bastar state).

<sup>1</sup> See Dhanapāla's *Pāṇalachchhīmālā*, verse 108.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. III, pp. 306 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXI, p. 262.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 231.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 232.

<sup>6</sup> See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXII, pp. 103 ff.

<sup>7</sup> *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VI, p. 151.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, Introd., pp. 7 ff.

<sup>9</sup> Above, Vol. III, pp. 230 ff.

<sup>10</sup> *J. B. Br. R. A. S.*, Vol. XI, pp. 219 ff.

<sup>11</sup> Above, Vol. IX, pp. 174 ff.

Most of these Sinda or Chhinda families distinguished themselves from the 10th to the 12th centuries A.D. as feudatories of the Later Chālukyas. But some we can trace to earlier times. The Nēsari plates<sup>1</sup> of the Rāshtrakūṭa Gōvinda III, dated Śaka 727, mention a prince named Nāgabhastin who was an ornament of the great Chhinda family and belonged to the lineage of the lord of serpents. The family of Ādityavarman also was, as we have seen, a feudatory family which probably owed allegiance to the Rāshtrakūṭas.

We have not so far come across records of the Sindas or Chhindas earlier than the age of the Rāshtrakūṭas. But that does not mean that these families rose into prominence for the first time in the ninth century A.D. As we have already seen, the founder of the family was a contemporary and probably a feudatory of the Kadambas. He must, therefore, have lived in the fifth or sixth century A.D. when the Kadambas were powerful in the South. As a matter of fact we find in that age a family with the analogous name Sēndraka which was subordinate to the Kadambas. The territory under its rule was called *Sēndraka-vishaya*. From the statement in the Bennur grant<sup>2</sup> that the Kadamba king Kṛishṇavarman II made the gift of a village in the *Sēndraka-vishaya* while on a victorious march to Vaijayantī (modern Banavāsi in North Kanara), it is conjectured that the *Sēndraka-vishaya* lay not far from the Banavāsi kingdom. It is generally identified with the Nagarakhaṇḍa division of the Banavāsi-Twelve-thousand which from another inscription<sup>3</sup> is known to have been under the rule of the Sēndrakas. It was thus contiguous to, if not identical with, the *Sinda-vishaya* mentioned above. The Sēndrakas appear first as feudatories of the Kadambas,<sup>4</sup> but on the downfall of the latter they transferred their allegiance to the Early Chālukyas of Bādāmi, with whom some of them had become matrimonially connected.<sup>5</sup> When Pulakēśin II conquered Mahārāshṭra and Lāṭa from the Kalachuris, he placed a trusted Sēndraka chief named Bhānuśakti<sup>6</sup> in charge of part of the conquered territory, viz., Southern Gujarāt and Khāndesh. Grants of land<sup>7</sup> made by Bhānuśakti's grandson Allaśakti have been discovered in those parts of the country. Later on he was ousted from Southern Gujarāt, but he and his son continued to rule in Khāndesh. The latest record of the Sēndrakas found in Khāndesh is the Mundkhēḍē copper-plate inscription<sup>8</sup> of Allaśakti's son Jayaśakti, which is dated Śaka 602 (A.D. 680).

The inscriptions of the Sēndrakas do not generally connect their family with any eponymous hero, but the Lakshmēśvara stone inscription<sup>9</sup> states that they were of the *bhujagēndr-ānvaya* or 'lineage of the king of serpents'. It seems, therefore, that the Sēndrakas came in course of time to be called Sindas or Chhindas; for, besides similarity in their names, the two families claimed descent from the same race and in some cases ruled over the same territory.

<sup>1</sup> G. H. Khare, *Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan* (Marāṭhī), Vol. I, pp. 15 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. V, pp. 594 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See the Baḷagāmvē inscription of the time of Vinayāditya, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 142 ff.

<sup>4</sup> See Hālsi grant of Hariyvarman, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 31.

<sup>5</sup> The Sēndraka prince Śrīvallabha Sēnānandarāja was a maternal uncle of Pulakēśin II, above, Vol. III, pp. 50 ff.

<sup>6</sup> No records of this chief have so far come to light, but as his grandson Allaśakti was ruling in A.D. 653 and 657, Bhānuśakti has to be placed in the first quarter of the seventh century A.D. He was thus a contemporary of Pulakēśin II.

<sup>7</sup> One of these was discovered at Bagumrā in South Gujarāt and two in Khāndesh. See *New Ind. Ant.*, Vol. I, p. 747. Buhler gives this chief's name as Nikumbhallaśakti, but Nikumbha was only a *viruda*. It is used as such with the name of Allaśakti's son Jayaśakti also. The recently discovered Sēndraka plates spell the chief's name as Nikumbh-allaśakti. See *New Ind. Ant.*, Vol. I, p. 747.

<sup>8</sup> This record was first published in the first volume of the Marāṭhī magazine *Prabhāta* of Dhūlia. See also the *An. Rep. of the Bhārata Itihāsa Saṁśodhaka Mandala*, for Śaka 1834, pp. 169 ff.

<sup>9</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, p. 106. This record is, however, held to be spurious.



After Jayaśakti we have no records of the Sēndrakas from Mahārāshṭra. After the lapse of nearly three centuries we get the present grant of the Sinda family. It is not known if the family of Ādityavarman was connected with any other Sinda families. But we may note that the names Bhīma and Muñja, which occur in the present record, figure again as names of Sinda feudatories in the Tiḍgundi plates of the time of Vikramāditya VI. The similarity of names suggests some sort of connection between the two families. The present plates state that the banner of Ādityavarman had the figure of lion on it and it is noteworthy that the seal of the aforementioned Tiḍgundi plates also contains a figure which Kielhorn took to be that of a tiger or a lion.<sup>1</sup>

As the provenance of the plates is not known, it would have been difficult to identify the localities mentioned in them, but the mention of the Indra river and a *layaṇa-giri* among the boundaries of the donated village affords an important clue. The former is evidently identical with the Indrāyaṇī river which forms the northern boundary of the Poona *tālukā*. The donated village Kiṇihikā is probably identical with Kinhai situated on the south bank of the Indrāyaṇī near Shelārwaḍi, about 16 miles North by West of Poona. There are some caves to the west of it.<sup>2</sup> Its situation therefore exactly answers to the description in the present plates. Paṇ-garikā cannot, however, be traced in its vicinity. Rāmatīrthikā, the headquarters of the sub-division in which Kiṇihikā was included, is probably identical with Rāmatīrtha where Ushava-dāta made certain gifts to Brāhmaṇas as recorded in a Nāsik cave inscription.<sup>3</sup> The latter is taken by some to be a holy *kuṇḍa* situated in or near Śūrpāraka<sup>4</sup> with which it is mentioned in the aforementioned inscription. But the description in the present plates shows that it was the headquarters of a small subdivision of eighty-four villages and must have been situated not very far from Kinhai. No place of that name can, however, be traced now in its neighbourhood. Junninagara, where the king's camp was pitched, is probably identical with Junnar,<sup>5</sup> a well-known place about 55 miles north of Poona.

#### TEXT.<sup>6</sup>

*First Plate<sup>7</sup>; First Side.*

1 पृ(त्र)णामतिदुर्जयः<sup>8</sup> ॥१॥\* तत[स्व]नूजय<sup>9</sup> भीमाख्यो गु-

2 णराशिरभूवृ(त्र)पः । उदपादि ततः श्रीमान्मंजो मुं-

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. III, pp. 307.

<sup>2</sup> There are about twenty caves at or near Shelārwaḍi, all of about the first or second century after Christ. *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 212; *Cave Temples of India*, p. 246.

<sup>3</sup> Inscription No. 10, above, Vol. VIII, p. 78.

<sup>4</sup> As the inscription reads *Śōrpārāgē cha Rāmatīrthē*, Bhagwanlal and following him Senart take Rāmatīrtha to be the modern Rāmakuṇḍa reservoir in Śōpārā (see *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. XVI, p. 572, n. 3 and above, Vol. VIII, p. 79). But the draftsman of the record has offended against Sanskrit grammar in other places also. Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar translates the above expression as 'in Śōrpārāga and Rāmatīrtha' (see his *Collected Works*, Vol. III, p. 24) and Bühler as 'at Rāmatīrtha near Śōrpārāga' (see *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 100).

<sup>5</sup> R. G. Bhandarkar suggested that Junnar was derived from Jirṇanagara (i.e., 'old town'). See *Collected Works*, Vol. III, p. 60.

<sup>6</sup> From the original plates.

<sup>7</sup> As stated above, this plate was originally the second or third plate of its set. It is now preserved in the Rājwāde Sanshodhana Maṇḍala, Dhulā.

<sup>8</sup> Read *satrūnām-ati-durjayaḥ*. Metre of this and the next verse : *Anuṣṭubh*.

<sup>9</sup> Read *talas=lanūjō*.

- 3 जगुणा[धिकः] ॥[२॥\*] अहितकुलकालकेतुः चिंतामणि-  
 4 शृ(श्चि)तजनानां(नाम्) [1\*] आदित्यवर्धनतनयोभूततो धैर्यमहो-  
 5 दधिः<sup>1</sup> ॥[३॥\*] यश्च गर्भस्थोरात्रम[यु]वतिगर्भ[ह]ना[न्ता]<sup>2</sup> अ[प]रे-  
 6 ए प्रख्यातः ॥ तदसौ समधिगताशेषमहा[श]ब्द(ब्दे) महापा(सा)-  
 7 मंत(तो) दृष्टी(ष्टि)विपफणीन्द्रवंशोद्भवः[\*] सिन्दान्वयप्रसूतः[\*] [स्व]र्णम-  
 8 यस्मिन्द्रध्वजः[\*] कुशली जुन्नित(न)गरावस्थितश्रीमदादित्यवर्धः<sup>3</sup>  
 9 सर्वान्स्वसंव(व)ध्यमानकान् महामात्यसे[ना]पतिमहासाह[सि]-  
 10 कराज[पु]त्रनगरग्रामस्थान(न्) पौरविस्त्रिप्तक<sup>4</sup>ग्राम[कू]टनि-  
 11 युक्तानि[यु]क्तप्रधानाप्रधानन<sup>5</sup> । समनुवो(वो)धयत्यस्तु वो वि-  
 12 दितं यथा वाताहतजलतरंगवीचीभंगुरा विभवाः ।<sup>6</sup> जरद्रा-  
 13 क्षसीग्रस्थमान(नं) पञ्चटिन<sup>7</sup> विकारभागस्थिरं यौवन(नं) ।<sup>6</sup> कृन्ता(ता)न्ता-  
 14 स्यकुहरवर्त्तिजलवुहु<sup>8</sup>दवत्क्षणदृष्टनष्टमायुः [रं]भास्त[भ]-  
 15 सारवदसारं शारीरकं ।<sup>6</sup> स्वप्नोपालंभसृगदृष्टिकाशःसम(मं)  
 16 वा[पि] गन्धर्व्वनगराष(प)मस[स]त्क[ल्प]प्रायं च चा[रु]क(त्वं)

First Plate; Second Side.

- 17 चला विभूतिः क्षणभंगि यौवनं ।<sup>9</sup> कृतान्तदेतांत[र]वर्त्ति  
 18 यौवनं(नम्)<sup>10</sup> [1\*] तथाप्यवज्ञा परलोकसास(ध)ने अहो नृणां विस्मयका-

<sup>1</sup> Metre *Upagiti*. The last *pāda* of this verse is faulty.

<sup>2</sup> Read *garbbhashthō-rāti-yuvati-garbbhaka-nāmn-āparēṇa*.

<sup>3</sup> Read *Śrīmad-Ādityavarmanā*.

<sup>4</sup> I have not come across the name of this official elsewhere. Perhaps he is identical with the *Purapati* (Mayor of a town) mentioned in the Bhādāna grant of Aparājita, above, Vol. III, p. 273.

<sup>5</sup> Read *pradhān-āpradhānān*. The following *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

<sup>6</sup> This *daṇḍa* is unnecessary.

<sup>7</sup> Read *pratidinam*.

<sup>8</sup> Read *jala-budbudavat-*.

<sup>9</sup> This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

<sup>10</sup> As *yauvanam* is already mentioned, some word like *jīvanam* is required here. The aforementioned Bhādāna grant has *jīvitam* in this verse.

- 19 रि चेष्टितं(तम्)<sup>1</sup> ॥४॥\* तथा च । संपदो जलतरंगविलोलाः यौवनं त्रिचतु-  
 20 राणि [दि]नानि । शारदाभ्रचलचंचलमायुः किं ध[नैः] कुरुत धर्मम-  
 21 निन्द्य(यम्)<sup>2</sup> ॥५॥\* सर्वमेवासत्कल्पमेवमवगत्य धर्म एवैकः सा(शा)[श्व]त[सु](स)-  
 22 ज्ञः[\*] सखा व(व)न्युरमुचा<sup>3</sup>पर[च] च नान्योस्तीत्यवधार्य शकनृपकालाती-  
 23 तसंवत्सरशतेष्वष्टसु सप्ताशीत्यधिकेषु क्रीधनसंवत्स[र]ान्तर्ग-  
 24 तचैत्रामावा[स्या]मादित्यग्रहणपूर्वणि मी(मा)तापित्रोरैहिका-  
 25 मुषिकाफलावाप्तये आत्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिद्वये पूर्व-  
 26 जैरग्रहारस्थित्या एतदीयातीतपुरुषाणां प्रतिपालितोवि-  
 27 [रुध]<sup>4</sup>रि[दा]नीं सर्वपरिहारान्विधाय मया सध्वे(दि)श्विनिर्गतकौ-  
 28 णि(ण्डि)न्यसगोचव(व)तृच[शा]खासन्न(न्न)ज्ञचारिणे महादिजाय श्री-  
 29 नवशिवाय श्रीचन्द्रभट्टसुताय परमया भक्त्या पांदा<sup>5</sup> प्रेक्षाव्य ह-  
 30 स्तोदकप्रदानपूर्वकं रामतीर्थिका]चतुरशीति[कान्तः]पातिकि-  
 31 णिहिकाग्रामः पं[ग]रिकाग्राम एवाभ्यन्तरः पूर्वदत्तदेवदायन्न(न्न)-  
 32 ज्ञ[दा]यवा(वा)ह्यः ब्र(न्न)ज्ञग्रामदे(?)विस्तकाग्राम<sup>6</sup>विही(?)लासमेतः प्रद-  
 33 त्तः [I]\* यस्याघटनानि [पु]र्वतः सीमा [नि]मगणपतिः

Second Plate.<sup>7</sup>

- 34 दक्षिणतः सीमा च चैरी डोङ्गरिका । पश्चिमतः सीमा लय-  
 35 णगिरिः । उत्तरतः सीमा इन्द्रनदी । एवं चतुराघाटसमे-  
 36 तः साभ्यन्तरसिद्धिः सदण्डदशापराधोपि भवि[ष्य]<sup>8</sup>दागामिभोक्तृ-

<sup>1</sup> Metre: Yamāsthā

<sup>2</sup> Metre: Svāgatā.

<sup>3</sup> Aparatra seems to have been used here in the sense of atra.

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps pratipādīt āvruddham=īdānim is the intended reading.

<sup>5</sup> Read pādan.

<sup>6</sup> Compare with this the expression mēshu (?) tallikā-prāvēṣṭulāḥ in II, 41-42 of the Tōrkhdō plates (above, Vol. III, p. 56).

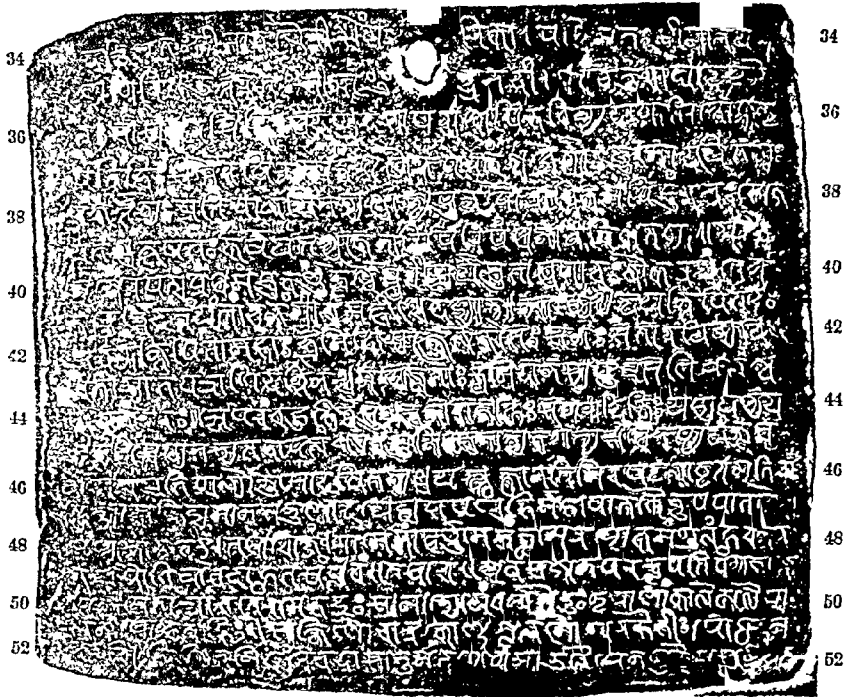
<sup>7</sup> This plate was originally the third or fourth plate of its set. It is now preserved in the Bhārata Itihāsa Samśōdhaka Mandala, Poona.

<sup>8</sup> This word, which means the same as āgāmi, is superfluous.

१ मुञ्जमविदुर्गैः ॥ तरे ॥ सुशुद्धपुनीमो ग्योगु  
 २ ॥ अमरिहृष्टः ॥ उरपा ॥ इति तः ॥ श्रीमद्विजय  
 ३ ब्रह्मणादिः ॥ अदि तः ॥ कोलका ॥ इति तः ॥ मवि  
 ४ ॥ अदि तः ॥ कोलका ॥ इति तः ॥ मवि  
 ५ ॥ अदि तः ॥ कोलका ॥ इति तः ॥ मवि  
 ६ ॥ अदि तः ॥ कोलका ॥ इति तः ॥ मवि  
 ७ ॥ अदि तः ॥ कोलका ॥ इति तः ॥ मवि  
 ८ ॥ अदि तः ॥ कोलका ॥ इति तः ॥ मवि  
 ९ ॥ अदि तः ॥ कोलका ॥ इति तः ॥ मवि  
 १० ॥ अदि तः ॥ कोलका ॥ इति तः ॥ मवि  
 ११ ॥ अदि तः ॥ कोलका ॥ इति तः ॥ मवि  
 १२ ॥ अदि तः ॥ कोलका ॥ इति तः ॥ मवि  
 १३ ॥ अदि तः ॥ कोलका ॥ इति तः ॥ मवि  
 १४ ॥ अदि तः ॥ कोलका ॥ इति तः ॥ मवि  
 १५ ॥ अदि तः ॥ कोलका ॥ इति तः ॥ मवि  
 १६ ॥ अदि तः ॥ कोलका ॥ इति तः ॥ मवि

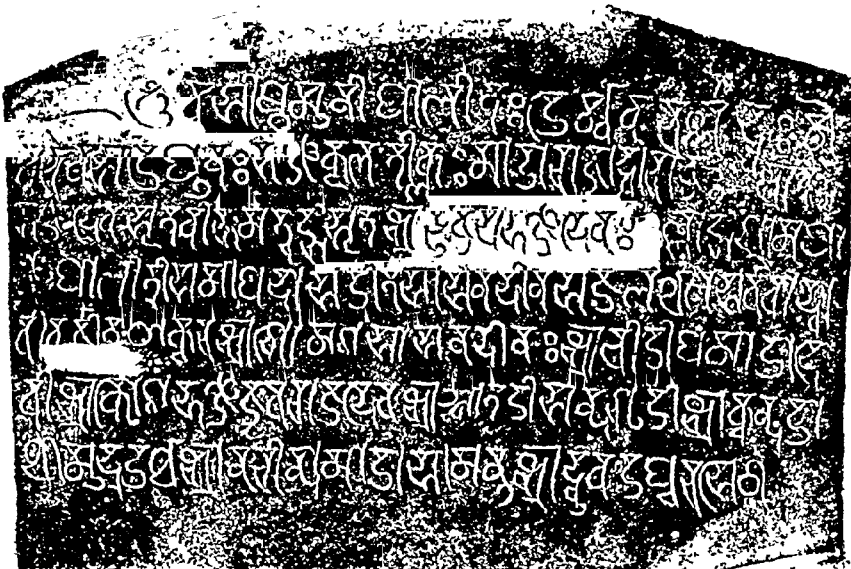
१७ ॥ अदि तः ॥ कोलका ॥ इति तः ॥ मवि  
 १८ ॥ अदि तः ॥ कोलका ॥ इति तः ॥ मवि  
 १९ ॥ अदि तः ॥ कोलका ॥ इति तः ॥ मवि  
 २० ॥ अदि तः ॥ कोलका ॥ इति तः ॥ मवि  
 २१ ॥ अदि तः ॥ कोलका ॥ इति तः ॥ मवि  
 २२ ॥ अदि तः ॥ कोलका ॥ इति तः ॥ मवि  
 २३ ॥ अदि तः ॥ कोलका ॥ इति तः ॥ मवि  
 २४ ॥ अदि तः ॥ कोलका ॥ इति तः ॥ मवि  
 २५ ॥ अदि तः ॥ कोलका ॥ इति तः ॥ मवि  
 २६ ॥ अदि तः ॥ कोलका ॥ इति तः ॥ मवि  
 २७ ॥ अदि तः ॥ कोलका ॥ इति तः ॥ मवि  
 २८ ॥ अदि तः ॥ कोलका ॥ इति तः ॥ मवि  
 २९ ॥ अदि तः ॥ कोलका ॥ इति तः ॥ मवि  
 ३० ॥ अदि तः ॥ कोलका ॥ इति तः ॥ मवि  
 ३१ ॥ अदि तः ॥ कोलका ॥ इति तः ॥ मवि  
 ३२ ॥ अदि तः ॥ कोलका ॥ इति तः ॥ मवि

Second Plate.



SCALE · ONE-HALF.

ADIPUR COPPER-PLATE OF DURJAYABHANJA.



SCALE · FOUR FIFTHS.

- 37 पतिभिः सर्वैरपि अस्मद्वंशजैरपरवंशजैर्वाऽनुमोदयितव्यः
- 38 सत्कर्त्तव्यः प्रतिपालयितव्यश्चास्य<sup>1</sup> पुत्रपौत्रान्तिकमपि भुञ्जतः भोज-
- 39 यतश्च क्षपतः कर्षयतश्च केनापि परिपंथना न विधातव्या ॥ यतः
- 40 अग्नेरपत्यं प्रथमं सुवर्णं भूर्वैष्णवी सूर्यसुताश्च गावः [1\*] लोकत्रयं तेन
- 41 भ[वि]र्दि<sup>2</sup> दत्तं यं(यः) कांचनं गां च महीञ्च दद्यात् ॥[६॥\*]<sup>3</sup> आस्फोटयन्ति<sup>4</sup>  
पितरः
- 42 प्रव[ल्ग]न्ति पितामहाः [1\*] भूमिदोस्तत्कुले जातः स नः संतारयिष्यति ॥[७॥\*]
- 43 सितान्यातपत्राणि<sup>5</sup> दन्तिनश्च मदोदताः [1\*] भूमिदानस्य पु[ष्पा]णि फलं [स्त्र]-
- 44 द्य(र्गाः) पुरंदरः<sup>6</sup> ॥[८॥\*] अपरं च [1\*] व(व)हुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सग्रा-  
दिभिः [1\*] यस्य यस्य य-
- 45 दा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ॥[९॥\*] एवं मुनिवचनान्यवगत्य [स]र्वैर-  
प्ययं भूध-
- 46 [सं]दाय[ः\*] प्रतिपाल्योनुमोदयितव्यश्च [1\*] यस्त्वज्ञानतिमिरपटलाहतमतिरा-
- 47 च्छि[न्या]दाच्छिद्यमान[म]नुमोदयेद्वा स पञ्चभिर्महापातकैरुपपातकै[श्च]
- 48 सं[यु]क्तो भवेत् । तथा चोक्तं(क्तम्) । गामिकां स्वर्णमिकां [च\*] भूमेरप्येक-  
मंगुलं(लम्) । हरद्वर-
- 49 कमा[प्नो]ति यावदाहृतसंज्ञवं(वम्) ॥[१०॥\*] तथा च ॥ स्ववंशजान(न्) परभू-  
पतिवंशजान्वा
- 50 सर्वाने(ने)तान्याचते रामभद्रः, [1\*] सामान्योर्यं धर्मसेतुः नृपाणां<sup>7</sup> काले काले पट-
- 51 लनीयो भवद्भिः<sup>8</sup> ॥[११॥\*] साक्षिणौ चात्र<sup>9</sup> कोण्डगू(?)ल मौख[र]हेहीः । पाठस्य ?]स-
- 52 तिलो(?) लिखितमिदं खिदासानुमतं गोगमाउरैवेन बुद्ध्याष्टमे[न ?] [1\*]

<sup>1</sup> Read *pratipālayitavyaś=cha* | *Aśya*.

<sup>2</sup> Read *bhavēd=dhi*.

<sup>3</sup> Metre : *Indraiajṛā*.

<sup>4</sup> Metre of verses 7-10 : *Anuṣṭubh*.

<sup>5</sup> This *pāda* has one *akṣhara* wanting. Read *Susīlāny=*. The usual reading is *dhavalāny=*

<sup>6</sup> This *visarga* is superfluous.

<sup>7</sup> Read *sētur=nṛipāṇām*.

<sup>8</sup> Metre : *Śālinī*. The first *pāda* is irregular.

<sup>9</sup> We are not sure about the reading of the last thirteen *aśharas* in lines 51 and 52 each.

## No. 16.—ADIPUR COPPER-PLATE OF DURJAYABHANJA.

BY KRISHNA CHANDRA PANIGRAHI, M.A.

This copper-plate was in possession of one Rajakisore Pattanayak of Adipur, a village about three miles to the north-west of Khiching, the ancient capital of the rulers of Mayūrbhanj. The owner at first brought it to the notice of Mr. Sailendra Prasad Bose of the Khiching Museum and then of Mr. K. C. Neogi, the Dewan of the Mayurbhanj State, who acquired it for the Archaeological Museum at Bāripadā. Mr. P. Acharya, the State-Archaeologist, handed it over to Pandit Binayak-Misra of the Calcutta University for publication. I am indebted to Pandit Misra for the kind permission he has given me for editing the plate.

The plate measures about 8" X 6" and contains an inscription of only seven lines on its obverse. A seal surmounted by an *amalaka* is attached to the top, which contains in relief the figure of a *couchant* humped bull but no legend. The engraving has been neatly and carefully done and the inscription is in perfect preservation. The characters used in this grant point to an age when the Oriya characters were in the process of assuming their present forms. This is evident from the forms of *shṭh* (1.1), *pt* (1.2), *p* (1.3), *th* (1.4), *ṭh* (1.5), and *ṭ* (1.6) which distinctly look like the modern Oriya characters.

The letters of this plate especially the letters *ṭ*, *ṭh*, *p*, *r*, *ś*, and *s* closely resemble those used in the Mahada Plates of Yōgēśvaradēvavarman<sup>1</sup> and the Patna Museum Plate of Sōmēśvaradēva<sup>2</sup>. On palaeographical grounds the latter grant has been assigned to the fourteenth or fifteenth century A. D. though the late Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri was not inclined to assign such a late date to it.<sup>3</sup> The orthography of the plate deserves more than a passing notice. Though an attempt has been made to compose the text in Sanskrit as is evident from the use of several *visargas*, the composer of the inscription seems to have no knowledge in Sanskrit at all. The text makes no distinction between the long and short vowels, nor does it often use the three sibilants—dental, palatal and lingual—correctly, a fact which has been illustrated throughout the inscription. It also presents a number of phonetic peculiarities of colloquial Oriya language, e.g., *Hēmva* (1.1), *lladdha* (1.1), *uptana* (1.2), *tikla* (1.2), *māhārājādḍhīrāja* (1.2), *vibhama* (1.3), *Dujaya* (1.3), *sāsana-dīna* (1.4), *sa-jala-thala* (1.4), *sandagrihī* (1.6), *mudrahārtha* (1.7), *Narindā* (1.7) and *pura-sēḥhī* (1.7) which are the corrupt forms of Sanskrit *Hēramba*, *labdha*, *utpanna*, *tilaka*, *māhārājādhirāja*, *vibhrama*, *Durjaya*, *sāsan-ādīna*, *sa-jala-sthala*, *sandhivigrahin*, *mudrā-hasta*, *Narēndra* and *pura-brēshīhin* respectively. Another peculiarity of the text is that it contains no verb at all<sup>4</sup>, and its sense can be made out only by adding certain verbs in their proper places. I have deemed it better to publish the text as it is, for, an attempt to correct it will result in its wholesale change.

The introductory passages common to the Bhañja records of Mayūrbhanj, are conspicuous in this grant by their absence. The inscription abruptly begins with certain epithets of Raṇa-bhañjadēva, surnamed *Vibhramatuṅga*<sup>5</sup>, representing him as having been nurtured by the sage Vasiṣṭha, as a receiver of boon from Hēramba, as born in the Mivara family and as the frontal mark of the Bhañja lineage. He has further been given the title of *Mahārājādhirāja*. Then it gives out that his son *Durjayabhañjadēva*, who has been given no title at all, granted the village *Ōllāṅga* along with *Pāñchapālī* and *Trīsamāpadā* (probably two other villages)

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XII, pp. 218 ff.<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 97 ff.<sup>3</sup> *P. R. A. S., E.C.*, 1916-17, p. 4, para. 5.<sup>4</sup> [The text does contain a verb and that twice, which Mr. Panigrahi seems to have overlooked. In l. 4 *sāsana dīna* and again in l. 5 *sāsana dīnaḥ* mean 'grant has been given', the form *dīna* 'given' being derivable from the Prākṛit *dinna*.—B.C.C.]<sup>5</sup> [Dr. Majumder assigns this surname to *Durjayabhañja*; see above, p. 151.—Ed.]

to Thākura śrī-Gōmaṭa for unimpeded enjoyment. At the time the grant was made, Chihīpa the chief queen, Kōṭabhañja the heir-apparent, Ātaḥī the Minister for war and peace, Kunda-hāthī the custodian of the Royal Seal, Narindā the chief feudatory and Ddhuvaha the town-banker were present.

Durjayabhañjadēva, the donor, has been represented in this record as the son of Raṇabhañjadēva and the father of Kōṭabhañja. In the Keshari plate of Śatrubhañjadēva,<sup>1</sup> however, Durjayabhañja figures as the son of Kōṭṭabhañja and the father of Raṇabhañja. Evidently the donor of the present grant is not identical with Durjayabhañja of the Keshari plate. Until further discoveries are made, it is not possible to assign a place to Durjayabhañja of this record in the Bhañja genealogical table.

The plate does not mention the traditional account relating to the origin of the Bhañjas as other Bhañja grants of Mayūrbhanj do. It, however, refers to a Mivara family (ll. 1-2) to which Raṇabhañjadēva is said to have belonged. Judging from the numerous mistakes of the text, it may at once be conceded that Mivara is a mistake for Mivāra (Mewār in Rājputānā). The author of the inscription, therefore, seems to refer the original home of the Bhañjas to Mewār. But the tradition<sup>2</sup> ascribes the connection of the Mayūrbhanj family with Jaipur which was never a part of Mewār. Moreover, the name Mewār itself is not to be found in early inscriptions. This, together with the unorthodox style in which the plate has been written, points to the fact that the document was drawn up by a person sometime about the fifteenth century A. D., who not only did not know much about the copper-plate grants, but also did not know the origin, either real or traditional, of the family he was describing.<sup>3</sup>

The villages Pāñchapālī and Ōllānga may conveniently be identified with Pañchupālī and Dēlāng, both situated in the Anandpur Sub-division of the Keonjhar State. As to the village Trisamāpadā, I cannot suggest any identification.

#### TEXT.<sup>4</sup>

- 1 Siddham<sup>5</sup> [!]\* Ōm Vasīṣṭha-munī-pālitaḥ Hērmva-vara-lladdhaḥ Mi-
- 2 vara-vaṃsa-uptanaḥ Bhañja-kūla-tiklaḥ mākārājāddhīrājāḥ śrī-Raṇa-
- 3 bhañjadēva-sūta Vibhamatuṅga-sūta śrī-Dujayabhañjadēvaḥ Ōllānga-grāma Pā-
- 4 ñchapālī Trisamāpadā sahita sāsanadīna sa-jala-thala sarva-vāddhā
- 5 vivarjita Thākura śrī-Gōmaṭa sāsanadīnaḥ śrī-Chihīpa-māhādē-
- 6 vī śrī-Kōṭabhañja-jūvarājadēva śrī-Ātaḥī-sandagrihi śrī-Kundahā-
- 7 thī-mudrahartha śrī-Narindā-māhāsāmanta śrī-Ddhuvaha-purasēthi [!]\*

#### No. 17.—HALAYUDHASTOTRĀ FROM THE AMARESVARA TEMPLE.

By PROF. P. P. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI, B.A. (OXON.), M.A. (MADRAS).

Halāyudha (one who wields the *hala* or plough as a weapon) is a well known name in Sanskrit literature. Dr. Aufrecht has listed more than sixteen works under Halāyudha. On the inner

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XIII, p. 429.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 290.

<sup>3</sup> [All these combined with the fact that the language of the record is full of errors seem to show that the grant never passed through the secretariate and thus makes one doubtful about its genuineness.—Ed.]

<sup>4</sup> From ink-impressions and the original.

<sup>5</sup> Expressed by a symbol.



side of the southern wall in the *maṇḍapa* of the Amarēśvara Temple at Māndhātā on the left bank of the river Narmadā in the Nimar District of the Central Provinces is carved a *stōtra* called the Halāyudha-*stōtra* (vide Hiralal, *Inscriptions in the C. P. and Berar* (2nd ed.), p. 84, No. 151). Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, the Government Epigraphist for India, has been good enough to send me an impression of this *stōtra*. There are several manuscripts of the Halāyudha-*stōtra* in the Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Library (D. Nos. 11271 to 11278). A critical edition of the Halāyudha-*stōtra*, using the text as appearing on the Amarēśvara temple wall as the basic text ( ऋ ) and giving variant readings from three other manuscripts of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library is appended to this note. The record at the Amarēśvara temple is dated Samvat 1120, Kārttika-vadi 13 or A. D. 1063.

From the *stōtra* above referred to, we are sure that its author Halāyudha must have been a staunch devotee of Śiva. We agree with Dr. Chakravarti that as the *stōtra*-record is dated 1063 A.D., the author of the *stōtra* must have lived prior to the 11th century and could not therefore be identical with the famous Halāyudha who adorned the court of King Lakshmaṇasēna of Bengal and who is the author of several *sarvasvas* like *Brāhmaṇasarvasva*, *Pañḍitasarvasva*, *Mīmāṃsāsarvasva*, etc.

The Telugu poet Pāṅkuriki Sōmanātha who lived about 1190 A.D., refers in his *Dvipada Basavaṇṇā* to a Halāyudha, a follower of the Śaiva cult, and who was a native of Navagrāma. The last verse of the *stōtra* in the Amarēśvara temple distinctly refers to its author as a native of the village Navagrāma. We are therefore on sure ground if we identify the author of the *stōtra* with the Halāyudha referred to by Sōmanātha as an ardent devotee of Śiva. The last stanza above referred to reads as follows :

Dvijō dakṣiṇa-Rādhīyō Navagrāma-vinirggataḥ |

Halāyudha-vu(bu)dhas=Śambhōr=imāṁ stutim-arīrachat || (v. 64)

Of the works listed under the name Halāyudha by Aufrecht, the *Abhidhānaratnamālā* deserves our attention. In stanza 25, p. 4, of the work edited by Aufrecht in 1861 we find that among the several names of Viṣṇu, 'Śambhu' also is given as one. This is rather interesting as it reveals the mentality of the author. No other lexicographer has given the name Śambhu as synonymous with Viṣṇu. And only a staunch Viraśaiva, who believes that every word should ultimately denote only 'Śiva' as Śiva is all-pervasive, could have allowed himself to use 'Śambhu' as a synonym of Viṣṇu. Thus, it is not too much to assume the identity of authorship between the author of the *Abhidhānaratnamālā* and the Halāyudha-*stōtra*.

In his instructive introduction, Dr. Aufrecht has argued that Halāyudha the lexicographer should be assigned to a date earlier than the eleventh century A.D. And we find that the author of the *Abhidhānaratnamālā* should be identical with the author of the *Kavirahasya* as the last stanza of the last mentioned work reads as follows :

Iti samāptam=avāpta-guṇ-ōdayaṁ Kavirahasyam=idam rasika-priyam |

sad-abhidhāna-nidhāna-Halāyudha-dvija-varasya kṛtiḥ sukrīṭ-ātmanah ||

The third quarter is indeed an indirect reference, in accepted poetic style, to the author's other work, his lexicon, *Abhidhānaratnamālā*. Dr. Keith has fixed the date of Halāyudha, the author of *Kavirahasya* as contemporaneous with his patron the Rāshtrakūṭa King Kṛishṇa III.

We therefore conclude that the author of the Halāyudha-*stōtra* should be identical with Halāyudha, the author of the *Kavirahasya* and the *Abhidhānaratnamālā* and should have flourished in the latter half of the tenth century A.D.

The edition of the *stōtra* is based on four texts of which ५ is the record found at the Amareśvara temple, and is printed as the basic text.

अ represents the manuscript described in D. No. 11271.

क represents the palm-leaf manuscript written in Telugu script described in D. No. 11274.

ग represents the paper manuscript in Telugu script described in D. No. 11272.

### TEXT.

[Metres : vv. 1-61, *Mandākrāntā* ; vv. 62, 64, *Anuṣṭubh* ; v. 63, *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.]

- 1 १ ॐ नमः शिवाय ॥ विघ्नं निघ्नन्निदवदनः प्रीतये वोस्तु<sup>१</sup> नित्यं वामे कूटः  
प्रकटितव(ह)हृदक्षिणस्थूलदन्तः । यः श्रीकण्ठं पितरमुभयाश्लिष्टवामार्द्धदेहं दृष्ट्वा  
नूनं स्वयमपि दधावर्द्धनारीश्वरत्वं(त्वम्) ॥१॥ श्लाघ्यः पुत्रः स भवति किल  
स्वस्य वसुः सकाशादत्ते कैश्चित् कचिदपि गुणैर्य<sup>२</sup>]-<sup>३</sup>
- 2 : समुत्कर्षलेखाम् । इत्थं वाक्(वाच्य)न् पितुरधिकतां पंचवक्त्रस्य नूनं षष्ठं वि(वि)भ्रव-  
दनमपरं पातु विश्वं विशाखः ॥२॥ एको देवः स जयति शिवः केवल<sup>४</sup>ज्ञान-  
मूर्त्तिर्देवी सा च त्रिभुवनमिदं यद्विभूतिप्रपंचः । यत्कूटस्थं मियुनसविनाभाव-  
संबंध(वन्ध)योगान्मित्री[भूतं तदखिलजगज्ज]-
- 3 न्मबीजं नमामि ॥३॥ एकः स्रष्टा सकलजगतामादिभूतः स्वयंभूस्त्राता तेषां त्रिभुव-  
नगुरुर्व्यासुदेवः प्रसिद्धः । यस्तौ द्वावप्यतुलमहिमा संहरत्यन्तकाणि कस्तस्यान्यो  
भवति सृष्टशः श्रीमहाकालमूर्त्तः ॥४॥ वक्तुं वाच्यं हर निरवधि त्वन्महिम्नः  
[स्वरूपं चेतश्चैतज्ज]-
- 4 तिपयपदज्ञानमात्रावसनं(नम्) । ज्ञात्वैवेदं त्रिनयन<sup>५</sup> मया त्वहुणस्तोत्रभक्त्या स्वात्मन्येव  
स्वयमपि कृतो धृष्टतापदव(व)न्धः ॥५॥ वागीशस्त्व<sup>६</sup> युगपदखिलज्ञानसंपत्तियुक्तः  
का ते<sup>७</sup> तुष्टिः स्तुतिरचनया मादृशस्यात्यशक्तेः । एवं ज्ञात्वा हर विर[मति स्तोत्र-  
हेतौ हठा]-
- 5 न्मे भक्त्यावेशाद्यसरति सुखाद्भारती किं करोमि ॥६॥ यत्ते तत्त्वं निरुपधि परं  
वाङ्मनःपारभूतं ब्र(ब्र)ह्मादीनामपि हर गिरस्तत्र भग्नाः प्रवेष्टुं(ष्टुम्) । अर्वा-  
चीनं यदपरमिदं<sup>८</sup> पार्वतीवल्लभन्ते रूपं भक्त्या वरद तदहं वाग्भिरभ्यर्चयामि  
॥७॥ अन्यैः स्तो[त्रं रचितममृतस्य]-

<sup>१</sup> नोऽस्तु (ग)

<sup>२</sup> दधालर्षं (ग)

<sup>३</sup> The portion between square brackets in this and the following verses has been restored from manuscripts in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras.

<sup>४</sup> केवलं (क)

<sup>५</sup> अमल (क)

<sup>६</sup> ज्ञात्वा चे (ग)

<sup>७</sup> त्रिनयन (अ, क)

<sup>८</sup> कालि (ग)

<sup>९</sup> यदि परिमितं (क), यदि परमिदं (अ)

- 6 दिभिर्वाग्विलासैः फलुप्रायैः किमिदमियता त्यज्यते सहचोभिः । किं वा कैश्चित्कन-  
ककमलैरर्चितं पादपोठं भक्त्या शंभो न पुनरपरः<sup>1</sup> पूजयत्यर्कपुष्पैः ॥८॥ पद्या-  
हारौ<sup>2</sup> हर जलसुचां यौ च यौ पन्वा(ङ्क)जानां मित्रामित्रौ वरद हवि[पां  
दाहकयाहकौ]
- 7 यौ । यौ गंधस्य प्रजनवहनौ तानहं तुष्टिहेतो<sup>3</sup>रष्टौ वन्दे त्रिभुवनगुरोर्मूर्तिभेदांस्तवै-  
तान् ॥९॥ सन्सा(संसा)रेस्मिन्ध्रुवमसुलभं मानुषं जन्म लब्ध्वा(ब्धा) युष्मानेको  
भजति सुकृती कश्चिदन्यं च देवं(वम्)<sup>4</sup> । आरुढोऽपि स्मरहर गिरिं रोहणं  
भाग्ययो[गा<sup>5</sup>देको रत्नं कलय]-
- 8 ति महत्काचमन्यथ फलु<sup>6</sup> ॥१०॥ ये त्वामर्हन्सुगत इति वा भक्तियोगाद्भजन्ते तेभ्यः  
शम्भो फलमभिमतं त्वं ददासीति युक्तं(क्तम्) । अध्वहान्तैः<sup>7</sup> स्वरुचिरुचिरं नाम  
किञ्चिद्गृहीत्वा शीतं पीतं<sup>8</sup> जलमिह जनैः किं न तृप्तिं करोति ॥११॥ [आदि-  
त्यादिग्रहप]-
- 9 रिकरी याति चायाति नित्यं कालश्चायं दिवसरजनीपचमासर्तुचिह्नः । एतत्सर्वं ननु  
[न घटते] प्रेरकत्वं विना ते कार्यं चास्मिन्न पुनरपरस्यास्ति सामर्थ्यमेतत्  
॥१२॥ तस्यागारि गिरिश रमते धेनुवत्कामधेनुः<sup>9</sup> क्रीडावाटे विटपि[सदृशः  
कल्पते क]-
- 10 [लघ्वच्चः । लाचारचामणिरिव करे तस्य चित्ताम]णिः स्याद्यस्मिन् सिद्धः<sup>10</sup> सकृदपि  
कृपादृष्टिपातप्रसादः<sup>11</sup> ॥१३॥ मौलौ लोलचिदशतटिनीतोयशीतेमृतांशुं कण्ठे क्रूरं  
कवलितविपश्चामले व्यालराजं(जम्) । ज्योत्स्नागौरे [वपुषि वि]-
- 11 शदं वि(वि)भ्रतो भस्मरागं ज्ञाता सन्यक्त्रिनयन<sup>12</sup> मया योगभूषा तवैव<sup>13</sup> ॥१४॥ धत्ते  
शोभां घुस्रणतिलकस्पर्धिं चक्षुर्ललाटे मौलौ लग्ना<sup>14</sup> चिदशतटिनी मालतीमालिकेव ।  
क्षेडं क्रीडान्मृगमदमयी पत्रलेखेव कण्ठे [ज्ञाद्यः शम्भो स्फुरति सहजः की]-
- 12 पि भूषाविधिस्ते ॥१५॥ दग्धं येन त्रिभुवनमिदं देव दुर्वारधाम्ना दग्धः सोपि  
चिनयन<sup>15</sup> भ[व]दृष्टिपातेन कामः । युक्तं चैतद्भवति पुरुषो यः परस्योपतापी

<sup>1</sup> पुनरपि परः (ग)<sup>2</sup> पद्याहारौ (अ)<sup>3</sup> दृष्टिहेतोः (अ, ग), दृष्टिहेतोः (क)<sup>4</sup> देहम् (क)<sup>5</sup> भव्ययोगात् (स)<sup>6</sup> फलुम् (ग)<sup>7</sup> Four letters seem to have been first engraved after this and then erased.<sup>8</sup> काले (क)<sup>9</sup> क्रीडावाटोविटपि (क, ग)<sup>10</sup> [To me the reading here seems to be °यस्या[त्ती]हः —Ed.]<sup>11</sup> दृष्टिपातः प्रसादः (अ, क)<sup>12</sup> त्रिनयन (क, ग)<sup>13</sup> [I read समायोगभूषा लयेव —Ed.]<sup>14</sup> मया (क)<sup>15</sup> त्रिनयन (क, ग)

: तस्यावश्यं पतति शिरसि क्रीधदण्डः प्रभूणां(णाम्) ॥१६॥ कस्य क्षेमो भवति  
वलिना स्पर्धमानस्य सार्धं]

13 यस्त्वत्तोपाचिनयन<sup>1</sup> भवच्चक्षु[षा वच्चि]तोभूत् । प्रेम्णा दष्टेऽधरकिसलये दृष्टवान् यः  
स गामी<sup>2</sup> लीलानृत्यचतुरवनिताभ्रूलताप्रेक्षणानि ॥१७॥ ये दारिद्र्योपहतवपुषो  
ये च दौर्भाग्यदग्धा ये वा शत्रुव्यसनविकला ये च मौख्योपतप्ताः<sup>3</sup> । [ये  
वा कौचित् चिनय']-

14 न<sup>4</sup> दृढं<sup>5</sup> पीडिता<sup>6</sup> दुःखशोकैस्तेषामेकस्त्वमसि<sup>7</sup> शरणं तर्पितानामिवान्नः ॥१८॥ स्नायं  
जन्म श्रुतिपरिणतिः सत्क्रियायां प्रवृत्तिः प्रौढिः शास्त्रे ललितमधुरा संस्कृता  
भारती च । स्मृता लक्ष्मीर्वपुरपि दृढं चन्द्रलेखाङ्गमौले<sup>8</sup> युष्मत्सेवा[पदं]विरहितं  
सर्वमे]-

15 तत्पलालं(लम्) ॥१९॥ त्वत्पूजायां कुसुमहरणे धावतः पादयुग्मं<sup>9</sup> यत्पाषाणव्रज[परिकरो-  
त्कीर्णरेखाङ्गमासीत् । यत्तस्यैव<sup>10</sup> त्वदनु चरतो रुद्रलोकं गतस्य व्र(व्र)ह्मादीनां<sup>11</sup> मकुट-  
किरणश्रेणयः शोणयन्ति<sup>12</sup> ॥२०॥ येषां युष्मत्प्रतिवृत्तिगृहं लि[म्पतां पाणयो ये]<sup>13</sup> त्व]-

16 ज्ञातानां सलिललुलितैर्गोमयैः संप्रलिप्ताः । तेषामीश त्रिदशनगरीनायकत्वं गतानां  
ते लिप्यन्ते मृगमदरसैः खेचरीणां कुचेषु ॥२१॥ यस्ते कृत्वा स्तपनममृतैः पञ्च-  
भिश्चन्द्रमौले पञ्चालौचित्यकुसुमनिकरैर्मूर्ध्नि वध्नाति [मालाम् । तस्यावश्यं]

17 सकलभुवनैकाधिपत्याभिषिक्ते<sup>14</sup> वध्नन्त्यन्ये<sup>15</sup> शिरसि परमैश्वर्यसास्त्राज्यपटम् ॥२२॥ एतच्चित्रं  
क्वचिदपि मया नैव दृष्टं श्रुतं वा तद्विस्मृतं कथय किमिदन्नाथ कौतूहलं मे ।  
यत्ते भक्त्या हर चरणयोरर्पितं पुष्पमेकं सद्यः सूते फल[मभिमतं कीटि]-

18 शः कामरूपं(पम्) ॥२३॥ यस्ते भक्त्या वरद चरणद्वन्द्वमुद्दिश्य दद्यादेकं नीलो-  
त्पलदलमपि त्वत्प्रसादेन नूनं(नम्) । तत्प्रत्यंतं निपतति पुनर्दृष्टिरालोल<sup>16</sup> तारैर्दिव्य-  
स्त्रीणां कुवलयदलश्रेणिदीर्घैः कटाक्षैः ॥२४॥ कृत्वा मालां घनपरिमला[द्धार-  
धाराकदम्बै]-

<sup>1</sup> निषयन (क, ग)

<sup>2</sup> यस्य गामी (ग), यः स कामी (न) [Reading seems to be दृष्टवान्यन्न कामी—Ed.]

<sup>3</sup> मौख्यावतप्ताः (ग)

<sup>4</sup> निषयन (क, ग)

<sup>5</sup> दुःखिता (ग)

<sup>6</sup> त्वमपि (क)

<sup>7</sup> यस्मिन् (ग)

<sup>8</sup> फल (ग)

<sup>9</sup> यः पाषाणं व्रजपरिकरोत्कीर्णरेखाङ्गमासीत् (ग)

<sup>10</sup> लदनुभवतां (ग)

[Reading is परिकरोद्गीर्णरेखाङ्गमासीत्तस्यैव—Ed.]

<sup>11</sup> मुकुट (क)

<sup>12</sup> शोणयन्ते (ग)

<sup>13</sup> प्राङ्गणैर्घं (ग)

<sup>14</sup> भुवनैकाधिपत्याभिषेकैः (ग)

<sup>15</sup> [Reading is वध्नाति त्वं—Ed.]

<sup>16</sup> दृष्टतानील (ग)

- 19 यस्ते कण्ठाभरणपदवीं प्रापयेन्नैल्लकण्ठ । दिव्यस्त्रीणां विपुलपुलकैर्बाहुभिः कण्ठ-  
लनैस्तस्यापि त्वं वितरसि चिरं निर्भर्(र्भ)राक्षेपसौख्यं(ख्यम्) ॥२५॥ कृत्वा पूजां  
तव चरणयोरुदरादष्टभूर्ते यः साष्टाङ्गं प्रणमति महीष्टष्ट(ठ)प्रीटी(ठे) लुठित्वा ।  
प्रत्यास[न्नं - चित्तिप्रतिपदं]
- 20 प्रीतिव(व)ञ्चानुरागा तस्योत्सङ्गे लुठति धरणी रेणुचक्रच्छलेन ॥२६॥ त्वामुद्दिश्य चिन-  
यन्<sup>१</sup> जनी यः प्रदीपं ददाति<sup>२</sup> ज्योतिर्ज्वालादलिततिमिरं, द्योतितान्तर्निर्कृतं(तम्) ।  
तस्मै सायारजनिविलसं<sup>३</sup> हाडमोहान्धकारच्छेदप्रीढं त्वमपि दि[शसि ज्ञानमात्मप्रका]-
- 21 सं(शम्) ॥२७॥ चित्रैर्माहारचित्तुमुमैर्धूर्जटे<sup>४</sup> पूजयित्वा यः स्तौति त्वां जय जय  
महादेव देविते<sup>५</sup> वाचा । सोप्यारोहन्हर तव पुरं<sup>६</sup> मौलिव(व)ञ्चालीनां शक्रा-  
दीनां स्तुतिविषयतां त्वत्प्रसादाद्वयाति ॥२८॥ भस्मस्नानं वहसि शिरसा स्व[र्धुनी-  
वारिभारं<sup>७</sup> शा-
- 22 स्तां भूर्त्तिः(र्त्तिं) कल्पयसि करे कार्मुकं युक्तमेतत् । अप्यन्येषां कतिप्रयपुरस्वामिनां  
चिदभूतास्तेषां दृष्टास्त्रिभुवनप्रतेः किं महेशस्य न सुः ॥२९॥ त्वामाराध्य  
द्वि(चि)दशपतयो भुज्जते राज्यलक्ष्मीं भिक्षाभुक्तं तदपि च महादेवशब्दै(ब्दै)क-  
वाच्यः । [निराश्रित्यं वरद]
- 23 परमैश्वर्यकोटिप्रतिष्ठं<sup>८</sup> तच्चेदस्ति त्वयि किमपरैः फलुभिः श्रीविलासैः<sup>९</sup> ॥३०॥ अस्थि-  
भङ्गिः पितृवनंभवं भस्म<sup>१०</sup> भूपाङ्गरागः प्रीतिः<sup>११</sup> प्रेतैस्त्व सहचराः फेरवाः कीत्र  
दोषः । यस्यैश्वर्यं परमपदवीं प्राप्य विग्रहान्तमुच्चैस्तस्य यात्रा कनकमथवा  
सर्वमेतत् समा[नं] -
- 24 नं(नम्)<sup>१२</sup> ॥३१॥ आवासस्ते पितृवनमहिः जीढनं यानमुच्चा भिक्षापात्रं हर नरशिरः<sup>१३</sup>  
कर्पूरं नैष दोषः । आरातीयस्त्रिनयन<sup>१४</sup> भवत्यल्पसंख्यो हि<sup>१५</sup> लोको निस्त्रैगुण्ये प्रयि  
चित्ररतां को विधिः को निषेधः ॥३२॥ प्रेतावासः शयनमग्नं [भैक्षमाशाच वा]-
- 25 सः श्वष्टाङ्गं च श्वजमुपहृ(हि)तं त्वस्मिन्नेपथ्यमङ्गे । यद्यप्येवं तदपि भगवन्नीश्वरेत्य-  
स्य<sup>१६</sup> नास्ती निःसामान्यस्त्वमसि विषयो नापरः कश्चिदस्ति ॥३३॥ दारुद्याने  
द्विजवंशवधूपप्लवी रेतसाग्नौ होमः सन्ध्यानटनमिति ते चेष्टितं नैव दुष्टं(ष्टम्) ।  
[मिथ्याज्ञानीप]-

<sup>१</sup> श्रिणयन (क, ग)<sup>२</sup> धूर्जटे (ग)<sup>३</sup> खनदीवारिपूरं (ग)<sup>४</sup> पितृवनभवहृत्स्य (ग)<sup>५</sup> दुर्गेश्वरिणः (ग)<sup>६</sup> देश इत्यस्य (ग)<sup>७</sup> दधाति (ग)<sup>८</sup> देश (क)<sup>९</sup> प्रतिष्ठा (च)<sup>१०</sup> प्रीतः (ग)<sup>११</sup> विणयन (क, ग)<sup>१२</sup> विगलद (ग)<sup>१३</sup> पुरं (क)<sup>१४</sup> श्रीविलासः (क)<sup>१५</sup> पलायम् (ग)<sup>१६</sup> सख्योऽग्नि (च)

- 26 हतमनसां मार्गस्तुङ्गं दूरं ये निःक्रान्तिष्वास्तास्त्रिनयन<sup>1</sup> न तां (तान्) लोकावादाः स्पृश-  
न्ति ॥३४॥ देवाः सर्वे दधति वपुषा भूषणं हिमरत्नं गुञ्जामार्चं, कनकमपि  
ते<sup>2</sup> नास्ति कर्णे करे वा । मार्गातीतं स्फुरति सङ्गजं यस्य सौन्दर्यमङ्गे  
<sup>3</sup>तस्याहार्ये[धितरजनवन्ता]-
- 27 दरः स्याद्गुणेषु ॥३५॥ त्वं ब्र(ब्र)ह्मादित्रिदशगुरुभिः<sup>4</sup>, पूजितः स्वार्थहेतोरित्याम्नायो न  
खलु भवता प्रार्थितः कश्चिदन्यः । इच्छामात्रात्स्वयमुपनमन्त्यग्रतो यस्य भावा-  
स्तस्यापेक्षा कथमिह भवेदीश्वरस्येतेषु ॥३६॥ खण्डश्चन्द्रः शिरसि परशः  
खण्डमे]-
- 28 वायुधन्ते भिक्षापात्रं द्रुहिणशिरसः खण्डमेकं कपालं(लम्) । खण्डप्रायस्तव परिकरो  
यद्यपीत्यन्तथापि, त्वं सर्वेषां स्मृतिमुपगतः<sup>5</sup> सर्वपूर्णत्वहेतुः ॥३७॥ पृथ्वीपीठे  
<sup>6</sup>कृतपदमदः स्वच्छमाकाश(श)लिङ्गं तारापुष्पैः शिरसि रचिताभ्यर्चनं च[न्द्रचूड ।  
इत्थं भावाद]-
- 29 वह्निधियो ये भवन्तं भजन्ते ते लीयन्ते त्वयि जलनिधौ निम्नगानामिवीघाः ॥३८॥  
वाराणस्यां स्फुरति यदिदं देवदेवाविमुक्तं सै(शै)वं ज्योतिः सकलभुवनलोकाना-  
दर्शभूतं(तम्)<sup>7</sup> । कृत्वा तस्मिन्प्रमहसि पदे चैत्रसंन्यासयोगं [त्वय्ये]कत्वं ब्र[जति  
पुरुषस्तेज]-
- 30 सौव प्रदीपः ॥३९॥ यत्पत्न्यत्वं सकलभुवनाद्यर्थभूतं विभाति ज्योतिर्लिङ्गं कनककपिशं  
ज्योतिरौ व्योम्नि दिव्यं(व्यम्) । तत्पश्यन्तः शिव सुकृतिनस्यक्तसंसारबन्धास्वल्का-  
रुष्णाच्चिर<sup>8</sup>गणपदप्राप्तिभाजौ भवन्ति ॥४०॥
- 31 वाचाधीश<sup>9</sup> हुतवहतनुं शक्तिपाणिं भवन्तं ये ध्यायन्ति त्रिनयन<sup>10</sup> मनस्तेजसा निर्द्वन्द्वन्तं-  
(तम्)<sup>11</sup> । गङ्गास्रोतःसदृश-
- 32 विलसद्भयपद्यप्रवाहेः<sup>12</sup> सद्यस्तेषां प्रसरति [मुखाङ्गा]रती नात्र चिच्चं(चम्) ॥४१॥  
भास्वज्योतिःकिरणमरुणं [दक्षि]णोत्थि<sup>13</sup> स्थितं त्वां ये वीक्षन्ते पुरुषमुदितं<sup>14</sup>  
ख्यात<sup>15</sup>मादित्यमूर्तिं(र्तिम्) । ते सर्वत्राप्रतिहतदृशः सूर्यपर्यन्तलीकं पश्यन्त्यग्रे  
करतललुठत्वं[दुकास्पष्टरूपम्]

<sup>1</sup> त्रिनयन (क, ग)<sup>2</sup> कपिशे (ग)<sup>3</sup> तस्याहारेर्वित (ग)<sup>4</sup> त्रिदशपतिभिः (ग)<sup>5</sup> अवगतः (ग)<sup>6</sup> कृतपदमपि स्वस्यमाकाशलिङ्गं (ग)<sup>7</sup> भुवनादर्शनालीकभूतम् (ग)<sup>8</sup> [Probably the reading is  
to be *vāchy-ātmah (tām)*.—Ed.]कारुण्या<sup>9</sup>[त] स्त्रिर<sup>10</sup>—Ed.]<sup>9</sup> वाचातीतं (ग) [Reading seems to be<sup>11</sup> तमस्तेजसां निर्द्वन्द्वन्तम् (ग)<sup>12</sup> प्रभावा (क)<sup>13</sup> त्रिनयन (क, ग)<sup>14</sup> पुरुषहृदयं (ग)<sup>15</sup> श्यामं (ग)<sup>15</sup> दक्षिणादि (क)

- 33 ॥४२॥ ये ध्यायन्ति स्वहृदि विमलं चित्त<sup>१</sup>मात्मैकरूपं विश्वादर्शं<sup>२</sup> प्रसरदभितो भूर्भुवः-  
स्वस्विलोकीं(कीम्)<sup>३</sup> । इत्थं गत्यागतिपरिचयात्ते तवैव प्रसादात्सर्वज्ञत्वं हर  
विकारणीं शैलयन्तो लभन्ते<sup>४</sup> ॥४३॥ ये त्वां शंभो हृदयभवनांभोरुहाभ्यन्तरस्थं<sup>५</sup>  
ज्ञान[ज्योतिस्तदुपधिव]-
- 34 शास्त्रीहिभूकाग्रसूक्ष्मं(क्षम्) । उद्धीक्षन्ते दृढतरलयं तेष्युपाधिप्रणाशात्त्वय्येकत्वं नभसि  
कलशाकाशवन्निर्विशन्ति ॥४४॥ अर्चिर्विद्युत्पमृतिभिरलं मार्गविश्रामलोके(कै)र्यं गच्छन्ति  
चिनयन<sup>६</sup> पथा देवयानेन केचित् । भुक्त्वा भोगाननुपमरसान् स्वेच्छ[या ब्रह्म-  
लोके]
- 35 ते तस्यान्ते पुनरपि शिव त्वन्मयत्वं भजन्ते ॥४५॥ यत्रानन्दः स्फुरति परमज्योति-  
रालोकजन्मा भुज्यन्ते च स्वयमुपनता<sup>७</sup> यत्र दिव्याश्च भोगाः [।<sup>८</sup>] यत्रावृत्तिर्न  
भवति पुनः पञ्चमाध्वप्रसिद्धं तद्वैराजं<sup>९</sup> पदमपि शिव प्राप्यते त्वत्प्रसादात् ॥४६॥  
त्वय्यात्मानं निहितम्]-
- 36 खिलैस्त्वद्गुणैः संप्रयुक्तं स्वच्छादर्शं सुखमिव चिरं चेतसा निश्चलेन । ये पश्यन्ति  
चिनयन<sup>९</sup> मनीवाञ्छितार्थप्रसूतिस्तेषाम्माविर्भवति सुधियामिव<sup>१०</sup> धर्मः समाधिः ॥४७॥  
ज्ञानज्योतिः सकलजगतां स्व<sup>११</sup>प्रकाशस्वरूपं त्वामात्मानं परिहितगुणस्पर्श[मीशान-  
मीले]
- 37 <sup>१२</sup>यत्रैकास्मिन्नवहितधियां<sup>१३</sup> योगदृष्टिस्थितानां स्वच्छादर्शं प्रतिफलितवद्विश्वमेतच्चकास्ति ॥४८॥  
भूतं भूतस्मरणविषयं भावि<sup>१४</sup> नान्यत्र काले सूक्ष्मं मध्यं क्षणमि<sup>१५</sup>ह तयोर्वर्तमानं  
वदन्ति । तस्मिन्मौख्यं कियदमतयो येन मत्ता<sup>१६</sup> मनुष्या शु[ष्मत्सेवां भव भ]-
- 38 वभयध्वन्ति(ध्वंसि)नीं नाद्रियन्ते ॥४९॥ ज्ञानं न स्यात्काचिदपि किल ज्ञेयसम्ब(संब)न्धशून्यं  
ज्ञेयं सत्तामपि न लभते ज्ञानवा(वा)ह्यं कदाचित् । इत्यन्योन्यप्रथितमुभयोर्व्या-  
पिकं यत्स्वरूपं<sup>१७</sup> तत्ते प्राहुः प्रकृतिपुरुषस्यार्द्धनारीश्वरत्वं(त्वम्) ॥५०॥ यत्प्रत्यक्षं  
न भ[वति नृणामि]-

<sup>१</sup> चित्तं (अ)<sup>२</sup> विश्वादर्शं (ग)<sup>३</sup> त्रिलोकान् (ग)<sup>४</sup> भजन्ते (क)<sup>५</sup> ज्ञानज्योतिः (ग)<sup>६</sup> त्रिणयन (क, ब)<sup>७</sup> उपगताः (ग)<sup>८</sup> तद्वैराज्यं (क)<sup>९</sup> त्रिणयन (क, ग)<sup>१०</sup> सुधियामिवः (ग) [Reading seems to be सुधियाम्भवे(ए)कः समाधिः—Ed.]<sup>११</sup> सुप्रकाश (ग)<sup>१२</sup> There is a sign of visarga before this *danḍa*.<sup>१३</sup> धिया (ग)<sup>१४</sup> भावि नाम्नाय काले (ग)<sup>१५</sup> इव (ग)<sup>१६</sup> सिद्धाः (ग)<sup>१७</sup> यत् रूपम् (ग)

- 39 न्द्रियाणामशक्तैर्यत्सम्ब(सं)न्धग्रहणविरहान्नानुमेयं च किञ्चि(किञ्चि)त्<sup>1</sup> । शब्दा(ब्दा)दीनामपि न विषयं यत्परोक्षस्वरूपं ज्ञानज्योतिर्यदिह परमं सत्व(त्त्व)मध्यात्ममूर्तिः<sup>2</sup> ॥५१॥ त्वामात्मानं वरद परमानन्दबो(बो)धस्वरूपं ये वु(वु)ध्यन्ते<sup>3</sup> विगलितजगद्भेदमायाप्र-पञ्चम् । रागत्यागात्]
- 40 स्तिमितमनसो देव जीवन्त एव [भ्रष्ट]न्माया<sup>4</sup>निविडनिगडग्रंथयस्ते विमुक्ताः ॥५२॥  
<sup>5</sup>श्लाघ्यं<sup>6</sup> यत्तत्कृपि(प)णमनसां<sup>7</sup> सप्तलोकाधिपत्यं या<sup>8</sup> मृग्यते तरलमतिभिः सिद्धयश्चा-णिमाद्याः । एतत्सर्वं मदनदहन त्वत्पदप्राप्तिभाजां तत्व(त्त्व)ज्ञानामृतर[सञ्जुषां<sup>9</sup> योगि]-
- 41 नामन्तरायः ॥५३॥<sup>10</sup>आशा वासः शयनमवनिर्त्र(त्रै)ह्यचर्यं च दीर्घं मौनं दण्डग्रहणम-शनं भिक्षया भस्म शौचं(चम) । वैराग्यञ्च विनयन<sup>11</sup> भवत्तत्त्वबो(त्वबो)धादिहीनं मूलादेवं ध्रुवमलवणं सर्वमेतद्भिभाति ॥५४॥ स्थित्वा कालं चिरतरमपि ब्र(ब्र)-ह्मशक्तादि[लोके कर्म]-
- 42 च्छेदात्पुनरपि ततः स्यादवश्यं निपातः । एकं नित्यं पदमुपगतः<sup>12</sup> लेशकर्मोर्भिपाकं शैवं ज्योतिर्यदिह सुलभं ज्ञानयोगिन पुन्सां(पुंसाम्) ॥५५॥ शक्तादीनां क्रतुफल-यु(जु)षां यत्सुखं नाकलौके<sup>13</sup> तत्कौटादेर्नरकनिलयस्यापि तुल्यं विभाति । येनै-कान्तं]-
- 43 न भवति सुखं कस्यचिन्नापि<sup>14</sup> दुःखं द्वंद्वग्रस्तं त्रिभुवनमिदं त्वं तु तस्माद्विमुक्तः ॥५६॥ व(व)न्मच्छेदादिह तनुभृतां यत्त्वया साकमैक्यं सा चेन्मुक्तिः शिव किम-नया यातु यद्वाग्न्यक्षूपं(पम) । त्वं मे स्वामी भवदनुचरः शर्व यत्सर्वदाहं तद्धि श्लाघ्यं स्वपति[पदवीं काम]-
- 44 यन्ते न भृत्याः ॥५७॥ वातोद्भूतस्फुटपुटकिनीपत्रतोयोपमाने को विश्वासं व्रजति चपले जन्मिनो जीवितस्मिन् ।<sup>15</sup>कान्तस्त्रीणां प्रियसहचरैर्निर्बभ्राजिज्ञितं मे चेतः शम्भो स्वपिति न यथा तत्प्रसादं<sup>16</sup> कुरुष्व ॥५८॥ त्वन्नेत्राग्नि<sup>17</sup>व्यतिकरमिव प्रा[क्तनं पुष्पचा]-

<sup>1</sup> कदाचित् (अ, क, ग)<sup>2</sup> मूर्ते (ग)<sup>3</sup> ग reads ये वुध्यन्ते etc., as third quarter and रागत्यागात् etc., as second quarter.<sup>4</sup> निगलनिविड (अ, क)<sup>5</sup> ग reads this stanza as 60th stanza.<sup>6</sup> जन्तोः कृपणमनसः (ग)<sup>7</sup> सर्वं (अ)<sup>8</sup> दे (ग)<sup>9</sup> सृजा (ग)<sup>10</sup> ग reads this stanza as 62nd stanza.<sup>11</sup> विनयन (क, ग)<sup>12</sup> उपनतल्लेश (ग, म)<sup>13</sup> नाकलौके (ग)<sup>14</sup> नास्ति (अ, क, ग)<sup>15</sup> [Reading seems to be आत(अन्त)सृष्टाश्(प्रि)यसहचरी, etc.—Ed.]<sup>16</sup> तत्प्रसादं (अ, क)<sup>17</sup> द्युतिशरमयं (ग)



- 45 पं: 1<sup>1</sup> स्मृतो नूनं व्यवसितमतिर्वैरनिर्घातनाय । यसन्तः(त्सं)क्तं तव चरणयोर्देव  
सेवांनुरागात्तन्ने चेतः प्रहरति शरैस्त्र्यक्ष तद्रक्ष यन्तात् ॥५८॥ भिक्षापात्रं मृग-  
जमजिनं जीर्णकौपीनमेकं कंथा रथ्यानिपतितजरञ्जीरलेशैश्च लघ्वी । एतावा-  
[न्ने हर परिक]-
- 46 रस्त्ववसादेने नित्यं भूयाद्भूयस्त्वे चरणयोर्भूयसी भक्तिरेका ॥६०॥ देवस्तावद्भवति  
भगवन्भर्गो<sup>१</sup>सर्गस्य सारस्तस्मात्पूर्वं महदिति पदं प्रोक्तमुत्कर्षमाह । माहात्म्यं ते  
स्मरहर महादेव नान्वैव लोके दूरारूढं वरद किमहं स्तोत्रमन्यत्करोमि  
॥६१॥ <sup>२</sup> कालेन]
- 47 नीतः<sup>३</sup> सर्वोपि पुनरावर्तते जनः । महाकालेन नीतस्य नावृत्तिर्विद्यते पुनः ॥६२॥  
अथक्ताक्षरजल्पितैरपि शिंशोः प्रीतिगुरुणां भवेत्तेनास्मद्वचनं मलौमसमपि स्यात्तु-  
ष्टिहेतुस्तव । आन्तस्त्वहुणकौर्त्तनात्किमपि यत्पुण्यं मयोपा<sup>४</sup>र्जितं तेन]
- 48 स्याज्ज<sup>५</sup>ननान्तरेपि महती त्वय्येव भक्तिर्मम ॥६३॥ <sup>६</sup>हिजी दक्षिणराट्टीयो नवग्रामवि-  
निर्गतः । हलायुधव(ु)धशशभोरिमां स्तुतिमरौरवत् ॥६४॥

<sup>1</sup> Danda unnecessary.

<sup>2</sup> स्वर्गसर्गस्य (ग)

<sup>3</sup> अ, क, and ग read the following two stanzas as 62nd and 63rd stanzas and कालेन नीतः etc., as 64th stanza :—

यव कचिद्भवतु देव मनुष्यतिर्यग्योनी स्वकर्मपरिपाकवशात् प्रभृतिः ।  
तव स्थितस्य नमं बालस्यगडनील त्वं पोदभक्तिरचलास्तु मवधंसोदात् ॥  
तव चरणसरोजे दत्तमेकं प्रसूनं फलति जलधिर्वेलावेष्टितां भूतधावीमि ।  
प्रतिदिवससपर्याभक्तिकौतूहलानां फलमिदमिति शम्भो शक्यते केन वक्तुम् ॥

<sup>4</sup> This syllable should ordinarily be short.

<sup>5</sup> स्तात् (क)

<sup>6</sup> क adds the following before हिजी दक्षिण etc. :—

महाकालवनं सेवे कदाचिद्वलमिच्छया ।  
संसारभ्रमणीपेतत्रमापनयने क्षमा ॥  
अट्टहासमहाकालसितसौवै(र)द्वये ततः ।  
यतः कोरणंमुत्पत्तिरुपचारैः प्रवेतते ॥

and reads the stanza हिजी दक्षिण etc., slightly modified :

हिजी दक्षिणराट्टीयो नवग्रामविनिर्गतः ।  
हलायुधनिदं शम्भोरिमां स्तुतिमजयवत् ॥

D.11271 (अ) adds the following stanza before हिजी दक्षिण etc. :—

महाकालेन सेव्यतामामीदेन विरक्तया ।  
संसारीहृत्तद्वस्य स्वरूपग्रहणं क्षमम् ॥

and reads the stanza हिजी दक्षिण etc., slightly modified :—

हिजी दक्षिणदेशीयो नवग्रामविनिर्गतः ।  
हलायुधवधः शम्भोरिमां स्तुतिमचीकरत् ॥

## No. 18.—A NOTE ON THE HALAYUDHA STOTRA IN THE AMARESVARA TEMPLE.

By N. P. CHAKRAVARTI, M.A., PH.D., OOTACAMUND.

There are several Sanskrit *stōtras* engraved on the side walls of the *ardhamanḍapa* in the Amareśvara Temple at Māndhātā, which were copied by me early in 1938. The northern wall contains three of these, viz., (1) a *stōtra* in 8 lines and 9 verses in praise of the river Narmadā, (2) the well known Śiva-Mahimna-*stōtra* in 40 verses taking up 22 lines and (3) a single verse in 3 lines in praise of Śiva and Pārvatī. The main record on the southern wall contains the text of the *Halāyudha-stōtra*. Several manuscripts of this *stōtra* are preserved in the Government Oriental Library at Madras (Nos. 11271-11278), some of which are with commentaries in Sanskrit, Telugu and Kanarese. I have already noticed these records in the *Annual Report, Arch. Survey of India*, for the year 1937-38 in the chapter on Epigraphy. Though Hiralal noticed all these records as unimportant, I found the colophon of the *Halāyudha-stōtra* to be of sufficient interest for the history of Sanskrit literature, and as the *stōtra* has not yet been published, I requested my friend Vidyāsāgara Vidyāvāchaspati P. P. Subrahmanya Śāstri, Professor of Sanskrit in the Madras Presidency College and honorary Curator of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library at Madras, to undertake to edit the record in the *Epigraphia Indica*—a request to which he readily responded. This note only supplements the information contained in his introduction to the text edited above. I have also given below the text of ll. 48-56 of the record which Professor Śāstri has omitted as it is not relevant to the *Halāyudha-stōtra*.

The whole record is in 56 lines, and is engraved on four rectangular slabs of stone fixed into the wall on the southern side. The first slab contains 10 lines, the second 21 lines, the third 22 lines and the fourth only 3 lines of writing. The last lines of the 2nd, 3rd and 4th slabs (i.e., ll. 31, 53 and 56) are only half lines. A few letters at the end of each complete line are now missing but wherever possible these have been restored from manuscripts now preserved in the Government Oriental Library. The script is Nāgarī and the language Sanskrit throughout. The engraving is rather shallow but on the whole well executed. There are a number of grammatical and other errors, particularly in the portion which is the writer's own composition. All these have been noticed in footnotes or in the body of the text. These mistakes show that the writer, though he calls himself a Pandit, was not well versed in Sanskrit.

The record opens with the phrase *Om namaḥ Śivāya* which is immediately followed by the *Halāyudha-stōtra* in praise of Śiva. The *stōtra* actually finishes in v. 63, the last verse being a colophon containing an account of the author of the hymn. This is immediately followed by another hymn (ll. 48-50) in 5 verses the text of which is identical with that found in the *Śiva-dvādaśa-nāmā-stōtra*<sup>2</sup> and gives the 12 principal names of Śiva. Then comes a verse enumerating five *jyōtirliṅgas*, viz., those at Avimukta (Benares) and Kēdāra, besides Ōmkāra, Amara and Mahākāla (at Ujjayinī). It may be noted here that though the names of Ōmkāra and Amara have been given separately, the eight other great *liṅgas* have been omitted in this list.

Lines 51-53 give the names of a few Śaiva teachers in the following terms: In the city of Bhōja, living in the Sōmēśvaradēva monastery and hailing from Nandiyāga was the Pāsupata teacher Bhaṭṭāraka śrī-Bhāvavālmika whose disciple was Bhaṭṭāraka śrī-Bhāvasamudra. L. 53 mentions also Paṇḍita Bhāvayirimchi. Apparently the two mentioned last were responsible for setting up the records found on these four slabs. The next two lines contain an account of the

<sup>1</sup> List of Inscriptions in the C. P. and Berar (2nd ed.), p. 84, No. 151.

<sup>2</sup> See Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, Nos. 9259-9261.

writer, Paṇḍita Gāndhadhvaja of the Chapala-gōtra. He was a disciple of Vivēkarāśi who was again a disciple of the Paramabhaṭṭāraka śrī-Supūjitarāśi.

The last line contains the date, undoubtedly of the setting up of the record, which I have read as *Samvat 1120 Kārttika vadi 13*. The reading of the second digit is, however, uncertain which may also be read as 2. The same date is given at the end of the *Mahimna-stava* found engraved on the northern wall which was also written by the same Paṇḍita mentioned there as Gandhadhvaja, and also at the end of the Narmadā-stōtra, without giving the month and the *tithi* in both the places. But in these instances also the second digit is not clear. Unfortunately the date cannot be verified for want of sufficient details. If the year is 1120 the date would ordinarily correspond to Friday, the 21st November, A.D. 1063 and if read as 1220 the corresponding date in Christian era would be Sunday, the 27th October, A.D. 1163, taking the year as Chaitrādi and the month *pūrṇimānta* in both cases.

I have in the *Annual Report* referred to above discussed in detail the identity of the poet Halāyudha and also of Dēchaya who wrote a commentary on this stōtra in the sixteenth century A.D. I have shown there that the Halāyudha of our record could not be any of the three scholars of the same name mentioned by Mr. J. C. Ghosh,<sup>1</sup> all of whom flourished during the reign of the Sēna kings of Bengal. Prof. Śāstri has now adduced an additional proof that undoubtedly the same Halāyudha has been referred to in the Telugu *Dvipada Basavapurāṇa*<sup>2</sup> of Pāṅkuriki Sōmanātha who lived towards the end of the twelfth century. I have also suggested in the same place that our Halāyudha may be identical with the author of the *Kavirahasya*, the *Abhidhānatnamālā* and the *Mṛitasāhājivānī*, the last mentioned being a commentary on Piṅgala's *Chhandahsūtra*. It need not worry us that the first named work was written in the court of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇarāja III (A.D. 939-967) and the last mentioned work in the court of a different ruler, viz., the Paramāra Muṇja-Vākpati (A.D. 974-993), as it is quite possible that the poet after the death of his Rāshtrakūṭa patron moved to the Paramāra court which was noted for its patronage for learning at that time.<sup>3</sup> Mr. Ghosh has identified Navagrāma in Dakṣiṇa-Rāḍha with the village of the same name in the Bhurshut *parganā* of the Hooghly District in Bengal.<sup>4</sup> We cannot argue that it is not possible for a poet hailing from far off Bengal to be at the courts of two prominent Indian rulers, one having his capital at Mālkhed in the Nizām's Dominions and the other at Dhār in Central India, when we know of several other scholars from Bengal who held a similar position.<sup>4</sup>

L. 51 of the record mentions Bhōjanagara and a monastery there known as Sōmēsvaradēva-maṭha. One is tempted to identify Bhōjanagara with Dhārā, the capital city of the Paramāras and the monastery with an establishment built probably by the Chūlukya Sōmēsvara I who for a time occupied the Paramāra kingdom. But it is to be remembered that the capital city of the Paramāras is always referred to as Dhārā even at the time of Bhōja and his successors also continued to use the same name. It is not also certain whether the *maṭha* was built by a ruler called Sōmēsvaradēva or was simply attached to a temple of Śiva known as Sōmēsvara. I am also not able to identify Naṇḍiyaḍa, the original residence of the Śaiva ascetic Bhāvaavālmika.

<sup>1</sup> *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, p. 503 ff.

<sup>2</sup> According to this work Halāyudha belonged to Navapura which is apparently the same as Navagrāma of our record, see *Basavapurāṇamu* (Andhra-granthamālā series), p. 127.

<sup>3</sup> *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, p. 503. Bhurshut is the ancient Bhūrīśrēṣṭhi in Dakṣiṇa-Rāḍha where Śrīdhara completed his *Āyāvakandali*, a commentary on the *Padārthapravēśa* in Śaka 913 (A.D. 991). It is also the Bhūrīśrēṣṭhika of the *Prabōdhachandrodāya* of Kṛishṇamiśra (11th century), which is stated to be the birth-place of 'Ahaṅkāra'. This leaves no doubt that the place was well known in the 10th and 11th centuries.

<sup>4</sup> See *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, p. 702 and Vol. II, pp. 360 f. See also the Kollagallu Inscription of the Rāshtrakūṭa Khōṭṭiga (above, Vol. XXI, pp. 263 ff.) which mentions a Gadādhara of Taḍa-grāma in Bengal.

TEXT.

- 48 Prathamam tu<sup>1</sup> Mahādēvam dvitīyam cha Mahēśvaram(ram) tri(tri)tiyam Śaṅkaram  
jñeyam<sup>2</sup> chaturtham VṛishabhadhvaJam(jam) [||1||\*] Pañchamam Kṛi[tivāsam cha sha\*]-<sup>3</sup>
- 49 shṭham Kāmāṅganāśanam(nam) [\*] saptamam Dēvadēvēśam<sup>4</sup> Śrīkaṇṭham ch=āshṭamam  
smṛitam(tam)<sup>5</sup> [||2||\*] Navamam Īsvaram<sup>6</sup> dēvam<sup>7</sup> daśamam Pāravatīpriyam(yam) [\*]  
Rudram=ēkādaśam nāma dvādaśam Śivam=uchyatē || [3||\*] Dvādaś=aitāni<sup>8</sup> nāmāni ubhay<sup>9</sup>  
samdhyat yaḥ paṭhēt<sup>9</sup> [\*] gōghnaḥ kṛitaghnaś=ch=aiva vra(bra)hmahā guru-talpakah<sup>10</sup>  
[||4||\*] Strī-vā(bā)la-ghātakāś=ch=aiva\*]<sup>10</sup>
- 50 surāpayi<sup>11</sup> vṛishali-patiḥ<sup>12</sup> [\*] muchyatē sarvva-pāpēbhya Rudra-lōkam<sup>13</sup> sa gachchhati  
|| [5||\*] Avimuktaś=cha Kēdāra Ōmkāraś=ch=Āmaras=tathā [\*] pañchamam(mas=) tu  
Mahākālāḥ pañcha-līngāḥ prakīrttayē<sup>14</sup> || [6||\*] Ajñānā[d\*]=jñānatō vā=pi yad=viruddham=  
anushṭhitam(tam) | tat=sarvvaḥ paśu-bhūpasya kshantavyam kāraṇ-ēśvara || [7||\*]<sup>15</sup>
- 51 Svasti [\*] Śrī-Bhōja-nagarē śrī-Sōmēśvaradēva-maṭha-nivāsi Nārāyaṇa-vinirggataḥ-(taḥ)  
praṇāma-gōtra-yama-niyama-samja(ya)ma-svādhyāya - dhyān - ānushṭhāna - rata - parama-  
Pāsupat-āchārya-bhaṭṭāraka-śrī-Bhāvavālmika[h\*] śrī-Amarēśvaradēvō(va)-trailōky-  
ādhipatiḥ(tēḥ) dhyāna-punya-sa-<sup>16</sup>
- 52 ētat(ch)-si(chhi)shya i[shṭ-ādhi]ka-pradāna-rata-triḥ(tri)kāla-samdhya(dhyā)-samādhi-  
kāraṇa-guru-pāramparya-vidhāna-yukta[h\*] śrī-Amarēśvaradēva-pāda-paṇkaja-bhramara  
ādhvina(ādhvanika ?)-pathasrā(śrā)nta-tapōdhan-ābhyaṅga-ālaya<sup>17</sup> - - samtāpaḥ ||<sup>18</sup>
- 53 śrī-Amarēśvaradēva-vikṣaṇa-mūrtti-sadā-nivāsi bhaṭṭāraka-śrī-Bhāvasamudraḥ || paṇḍita-  
Bhāvavirīchi[h\*] praṇamati Śivāḥ(vam)||
- 54 || Ōm<sup>19</sup> svasti[\*] Śrī-Amarēśvara-dēvasy=āyatan[ē] trailōkya-viśrut[ē] sthānē dēva-dānava-  
dur[jaya]-dēva-guru-na(ta)pōdhata(na)-su(su)śrūshā-rata-paramabhāṭṭāraka-śrī-Supū-
- 55 jitarāsi(śiḥ) [\*] etat(ch)-si(chhi)shya-Vivēkarāsi(śiḥ) [\*] punaḥ tasya sishya(śishyēṇa)  
Chapalagōtra-vinirggata-sahaja-bhakti-sānta-mūrtti-paṇḍita-Gāndhadhvaṇa parama-  
bhaktyā mahimna<sup>20</sup> Ha-
- 56 lāyudha-stutiḥ ātmasy=ārthē<sup>21</sup> svayam likhitam=itī || Samvat 1[1]20 Kārttika-vadi 13[||\*]  
Maṅgalam mahāśrīḥ || ||

<sup>1</sup> M. cha (M. denotes Ms. No. 9260 in the Govt. Or. Manuscripts Library, Madras).

<sup>2</sup> M. nāma.

<sup>3</sup> Restored from M.

<sup>4</sup> M. Dēvadēvam cha.

<sup>6</sup> M. Nīlakaṇṭham=ath=āshṭamam.

<sup>5</sup> Read Navamam=I°.

<sup>7</sup> M. nāma.

<sup>8</sup> M.=aitāni.

<sup>9</sup> Read as in M. tri-sandhyam yaḥ paṭhēt=naraḥ.

<sup>10</sup> M. brahmaṅghnō guru-talpakah.

<sup>11</sup> Read surāpō.

<sup>12</sup> M. surā-pān-ādi-pālakah.

<sup>13</sup> M. Śivalōkam.

<sup>14</sup> Read prakīrtitāḥ.

<sup>15</sup> Metre of verses 1-7 is Anushṭubh.

<sup>16</sup> These two letters are illegible. A few letters after these also appear to have been missing.

<sup>17</sup> There is some space between tā and la but this portion seems to have been left un-engraved owing to a damage in the stone.

<sup>18</sup> Daṇḍas unnecessary.

<sup>19</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>20</sup> Apparently intended for Śiva-mahimnō.

<sup>21</sup> Read atma-īrēyōrthē.

## No. 19.—TWO INSCRIPTIONS ON COPPER-PLATES FROM NUTIMADUGU.

BY N. LAKSHMINARAYAN RAO, M.A., OOTACAMUND.

These copper-plates which were in the possession of a peasant of the village Nūtimadugu in the Anantapur District were shown to Mr. C. N. Jeevanna Rao, B.E., Minor Irrigation Supervisor of the District, when he had gone to the village during one of his periodical official visits. It appears that while the cattle-shed attached to the house of the peasant was being repaired, the plates were found buried under the lower wooden hinge of the door of the shed. Mr. Rao kindly brought them to the notice of Mr. M. Srikantha Srouty, B.E., Local Fund Assistant Engineer, Anantapur, who sent them on to me for examination. As they were somewhat corroded when I got them, they were sent to the Archaeological Chemist in India who was good enough to clean them. I edit them below with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India.

The plates are three in number each of which is  $5\frac{1}{2}$ " in breadth and  $9\frac{1}{2}$ " in length from the centre of the arch at the top. They are strung together on a copper ring which did not bear any seal when the plates were received in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India. It was found that the ring had not been soldered. So it is difficult to say definitely whether this is the original ring which held the plates when they were issued; it is not impossible that the original ring to which the royal seal was attached, might have been lost and the present ordinary ring substituted in its place. The rims of the plates are slightly raised in order to preserve the writing. The weight of the plates, with the ring, is 116 *tolas*.

At the outset it must be observed that the set of plates is a palimpsest containing two records, one, an Eastern Chālukya grant of the 10th century A.D. and the other, which has been engraved over the earlier inscription, of the time of the Vijayanagara prince Triyambaka. I am unable to explain the circumstances under which the original Chālukya document was used by prince Triyambaka of the first or Saṅgama dynasty of Vijayanagara for writing his own charter more than five centuries after the original was engraved and why it was defaced and a new one incised upon it.

Of the original Eastern Chālukya grant which I shall call A, both the beginning and the end are missing. The extant portion starts on the first side of the second plate of the Vijayanagara grant (hereafter called B) and after being continued on its second side and on the first (outer) side of the first plate ends on the second side of the latter, after giving the name of the king and the geographical division in which the donated village or land was situated. The portion which must have contained the details of the gift such as the name, *gōtra*, family, etc., of the donee, the name of the village or land granted and its boundaries, the date of the grant and the imprecatory verses, is lost. This must have been engraved on a separate plate which was probably removed at the time when the Vijayanagara grant was engraved and the third plate of the present set which is altogether a new one inserted in its place. Both the plates of the earlier grant are inscribed lengthwise like all Eastern Chālukya grants. It should be noted that these two plates have been slightly cut out at both the corners on the top (i.e., on the left-hand side when held lengthwise) in order to give them the shape of an arch like all Vijayanagara copper-plate grants. During this process some letters in each line have been lost. The later grant was engraved upon three of the four sides of the earlier one. Even on the side that was not defaced by being again written upon (i.e., the first side of the first plate of B) a portion on the right-hand side is damaged by corrosion and some of the letters cannot be read. On the second side of the second plate of B, only half the portion of the original document has been written upon and the letters on the other half, though well beaten, are visible and can be read. Of the remaining portion of the inscription only faint traces are seen, but with the help of the other grants of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty I have succeeded in

deciphering to a great extent the preserved portion of the record. The alphabet is ancient Telugu of the 10th century A.D. and the language of the extant portion is Sanskrit.

In spite of the shortcomings noted above this inscription (A) which refers itself to the reign of **Vikramāditya (II)** is valuable as it is the first and only record of the king yet discovered. As pointed out above; its beginning, which must have been written on a plate which does not now form part of the set, is missing. The first king mentioned is **Jayasinhāvallabha** (i.e., Jayasinha I) who, as in all other records of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty, is given a reign of thirty years. Then follows the genealogy of the dynasty recording the length of each reign, down to **Vikramāditya (II)** who is introduced in the usual prose preamble to the grant (ll. 25—27) with the *birudas* of *Samastabhuvanāśraya*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, *Paramabhāṭāraka* and *Paramābrahmanya*. He issues a command to the *Rāshtrakūṭas* and others inhabiting the *Kaṇḍērvvāḍi-vishaya*. The name of this *vishaya* occurs in different forms as *Kaṇḍēruvāḍi*, *Kaṇḍēruvāḍi*, *Kaṇḍēruvāḍi* and *Kaṇḍravāḍi* in several Eastern Chālukya inscriptions and its chief town *Kaṇḍēru*, after which the district was named, has been identified with *Kantēru* in the Guntur District.<sup>1</sup> The grant portion which was recorded next and the date, if it was given, are lost thus depriving us of some valuable facts.

No information of any historical importance that is not already known can be gathered about the predecessors of the donor, viz., king **Vikramāditya II**. Attention may, however, be drawn to the length of reign assigned to **Vijayāditya II**, the builder of 108 temples of *Narēndrēśvara*. He is here stated to have reigned only for 40 years as in the majority of the Eastern Chālukya copper-plate grants. The verses describing the reign of **Vikramāditya (II)** are new and not found in any other record of the family so far known. The first of them states that he regained the ancestral throne which had been forcibly seized by *Tālapa* after killing him. The verses that follow praise his prowess in war in a conventional style, but one interesting fact which one of them (v. 5) discloses is that he fought one hundred battles for eight years and took the kingdom (from his enemies) along with Fame. But it is not possible to say whether this refers to his fight with *Tāla* or to another war as a result of which he made some conquests and extended his kingdom. If by the expression *rājyaṁ kīrtiyā samam=agrahit*, his obtaining the ancestral kingdom is meant we would get an idea of the period of time that was taken by **Vikramāditya** in regaining the throne from *Tāla*. No doubt the *Maliyapūṇḍi* grant of **Ammaṛāja II** tells us that **Vikramāditya (II)** slew "at the head of a rough battle this *Tāla-rāja* together with crowds of different vassals, who were joined by a superior army (and) had troops of furious elephants"<sup>2</sup>. It is, however, not certain whether **Vikramāditya** was engaged in fighting *Tāla* and his allies after *Tāla* became king. But all the Eastern Chālukya inscriptions assign to *Tāla* a reign of only one month. If, however, the rival claimants were engaged in warfare for eight years, it is difficult to guess who ruled the country during this long interval between the period after the ejection of *Kaṇṭhikā-Bēta* by *Tāla*, and the time when the latter succeeded temporarily in seizing the Chālukya throne. No clue to such an interregnum is available from any of the Chālukya records. The question can be solved only by future discoveries.

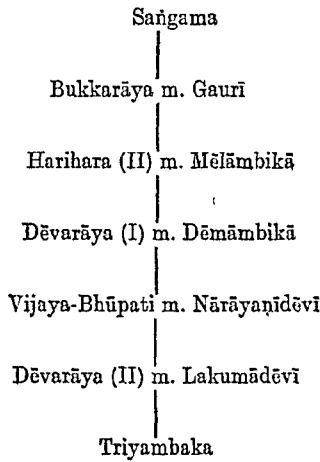
Of inscription **B** the second plate is written on both sides, the first and third being written on the inner side only. But the lower half of the second side of the second plate and the upper half of the third plate are left blank. The plates are numbered one, two and three respectively in Kannaḍa numerals. The record, like many other grants of the Vijayanagara kings, is written in *Nandināgarī* characters except the sign-manual *śrī-Triyambaka* in line 68 which is in

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 56.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. IX, p. 55.

**Kannaḍa-Telugu** script. The alphabet employed is regular for the period to which the record purports to belong and closely resembles that of the Śrīraṅgam plates of Mallikārjuna<sup>1</sup> dated Śaka 1384, and the Śrīśailam plates of Virūpākṣa of Śaka 1388.<sup>2</sup> The language is Sanskrit and excepting the words *śrī-Gaṇādhīpatayē namaḥ* in the beginning of l. 1 and *śrī-Triyambaka* in the last line the whole inscription is in verse. Many faults common to Vijayanagara grants such as mistakes of spelling, dropping of *anusvāra* or *visarga*, using them in places where they are unnecessary and omissions of letters, are found in this one also. As they have been corrected in the body of the text or in foot-notes it is not necessary to notice them here in detail.

The record is important as it is the second known grant of the *Yuvarāja Triyambaka*; the only other inscription of this prince is published in the *Mysore Archaeological Report* for 1925,<sup>3</sup> though its importance had not been recognised or discussed. The genealogical portion from Saṅgama down to Triyambaka is common to both the grants. Opening with invocations to the Boar-incarnation of Viṣṇu and Gaṇēśa respectively, the present grant mentions the Moon and his descendant Yaḍu who ruled the earth. The following genealogy is then given :—



The epigraph further proceeds to state that after Triyambaka's father had gone to heaven, **Immaḍi-Praūḍha-Dēvēndra** (*i.e.*, Mallikārjuna<sup>4</sup>) became king. Verses 15 to 17 tell us that he bore the paramount titles of *Rājādhirāja* and *Rājaparamēśvara* and give a list of the king's *brudas*—the usual epithets of the Vijayanagara kings of the first dynasty. He is stated in verse 18 to have anointed his elder brother Triyambaka as *Yuvarāja*. This prince who was also called **Chikkodeya** was established (as Governor) at **Ghaṇāḍri** (*i.e.*, Penugonda) by the king (v. 19).

The object of the inscription is to record that while Prince Triyambaka was governing his province (of Ghaṇāḍri) he granted the village of **Bommehāḷu**, renaming it as **Lakshmīpura**, after the name of his mother, to the Brāhman **Māchivōkta**, son of **Vallabhōkta** of the Śuklayajuṣa *śākhā* on Monday, the full-moon day of Kārttika in the cyclic year *Yuva*, the Śaka year being 1377 which is expressed by the numerical words *dhātu* (7) *adri* (7) *guṇa* (3) and *bhū*(1). The date is slightly irregular as the full-moon day of Kārttika in the year cited fell on Saturday, the

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XVI, plate between pp. 350 and 351.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XV, plate facing p. 22.

<sup>3</sup> Pp. 98 ff.

<sup>4</sup> See *Ep. Carn.*, Vol., III, Srīngapatam 89 and Kielhorn's *Southern List*, No. 497.

25th October A.D. 1455. The discrepancy may be due to the fact that the engraver might have written Sōmavāra by mistake for Saurivāra; or it is not impossible that, while the grant was actually made on Saturday, it was recorded on Monday and this latter day was cited by mistake. The donee is stated to have been well versed in *Vēdas* and *Sāstras* and to have mastered the science of polity (*nūti-sāstra*). The *Yuvarāja* made the grant in the presence of god Triyambaka at *Bhāskarakshētra* (i.e., Hampi). The donated village *Bommehālu* was situated in *Paṇḍemēru-māgaṇi*, which was a sub-division of *Gutti-rājya* in the *valita* (district) of *Penugonḍa*. After the imprecatory verses the record closes with the signature of the *Yuvarāja* Triyambaka.

The donor *Yuvarāja* Triyambaka is known, as already stated, only from two records (including the one under publication) and not noticed in any of the genealogies of the first dynasty of Vijayanagara so far published. From vv. 11—12 of the present record we learn that he was the son of *Dēvarāya*. But the most interesting fact revealed by our inscription is that he was the elder brother of the king *Immaḍi-Praudha-Dēvēndra* (i.e., *Mallikārjuna*). If he was actually the elder brother, how could his younger brother *Mallikārjuna* succeed to the throne? The question can be answered in two ways; one is to consider that *Mallikārjuna*, who ascended the throne after the death of *Triyambaka's* father, was the son of the *paṭṭa-mahishī* (senior queen) and *Triyambaka*, though older in age, was the son of a junior queen and that consequently the throne passed on to *Mallikārjuna* after his father's death. The second is to regard *Mallikārjuna* and *Triyambaka* as sons of brothers, that is to say, *Mallikārjuna* belonged to the senior line and *Triyambaka* to the junior line, for it is quite common among Hindus to address and mention cousins as brothers.<sup>1</sup> This raises an important issue, viz., if *Mallikārjuna* and *Triyambaka* were actual brothers, were they the children of *Dēvarāya II* or his younger brother *Pratāpa-Dēvarāya*? From the use of the epithet *praudha-pratāpa-vibhavaḥ* which is applied in the present grant to *Dēvarāya*, the father of *Triyambaka*, it would appear that they were the sons of *Pratāpa-Dēvarāya*, who is considered by some scholars to have had the distinctive title of *Praudha-Pratāpa*.<sup>2</sup> From the inscription under publication we learn that *Immaḍi-Praudha-Dēvēndra* became king after the death of *Triyambaka's* father who, if *Triyambaka* and *Mallikārjuna* were brothers, would also be the father of the latter. This would mean that the father of the brothers i.e., *Pratāpa-Dēvarāya*, the younger brother of *Dēvarāya II*, was the predecessor of *Mallikārjuna* on the throne of Vijayanagara. And in support of this conclusion it may be argued that some inscriptions which refer themselves to the reign of a certain Vijaya and bear dates later than the death of *Dēvarāya II* (A.D. 1446)<sup>3</sup> might have been issued by *Pratāpa-Dēvarāya*, who is known from an inscription<sup>4</sup> to have had the surname of Vijaya. But there is one serious objection to this theory. *Abdur Razak*, who was an envoy from Persia to the court of *Dēvarāya II*, and who had an audience with him has recorded that the younger brother (*Pratāpa*) was killed in A.D. 1443, i.e., 3 years before the death of his elder brother.<sup>5</sup> And there appears to be no reason to doubt the veracity of the statement of this contemporary writer. If, however, *Mallikārjuna* and *Triyambaka* were the sons of *Dēvarāya II* this difficulty would not arise. But in this case we would have to admit that *Dēvarāya II*, the father and predecessor of *Immaḍi-Praudha-Dēvēndra* was also described as *praudha-pratāpa-vibhava*. This expression, then, is to be regarded as either being used indiscriminately as a *biruda* both of *Dēvarāya II* and his younger brother *Pratāpa-Dēvarāya* or, that it was not a *biruda* and had no

<sup>1</sup> As it is not known from any source that *Mallikārjuna* was nominated as the successor to his father in preference to his elder brother, this alternative is not considered here.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XVII, p. 195.

<sup>3</sup> *An. Rep. A. S. I.* for 1907-08, p. 251.

<sup>4</sup> *Mys. Arch. Rep.* 1921, p. 30.

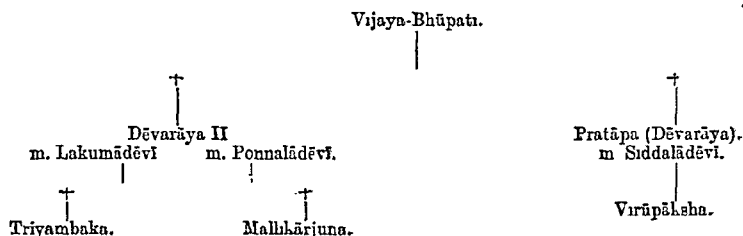
<sup>5</sup> Sewell: *A Forgotten Empire*, pp. 73 ff.



special significance but was merely a descriptive epithet. This view is further strengthened by the fact that while all the known copper-plate grants of Virūpāksha, besides stating that his father was Pratāpa, contain a reference to Pratāpa's elder brother (i.e., Dēvarāya II), Mallikārjuna's copper-plate records mention only his father Dēvarāya II. We have also inscriptions<sup>1</sup> of Dēvarāya II where he is described as *prauḍha-pratāpa-prakaṣita-mahimā* or *prauḍha-pratāpa-ibhavaḥ*. If this surmise is accepted, the inscriptions which refer themselves to the reign of Vijaya, after the date of the death of Dēvarāya II, will have to be attributed, as suggested by the late Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri,<sup>2</sup> to Mallikārjuna himself.

Now let us examine the possibility of taking Mallikārjuna and Triyambaka as cousins, the latter being the son of a junior member of the line though older in age than the former. As pointed out above, according to our inscription Immaḍi-Prandha-Dēvendra (i.e., Mallikārjuna) succeeded Triyambaka's father Dēvarāya after the latter's death. In other words Mallikārjuna (who belonged to the senior line) succeeded his uncle. Since Dēvarāya II is not known to have had more than one brother who was variously called Pratāpa, Dēvarāya and Śrīgiri, it follows that Pratāpa did reign at least for sometime after the death of his elder brother. But this surmise again comes into conflict with the definite statement of Abdur Razak who was a contemporary of Dēvarāya.

It, therefore, appears to me that the most satisfactory solution of the problem is to consider both Mallikārjuna and Triyambaka, as the sons of Dēvarāya II from two different queens and that Mallikārjuna, being the son of the *paṭṭa-mahishī* (senior queen) ascended the throne after his father. As a matter of fact, we know that Mallikārjuna's mother was Ponnalādēvī<sup>3</sup>; and Triyambaka's mother was Lakumādēvī. If this view is correct the order of descent of the princes of this family from Vijaya-Bhūpati downwards would be as shown below :—



<sup>1</sup> Attention may be drawn to another interesting fact revealed by the inscription, namely, that Triyambaka had the surname Chikkodeya. Nuniz mentions after Dēvarāya II a prince named Pinarao who was assassinated.<sup>4</sup> If we could rely upon this writer's account—in many places his statements are inaccurate—there would be no impossibility in considering Chikkodeya to be identical with Pinarao, the latter name being but a Telugu variant of the Kannaḍa form Chikkodeya.

Of the geographical places mentioned in the inscription it is well known that Bhāskara-kṣhētra is Hampi (Bellary District) which was the capital of the Vijayanagara kings. The donated village Bommeḥālu may be identified with Bommeḥparti situated at a distance of seven miles from Anantapur. Gutti, after which the division Gutti-rājya was named, is Gooty, the headquarters of a taluk in the Anantapur District. Ghanādri is the Sanskritized form of Penu-gonḍa which is also the headquarters of another taluk in the same district. It was from the

<sup>1</sup> See e.g., *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XI, Chitaldroog 29 and *ibid.*, Vol. VIII, Nagar 65.

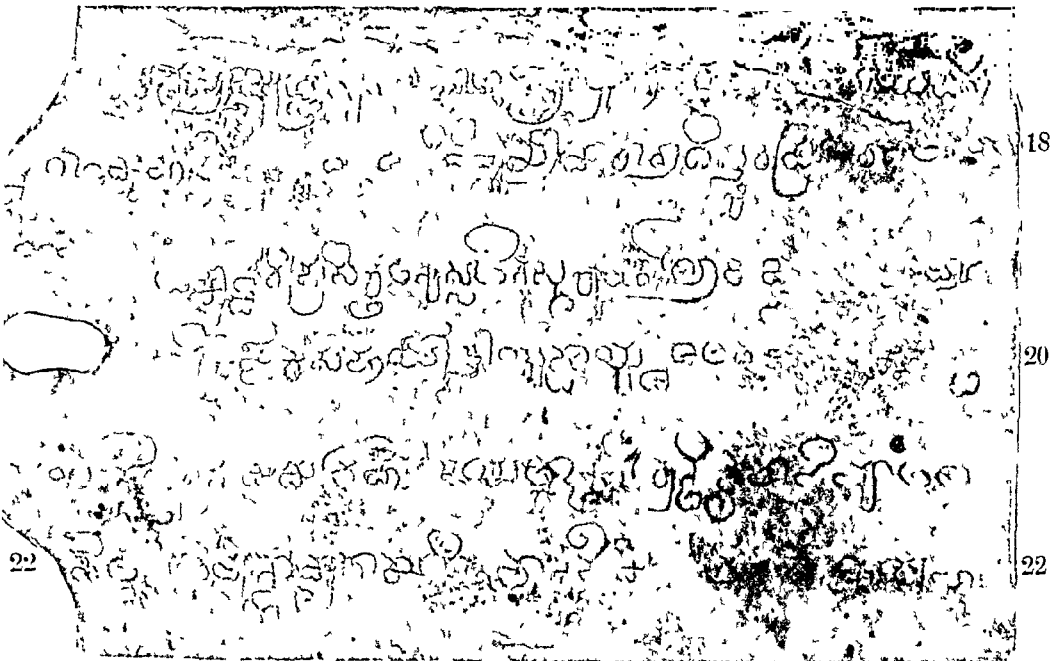
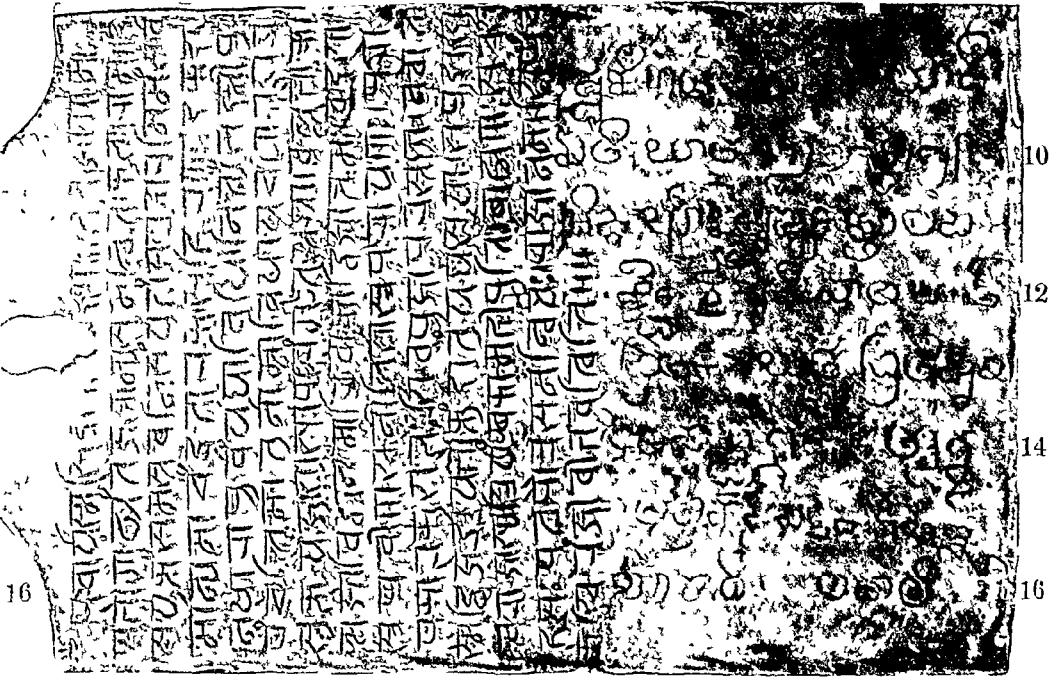
<sup>2</sup> *An. Rep. A. S. I.*, 1907-08, p. 246.

<sup>3</sup> *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, Nagar 65.

<sup>4</sup> Sewell: *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 303.



## A.—Incomplete grant of the Eastern Chalukya Vikramaditya (II).



time of Harihara I and Bukka I the seat of a Viceroyalty<sup>1</sup> and became the capital of the Vijayanagara kingdom after the destruction of Hampi following the Tālikōṭa disaster. The sub-division, Paṇḍemēru-māgaṇi was apparently named after the stream Paṇḍamēru which feeds the big tank of Bukkarāyasamudram at Anantapur.

### TEXT of A.<sup>2</sup>

#### <sup>3</sup>Second Plate ; First Side.

- 1 .....Tat-putrō Jayasimhā-vallabhas=trayastrimśad<sup>4</sup> -va[rshāṇi] | tad-anu-
- 2 [j.Ēndra-rā\*]<sup>5</sup>jasya priya-tana[yō] Vishṇuvarddhanō nava [vatsa]rān | tat-sutō Maṇḍi-  
yu-
- 3 [varājah pa\*]ñchavimśati[m\*] | tat-putrō Jayasimhā=trayōdaśa vatsarān [i\*] tad-  
dvaimātur-ānujaḥ
- 4 [Kōkka\*]līh<sup>6</sup> śhaṇ=māsān | tasya [jyēsthō] bhrātā Vishṇuvarddha[nah] sv-ānujam=  
ājā[v=u]-
- 5 [chchā\*]tya saptatrimśat<sup>7</sup> | tat-tanuḥ Vijayāditya-bhaṭṭārakaḥ aṣṭā[daśa]
- 6 [varshāni\*] tad-aurasō Vishṇurājaḥ śhaṭtrimśad-abdān<sup>8</sup> | tat-sutō Vijayāditya=  
chatvārimśata
- 7 .....[a]ṣṭōttara-śata-śrīman-Narēndrēśvara-kārakaḥ [i\*] tad-ātmajaḥ [Ka]li-Vishṇu-  
varddhanas=s-ārdha-
- 8 [samām | tat-sutō\*] Vijayāditya[h] chatuṣchatvārimśad<sup>9</sup>-varshāni | tad-bhrātur=  
yuvarājasya Vi-

#### Second Plate ; Second Side

- 9 [kramādityasya\*] tanayaḥ Chālukya-Bhīmas=trimśad<sup>10</sup>-varshāni |<sup>11</sup> tat-sutō Vijayādi-
- 10 [tyah śhaṇ=māsā\*]n |<sup>12</sup>sapta-samvatsarān=ta(rāms=ta)sya sūnur=Amma-mahīpatiḥ [i\*]  
Yātē Gaṇḍaragaṇḍa-bhū[bhu]
- 11 — — — prāpt-ābhishēkas=ta[ta]s=sūnum — — — vaśāt=sa — — — Vijayādityaṁ punas=  
Tālapa[h i\*]
- 12 — — — ru-gataṁ vidhāya ba — — — [bhūya] bhūmiśva[rō] bhūmiṁ pālayati
- 13 — — — — — tam śrutvā vachō — — — [||1\*]<sup>13</sup>, Āgatyā drutam=āyata-pratimukha
- 14 — — — — — n=uddhatān=hatvā tad-rudhirā — — — bhīma-[ba]lla — nistrimśa-bhāsavad-bhūja-  
[h i ]tan=dagdhvā
- 15 — — — — — śrīmad-Vikramāditya-bhūpālas=Tālapam=ēsha paṭṭam=avahach=  
chū
- 16 — — — — — [ ||2\*]<sup>14</sup> Viśāl-āvakāśam=imam.....kshiti-payōrāśi[shu] kūla-śālī

<sup>1</sup> An. Rep. A. S. I., 1907-08, pp. 239 and 241.

<sup>2</sup> From the original plates.

<sup>3</sup> The first plate is lost. As the extant portion of the genealogy starts with Jayasimha I, the second ruler of the Eastern Chālukya line, it is not likely that more than one plate is lost.

<sup>4</sup> Read \*śatam varshāni.

<sup>5</sup> The portions enclosed within square brackets with asterisk have been lost and here supplied with the help of other Eastern Chālukya grants.

<sup>6</sup> Read \*śatam abdāni.

<sup>7</sup> From here up to kārakaḥ the text appears to be half an Anuṣṭubh verse.

<sup>8</sup> Read \*śatam varshāni.

<sup>9</sup> This punctuation mark has been engraved after erasing a superfluous ṇa.

<sup>10</sup> From here up to mahīpatiḥ the text seems to contain a half verse in Anuṣṭubh.

<sup>11</sup> Metre: Śūrdūlavikrīḍita.

*Third Plate ; First Side.*

- 17 .....t-prabhur=adhipatēr=yyasya sarōruhāsanaḥ || [3\*]<sup>1</sup> Yad-asi  
 18 ○ ○ — tv-āgādham=mahad-ripur=ambugair=vviṣati vimukhō vārām rāśim sphurad-  
 raṇa-raṁgataḥ | ya  
 19 ○ ○ vanitā-chakshur=vvāri-prasikta-tanus=satīn=asakṛid-akhilā jajñē — — ○ — ○  
 20 ○ — ○ — || [4\*]<sup>2</sup> Vikram-aika-sahāyō=śṣṭau yu[d\*]dhvā yuddha-śataṁ samā[h] [ ] yuddhē  
 labdhā  
 21 ○ — rājyam yaḥ kirttyā samam=agrahīt || [5\*]<sup>3</sup> Yat-kānti-vikrānti-kṛit-ābbibhūti la  
 22 — ○ — — ○ ○ chitta-vṛitī(vṛittī) [1\*] chandrō mṛig-ārāti-ruchāv=ap=imau jātau  
 ○ — — ○ guhā

*Third Plate ; Second Side.*

- 23 ○ — — || [6\*]<sup>4</sup> [A]panudati parēśbhām rāga-mō[hau ya]diyō [di]śati cha karavāla  
 24 — ○ — — — | chirayati samagraṁ bhūri-sāmsāra-mōhan=Nara iva  
 25 [bhu ?]vi siddhō lōka-vikhyāta-kirttiḥ || [7\*]<sup>5</sup> Sa samastabhuvanāśraya-śri-  
 26 [Vi]kramāditya-mahārājūdhirāja-paramēśvara-paramabhaṭṭāra-  
 27 [ka-pa]ramabrahmaṇyaḥ Kaṇḍōrvvāḍi-vishaya-nivāsino rāśhtrakūṭa-pramukhā-  
 28 [n=kuṭumbinas=sa]rvvān=ittham=ājñāpayati viditam=astu | .....mādityā..<sup>6</sup>

## TEXT of B.7

[Metres:—Vv. 1, 3-35 *Anuṣṭubh*, v. 2 *Sragdharā*, v. 36 *Śālini*.]

*First Plate.*

- 1 Śrī-Gaṇādhīpatayē namaḥ | Avyād=vaḥ prathamāḥ Pautrī(Pōtrī) sarasā-  
 2 m=udvahan=raśā[m] [1\*] priy-āṅga-saṁga-saṁjāta-śā(sū)ndra-śvē(svē)d-ōdayām=i-  
 3 vaḥ(iva) || [1\*] Rīmga[n\*]n=utsaṁga-raṁgē nija-radana-diyā(dhiyā) Saṁ(Saṁ)karaḥ  
 4 s-ōttamāṁgād=a(ā)karshan(nn)=indu-lōkhām pitari gata-rada-stēyam=  
 5 ārōpayanś=chaḥ(cha) [1\*] mātuh prōṭsāhayaṁtyā smita-sūchi-vadanam vikshamā-  
 6 ṇa(naḥ) sa-hāsam bālō vāskalya(vātsalya)-bhūmih kalayatu muditō mam-  
 7 galānyakadantaḥ(lāny=Ēkadantaḥ) || [2\*] Asti kaustubha-kalpadru-kāmadhēnu-sahōdarā-  
 (raḥ) [1\*]  
 8 Rāmānuja[h\*] Sudhānāthaḥ kshīra-sāgara-saṁbhavaḥ || [3\*] Udbhūd=anvayē ta-  
 9 sya Yādu-nāmā mahīpatih | pālitaṁ yat-kulīnīna(nēna) Vasudēvēna bhū-  
 10 talam(lam) || [4\*] Abhūd=asya kulē śrīmān=abham[gura\*]-guṇ-ōdayaḥ | apāsta-durit-ā-  
 11 saṁga[s\*]=Saṁgamō nāma bhūpatih || [5\*] Dik-karidra(ndra)-du(dhu)r-ādhāra-dakshīṇa-  
 12 skandha-bandhuraḥ | Bukkarāya[s\*]=tataḥ śrīmān=āsīd=āhava-ka-  
 13 rkaṣaḥ(śaḥ) || [6\*] Ahina-bhōga-saṁ(saṁ)saktir=asau rāja-śikhā-  
 14 maṇih | gōptā Hariharam Gauryām kumāram=udapā-  
 15 dayat || [7\*] Sisṭām(Śiṣṭān) saṁra[kṣa\*]tō yasya dushṭān=api pi(ni)gri-  
 16 hṇataḥ | labdh-ārthair=vidushā[m\*] sārthai[ś\*]=ślāghyām(ghyā) Hā(Ha)ri-

<sup>1</sup> Metre may be *Āryā*.<sup>2</sup> Metre: *Harīṇi*.<sup>3</sup> Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.<sup>4</sup> Metre: *Indravajrā*.<sup>5</sup> Metre: *Mālinī*.<sup>6</sup> The continuation is missing.<sup>7</sup> From the original plates and ink-impressions.

- 17 Har-ātmatā || (8\*) Tasya Mēlāmbikā-jānēs=tanayō vina-  
 18 y-ōnnataḥ || (1) Pratāpa-Dēvarāy-ākhyā[h\*] putra[s\*]=Sutrāma-  
 19 vikramaḥ || (9\*) Tasya Dēmāmbikā-jānēs=ta[na\*]yō [vinay-ō\*]na(ōmua)taḥ |  
 20 vidyā-vinaya-vijñāna-nidhir=Vijaya-bhūpati[h\*] || 10\*]  
 21 Tasya [Nā]rāyaṇīdēvyā[m\*] prādūrāsīd=[d\*]jurāsada[h\*] | prau-  
 22 ḍha-pratā[pa\*]-vibhavō Dēvarāya-mahīpatiḥ || 11\*] Tasya śrī-  
 23 Lakumādēvi bhāry=ābhūd=bhūpā(pa)tēḥ priyā [i\*] Lakshmīr=iva Murā-

*Second Plate ; First Side.*

- 24 rātē[h\*] Pārvat=iva Pinākī[naḥ] || (12\*) Tayō[h\*] prāchīna-puṇyānām  
 25 paṇipāka-viśēṣataḥ | tasyā[m\*] Triyambaka[s\*]=sākṣhāt=kumārāḥ sa-  
 26 majāyata || (13\*) Bhuvam hitvā divam yātē tātē tasya mahātmāni |  
 27 Im(I)mmaḍi-Prauḍha-Dēvēndrō rāj=ābhūj=jagatīpatiḥ || (14\*) Rājādhi-  
 28 rājas=tējasvī yō rājaparamēśvaraḥ [i\*] bhāṣh-ōllanḡhi-mahīpāla-  
 29 bhujamgama-vihaṅgarāt || (15\*) Vairi-bhūpati-vētaṁḍa-chamḍa-  
 30 khaṁḍana-kēsari | gaḡ-augha-gaṁḍabhērūṁḍō gaḡēdra(ndra)-mṛi-  
 31 gayā-rata[h\*] || (16\*) Tri-rāja-bhujag-ōnnaddha-para-rāja-bhayam-  
 32 karaḥ | Hī[m\*]du-rāya-suratrāṇa ity-ādi-bhi(bi)rud-ōnnataḥ || (17\*)  
 33 Jyāyā[m\*]sam bhrātaram rājā Triyambaka-mahīpati[m\*](tim) | prada-  
 34 rsa(rśa)ya[m\*]ś=cha saubhrātaram yauvarājyē=bhīśēśa(shēcha)yan || (18\*) Śrīma-  
 35 ch=Chikkoḍey=ākhyam cha Ghanādrau sthāpan-ātaram(āntaram) | evam  
 36 bhrātā pradattē tu rājyē Chikkoḍahō(Chikkoḍeyō) balī || (19\*) sva-rājya[m\*]  
 37 pālayan=atram(atra) dīvyati śrī-Triyambakaḥ ||-|| (1) Śāli-  
 38 vāhana-nirṇīta-Śa[ka\*]-varsha-kram-āgatē || (20\*) Dhātv-adi(adri)-guṇa-  
 39 bhū-yuktē Śak-ābdē Yuva-vatsarē | Kārttikyām su(śu)kla-pa-  
 40 kṣhē cha pūrṇamāyā(pimā)yā[m\*] mahā-tithau || (21\*) Sōma-vārō<sup>1</sup> puṇya-  
 41 kāl-ōdayē tathā | pavitrē Bhāskarakṣhētrē śrī-Tri-  
 42 yambaka-sannidhau || (22\*) Penugomḍ-ākhyā-valitē Gutti-rā-  
 43 jyē samanvagē(nvitē) || (1) Paṁḍemērū-māgaṇau cha sthitām(tam) bādhā-  
 44 vivarjitam(tam) || (23\*) Bommēhāḷu-nāmānam grāmaṁ hi sarva-  
 45 sasyakam | Gururāyasya hōbalyā vāmcha chāru svākṣitam<sup>2</sup> || (24\*) Nidhi-ni

*Second Plate ; Second Side.*

- 46 kṣhēpa-vāry-as(ś)ma-siddha-sā[dhy-ā]kṣhīp=īti cha | āgām=īty=a-  
 47 shṭa-bhōg-ādhyam tēja-svāmya-samanvitam(tam) || (25\*) Kuly-ārām-ādi-  
 48 samyuktam samasta-balī(li)-samīyutam(tam) | agraḥāram=imam sarvam  
 49 mānyam=a-chamḍra-tārakam(kam) || (26\*) Sa-hiraṇy-ōḍaka[m\*]dā-  
 50 na[m\*]dhārā-pūrvam yathā-vidhi | nityam Lakshmīpuram  
 51 ch=ēti mātūr=nāmnā vidhāya cha | (1 27\*) - - -  
 52 Śukla-yajuh-śākhā-pāram-gatas=tathā<sup>1</sup> | Vallabhōkt-ā-  
 53 tmaḡō vidvān Māchivōktō dvij-ōttamaḥ || (28\*) Vēda-śā-  
 54 stra-praviṇś=cha nīti-śāstra-parāyaṇaḥ | par-ō-  
 55 pakāra-kuśalaḥ Śiva-pūjā-paras=tathā || (29\*) Natvā ta-

<sup>1</sup> Four syllables are missing in the first quarter of this *Anuṣṭubh* verse.<sup>2</sup> The second half of this verse is corrupt and I cannot suggest any emendation.

- 56 smai dvij-ēdrā(ndrā)ya bhōktuṁ dātum yath=ēpsayā | sa prādādd=yu-  
 57 varāj-ākhyas=Triyaṁbakā(ka)-mahāpatih ||[ 30\*] Brāhmaṇaḥ sa cha saṁ-  
 58 hṛishṭaḥ putra-pautra-samanvitaḥ | rājānam=āśisham cha-  
 59 krē śchi(chi)rañjivī bhavatu=iti ||| [31\*]

*Third Plate.*

- 60 Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā yō harēta vasuñdhārūṁ(rām) | shamsbtir<sup>1</sup>=varsha-sa-  
 61 hasrāpi vishṭhāyāṁ jāyatē krimiḥ ||[ 32\*] Sva-datvā(dattād=)dviguṇaṁ puṇyaṁ pañ  
 (pa)-  
 62 ra-datt-ānupālanaṁ(nē) | para-datt-āpahārēṇa sva-dattaṁ nishphalaṁ bha-  
 63 vēt ||[ 33\*] k=aiṇa bhagini lōkē sarvēsā(shā)m=ēva bhūbhujāṁ(jām)[1\*] na bhōjyā na ka-  
 64 ra-grāhyā vipra-dattā vasuñdharā ||[ 34\*] Dāna-pālanayōr=madhyē dānāch=chhre-  
 65 yō=nupālanaṁ(nam) | dānāt=svargam=avāpnōti pālanād=achyutaṁ padam(dam) ||[ 35\*]  
 66 Sāmānyō=yam dharma-sētu[r\*]=nṛipāṇāṁ kālē kālē pālānīyō bhavadbhīḥ [1\*]  
 67 sarvān=ētān=bhāvināḥ pāthiv-ēndrān=bhūyō bhūyō yāchatē Rāmachari[draḥ] ||[ 36\*]  
 68 śrī-Triyaṁbaka

No. 20.—SANTA-BOMMALI PLATES OF INDRAVARMAN: [GANGA] YEAR 87.

By R. K. GHOSHAL, M.A., CALCUTTA.

The copper-plates, which bear the subjoined inscription, were secured in 1925 from a farmer of the village of *Santa-Bommali* in the Ganjam District by Mr. Lakshminarayan Harichandan Jagadev, M.R.A.S., Rājā Bāhādur of Tekkali, in whose ownership they now lie. The inscription seems to have been first published in the *Utkala Sāhitya Parishad Patrikā* of Cuttack, Vol. XXXI, which is not accessible to me. It was next dealt with by its present owner in the *Journ. of the Andhra Hist. Res. Society* (Vol. IV, pp. 21 ff. and plate). His introduction to and reading of the text of the inscription, however, having contained a number of inaccuracies, I take this opportunity to publish a revised edition. The present treatment is based on a reproduction of the plates accompanying the Rājā Bāhādur's paper referred to above.

The plates are three in number and measure<sup>2</sup> 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ " by 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". The first and the third plates bear writing on their inner faces only, while the second one is inscribed on both sides. The plates are in a perfect state of preservation. Towards the proper right end of each plate there is a hole for a ring of 2 $\frac{7}{16}$ " in diameter to connect them. The seal,<sup>3</sup> on which the ends of the ring are secured, measures about 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ " and on it is said to be engraved the figure of a (couchant ?) bull. The weight of the plates together with the ring is 52 *tolas*.

The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets and are almost of the same type as is found in the Achyutapuram plates<sup>4</sup> (Year 87) and the Parā-Kimēḍi (Year 91)

<sup>1</sup> Read *shashṭim varsha*.

<sup>2</sup> *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. IV, p. 21. I have not had any opportunity to verify this and the following information in this paragraph from the original plates. This record has also been noticed in *An. Rep. on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1925-26, p. 10, Appendix A, No. 2.

<sup>3</sup> No shape of the seal is given; perhaps it is of the usual small oval shape.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. III, pp. 127 ff.

plates<sup>1</sup> of Indravarman. They have also a general resemblance to the script of the stray Tirlingi plate<sup>2</sup> (Year 28 ?) as well as to that of the Narasingapalli<sup>3</sup> (Year 79) and Urlam<sup>4</sup> (Year 80) plates of Hastivarman.

The numerical symbols 80, 7 and 30 occur in line 23.

As in the Parlā-Kimēḍi plates, the heads of the letters have in many places an imperfect and disjointed appearance, as if they had been partially worn away by rust. But as observed by Dr. Fleet,<sup>1</sup> this is due, wherever it occurs, to faulty execution on the part of the engraver, in omitting sometimes to complete the *mātrās* and sometimes even to commence them at all. Otherwise, the engraving is fairly clearly done. There are six lines inscribed on each plate, the whole inscription containing twenty-four lines in all.

The language is Sanskrit. With the exception of three customary verses (ll. 19-23) and one concluding verse (l. 24), the inscription is written in prose throughout.

In respect of orthography, we have to notice (1) the use of the guttural nasal (*ṇ*) before *h* in *°siṇha*, line 24, (2) the substitution of *anusvāra* by the class nasal of the following consonant in *āyan=dāna*, l. 18, (3) the doubling of *dh* in conjunction with a following *y* in *-ānuddhyātāḥ*, l. 7, (4) the frequent doubling of consonants after *r*, (5) the occasional doubling of consonants before *r* and (6) the use of *anusvāra* in place of the final form of *m* in *phalanṁ* (l. 20) and *-nupālanam* (l. 21). The letters *b* and *v* are indicated by separate signs, the solitary exception being in *parivādhā* (l. 14). The rules of *sandhi* are observed throughout except in lines 5 and 17.

The object of the inscription is to record the gift of three *halas* of land towards meeting the expenses of offering regular worship and repairing the temple of god Rāmēśvara-bhaṭṭāraka in Dantayavāgū. Of these two *halas* lay in the village of Haribhaṭa in the district of Krōṣṭhukavarttanī and the third at Dantayavāgū itself. The gift was made into a permanent free-hold *dēvāgrahāra* by Indravarman, *alias* Rājasimha, who is described as belonging to the spotless family of the Gāṅgas.

The date of the inscription is given, in figures only, as the years of the prosperous victorious reign (*pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-samvatsarāḥ*) 80 7; (*the month*) Jyēṣṭha; the day 30 (l. 23).

The charter was written by Vinayachandra, the son of Bhānuchandra (l. 24).

We have had as yet three published records of the reign of Indravarman, *alias* Rājasimha: they are (1) the Achyutapuram plates of the Year 87, (2) the Parlā-Kimēḍi plates of the Year 91, and (3) the record under discussion.

Another single plate from Tirlingi (in the Ganjām District), apparently the last of a set, bears an inscription which is dated, according to Mr. S. N. Rajaguru<sup>5</sup>, in the year 28 of the Gāṅga era. The writer (and engraver) of this stray plate describes himself as

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 131 ff. For a lithograph of the plates Dr. Fleet refers us to his *Indian Inscriptions*, No. 18. The plates are preserved in the Madras Museum. This work of Dr. Fleet does not seem to have been eventually published.

<sup>2</sup> *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. III, pp. 54 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 62 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 332 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. III, p. 54.



Vinayachandra, the son of Bhānuchandra, who has been taken by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar<sup>1</sup> to be the namesake of the writer of the three records of Indravarman-Rājasinha mentioned above. Proceeding from this conjecture, Dr. Bhandarkar suggests<sup>2</sup> that the word read by Mr. Rajaguru as denoting twenty-eight may actually be read as eighty-eight, thus satisfactorily adjusting the date of the plate within the reign of Indravarman of the present record. The reading of the date on this plate has also been doubted by Dr. R. C. Majumdar.<sup>3</sup> The reproduction of the plate in question accompanying Mr. Rajaguru's paper<sup>4</sup> is unfortunately too obscure to admit of verification on this point. What little however remains does not seem to support the reading *ashthaśitas* . . . . = *asya* as suggested by Dr. Bhandarkar.<sup>5</sup>

Of the localities mentioned, Kalinganagara has been variously identified with modern Kalingapatam<sup>6</sup> at the mouth of the Vamsadhara river or with Mukhalingam near Chicacole. The Krōṣṭukavarttānī (*viśaya*) is mentioned in a number of early and later Gāṅga records.<sup>7</sup> It has been identified by Dr. E. Hultsch<sup>8</sup> with modern Chicacole. A district (*bhōga*) called Dantaṣavāgu (really 'vāgū) is mentioned in the Bṛihatprōṣhthā grant of Umavarman (above, Vol. XII, p. 5, l. 5). But I am unable to identify both this village and that of Haribhaṭa.

Vinayachandra, the writer of the present record, was also responsible for preparing the draft of the two inscriptions of Hastivarman and two of Indravarman<sup>9</sup> mentioned above.

The *biruda* Rājasinha applied to Indravarman in the present record, also occurs in the Nara-singapalli and Urlam plates of Hastivarman and also in the Achyutapuram and Parlā-Kimēdi plates of Indravarman.

The date of our inscription can be ascertained only very approximately. If, as is held by Prof. R. Subba Rao,<sup>10</sup> the epoch of the Gāṅga era began from 494 A.D., the date of our record would fall at 494 + 87 = 581 A.D. Without caring however to arrive at any one particular year, we would not be far wrong if we placed our record in the period 570-625 A.D.

<sup>1</sup> *A List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, p. 285, f. n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 2047.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 63, f. n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. III, p. 55.

<sup>5</sup> In any case, it begins with *ashṭa*. Of the two letters following, the second appears to be a ligature most probably with a guttural nasal (*n*); while the preceding one has a clear medial *i* sign. The arguments advanced by Mr. G. Ramdas (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. III, pp. 82-83) for doubting the genuineness of this stray plate do not appear to be conclusive. His reading of the date *siṭya=ashṭa(sic)viti* also is not borne out by the plate; for, the conjunct (read by Mr. Rajaguru as *ṣya* being a possessive case-ending) coming immediately after *samvatsara* cannot possibly be broken up into *si* and *tya*.

<sup>6</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 132.

<sup>7</sup> *E.g.*, Urlam pls. (Yr. 80) of Hastivarman, Above, Vol. XVII, pp. 332 ff.; Chicacole pls. (Yr. 183) of Dēvēndravarma, Above, Vol. III, pp. 131 ff.; Parlā-Kimēdi pls. (Yr. 204) of Anantavarman, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 144 ff., etc.

<sup>8</sup> Above, Vol. XVII, pp. 332 ff.

<sup>9</sup> He was also probably the same as the writer and engraver of the stray Tirhugi grant (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. III, pp. 54 ff.) the donor of which must remain, pending the discovery of the remaining plates of the set, a mysterious personalty. Prof. R. Subba Rao however suggests (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. VI, p. 71) that the donor may be identified with Mitravarma, father of Indrādhira, mentioned in the Gōdāvari plates of Prithivimūla (*J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 116 ff. and pls.). This Indrādhira has further been held by Dr. Bhandarkar (*List*, p. 266, No. 1904 and f. n. 1) to be identical with Indravarman of the Jirjingi pls. of the Gāṅga Year 39 (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. III, pp. 51 ff.).

<sup>10</sup> *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. V, pp. 267-76.

TEXT.<sup>1</sup>

## First Plate.

- 1 Ōm<sup>2</sup> Svasti [||\*] Sarvv-artu-sukha-ramaṇīyād=vijaya-Kaliṅganagarāt=sakala-bhuvana-  
nirmmā-  
2 ṇ-aika-sūtradhārasya bhagavatō Gōkarṇasvāminas=charaṇa-kamala-yugala-praṇā-  
3 mād=apagata-kali-kalamkō vinaya-naya-sampadām=ādhārāḥ sv-āsi-dhārā-  
4 parispaṇḍ-ādhigata-sakala-Kaliṅg-ādhirōjyaś=chatur-udadhi-taraṅga-mēkhal-ā-  
5 vani-tala-pravitat-āmala-yaśāḥ anēka-samara-saṁkshōbha-janita-jaya-ka  
6 bdō Gāṅg-āmala-kula-pratiśṭhah pratāp-ātiśay-ānāmita-samasta-sāmanta-chūḍā-

## Second Plate ; First Side.

- 7 maṇi-prabhā-maṇjarī-puñja-rañjita-charaṇō mātā-pitṛi-pād-ānuddhyātāḥ paramamā-  
8 hēśvaraḥ śrī-Mahārāj-Ēndravarmma |<sup>3</sup> Krōshṭukavarttanyām Haribhaṭa-grāmō  
sarvva-sa-  
9 mavētān=kuṭumbinas=samājñāpayati [||\*] Vidadam=astu vō yath-āsmābhir=asmi-  
10 n=grāmē hala-dvayasya bhūś=chhitvā Dantayavāgvām bhagavatō Rāmēśvara-bhaṭṭāraka-  
11 sya bali-charu-sattra-pravarttanāya khaṇḍa-sphuṭita-saṁskāra-karaṇāya cha Dantaya-  
12 vāgvīyā cha halasya bhūr=asy=aiva sarvva-karaiḥ parihrity=ā-chandr-ārka-pratiśṭham

## Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 13 dēvāgrahāraṇ=krītvā mātā-pitṛrōr=ātmanas=cha puṇy-ābhivṛddhayē Talavaradēva-  
14 bhōgikēna pratibōdhitais=sampradattā [||\*] tad=viditvā na kēnachit=parivā(bā)dhā kāryy=  
ēti [||\*]  
15 Haribhaṭa-kshētrasya cha sīmā-līṅgāni uttarēṇa Kshātriya-taṭāka<sup>4</sup>-parivāhaḥ  
16 pūrvvēṇ=ārjuna-vṛikshas=tatō valmika-paṅktis=tatāḥ kṛitṛi(tri)mā pāshāṇa-puñja-paṅkti-  
[||\*]  
17 tatō nimba-vṛikshaḥ dakṣiṇēn=āpi tat-taṭāka-parivāha ēva paśchimēna kūpas=tata[||\*]  
18 yamalaka-ārjuna-vṛikshō tatō rāja-mārggaś=ch=ēti | Bhavishyad-rājabhiś=ch=āyan=dāna-

## Third Plate.

- 19 dharmmā(rmmō)=nupālyas=tathā cha Vyāsa-gītām<sup>6</sup> ślōkān=udāharanti [||\*] Bahubhir=  
vvasudhā dattā  
20 bahubhiś=ch=ānupālītā [||\*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalam(lam) [||1\*]  
Sva-dattām  
21 para-dattām vā yatnād=raksha Yudhishṭhira [||\*] mahi[||\*] mahimatām śrēṣṭha dānāch=  
chhrēyō=nupālanaṁ(nam) [||2\*]

<sup>1</sup> From plate opp. p. 23, *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. IV.<sup>2</sup> Expressed by a symbol.<sup>3</sup> This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Rājataṭāka* ; above, Vol. III, p. 127.<sup>5</sup> Is this *arjuna* a cluster of two trees of the same species ? Or, is *yamalaka* to be restored as *amalaka* ? In that case we have to read *vṛikshaḥ* in place of *vṛikshō*.<sup>6</sup> Read -gītān.<sup>7</sup> Metre : *Ślōka* (*Anuṣṭubh*) ; and in the following two verses.

- 22 Shashṭim varsha-sahasrāpi mōdatē divi bhūmidāḥ [\*] ākshēptā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva  
 23 narakē vasēd=itī<sup>1</sup> | pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsarāḥ 80 7 Jyēshṭha-divasa  
 30<sup>2</sup> [\*]  
 24 Idam Vinayachandrēṇa Bhānuchandrasya sūmunā [\*] śāsanaṁ Rājasinhasya<sup>4</sup> likhī-  
 tam sva-mukh=ājñayā [†\*]

## TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1-14) Ōm Hail ! From the victorious (*city of*) **Kaliṅganagara**, which is plessant in all seasons, the glorious **Mahārāja Indravarman**<sup>5</sup> .....addresses (*the following*) order to all the householders *en masse* at the village of **Haribhaṭa** in (*the district of*) **Krōshṭukavarttani** :

“ Be it known to you that We have granted, after portioning it off, and on being informed by Talavaradēva,<sup>6</sup> the *Bhōgika*,<sup>7</sup> and for increasing the religious merit of (*Our*) parents and of Ourselves, two *halas*<sup>8</sup> of land in this village for the sake of performing (*rites known as*) *bali*, *charu* and *sattra*, and for the repairs of dilapidations (*of the temple*) of god Rāmēśvara-bhaṭṭāraka (*situated*) in (*the village called*) **Dantayavāgū** and (*in addition to that*) another *hala* of land in (*the same*) **Dantayavāgū**, having constituted it as an *agrahāra* for god (Rāmēśvara-bhaṭṭāraka) which is to last as long as the moon and the sun, and having exempted it from all impositions.

Having known this, nobody should cause any hindrance ”.

(Ll. 15-18) The boundary marks of the land (*granted*) in (*the village of*) **Haribhaṭa** are as follows :—On the north, the storm-water channel of the tank (*called*) *Kshatriya-taṭāka* ; on the east, an *arjuna* tree, after that a row of ant-hills, then up to the artificial line of heaped-up stones, then a *nimba* tree ; on the south, the same channel of that tank (*Kshatriya-taṭāka*) ; on the west, a well, then the twin *arjuna* trees, then the royal road.

(Ll. 18-23) The future kings should maintain this religious gift. And likewise the verses sung by Vyāsa are quoted :—

(Here come three of the customary verses.)

(Ll. 23-24) The year 87 of the prosperous victorious reign ; (*the month*) **Jyēshṭha**, the day 30.

This edict (*śāsana*) of **Rājasinha** has been written at the command of his (*the king's*) own mouth, by **Vinayachandra**, the son of **Bhāmuchandra**.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Read *rasēl* [||3\*] *itī*.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Jagadev reads the symbol as 10.

<sup>3</sup> Metre : *Śloka* (*Anuṣṭubh*).

<sup>4</sup> Read *sinhasya*.

<sup>5</sup> For a translation of the long string of epithets that follows see above, Vol. III, p. 129.

<sup>6</sup> *Taravara* as an official title (*Mahāpratihāra-Taravara-Vinayaśūrasya*) occurs on a Basari seal (*An. Rep., A. S. I., 1903-4, p. 109, No. 16*). *Mahātalarava* (along with its feminine *Mahātalaravi*) in the sense of a high dignitary with indefinite function is frequently mentioned in inscriptions of Ikshvāku kings from Nāgarjunikoṇḍa (above, Vol. XX, pp. 6-7 and f. n. 1).

In the present instance also *Talavaradēva-Bhōgika* (or *Talavara-dēvabhōgika* ?) seems to have been used as the title of an officer who did the dual function of a *talavara* and a *bhōgika*.

<sup>7</sup> For the explanation of the term *Bhōgika*, see above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 59 and 64. Also *C. I. I., Vol. III, p. 100, n. 1*.

<sup>8</sup> In explaining the technical word *kula*, in *Manu*, VII, 119, Kulluka observes thus : *śaḍgavān madhyamanī halam=itī tatāvidha-haladvayēna yāvatī bhūmīr=āhyatē tat=kulam=itī vadati*. Here the connotation of *hala* is not clear. In any case, *hala* appears to be a recognised kind of land-measure.

<sup>9</sup> I am grateful to my revered teacher Dr. R. G. Basak, M.A., Ph.D., Senior Professor of Sanskrit, Presidency College, Calcutta, for kindly suggesting a number of corrections in my interpretation of the text of the inscription.

## No. 21.—PURSHOTTAMPURI PLATES OF RAMACHANDRA : SAKA 1232.

BY PROF. V. V. MIRASHI, M.A., NAGPUR.

These plates were brought to my notice by Mr. R. M. Bhusari, M.A., Professor of Marāṭhī, in the Osmania College, Hyderābād (Deccan). At my request Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, Government Epigraphist, supplied me with excellent ink-impressions of them. The original plates were kindly procured by Mr. G. Yazdani, M.A., O.B.E., Director of Archaeology, Hyderābād State, and their ink-impressions taken by the Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras. I am indebted to Mr. Yazdani for permission to edit the plates in this Journal.

The copper-plates, which are three in number, were discovered in the possession of a Gōsāvi at Purshōttampurī on the southern bank of the Gōdāvarī, about 40 miles due west of Parbhani, in the Bhīr District of H. E. H. the Nizām's Dominions. They are very massive, each measuring 1' 2½" broad, 1' 8" high and ¾" thick. Their total weight is 47·25 lbs.<sup>1</sup> The ends of the plates are raised into rims for the protection of the writing. The first and third plates are inscribed on one side only and the second on both the sides. The plates have in the centre at the top a round hole 1½" in diameter for the ring which must have originally held them together; but neither the ring nor the seal, which must have been connected with it<sup>2</sup>, is now forthcoming. The writing is in a state of excellent preservation. There are 141 lines in all, of which thirty-four are written on each of the first two inscribed sides, thirty-eight on the second side of the second plate, while the last plate has thirty-five lines. The technical execution is very good, there being few mistakes of writing or engraving. In line 51 two redundant *aksharas* have been cancelled by incising two vertical strokes on the top.

The characters are Nāgarī. Except in a few cases they closely resemble the ordinary Nāgarī characters of the present time. The only peculiarities that call for notice are that the curve for the medial *u* is in some cases added to the side and not to the bottom of the vertical stroke, see *Vishṇu*-, l. 81 and *achyutaṇ*-, l. 137; the medial diphthongs are in many cases denoted by *prish-ṭhamātrās*; the subscript member of the ligature *gg* like that of *yy* is denoted only by a horizontal stroke, see *svarggam*-, l. 136; *ñ* appears with a dot in one case and without it in another, see *Śārṅga*- in ll. 2-3 and 30; the form of the rare *ih* in *Vinījadēva*, l. 105, is noteworthy; the letters *n* and *ñ* approximate to their modern forms, see *ramaṇa*-, l. 2 and *yajñair*-, l. 124; the letters *t* and *n*, *th* and *dh* as well as *v* and *ch* are in some places written alike; the left member of *dh* is fully developed except in ligatures like *ddh*; there was thus no possibility of confusion between *dhā* and *vā*, still the horizontal line joining the vertical strokes of the former *akshara* is not discarded, see *nī-dhānaṇ*-, l. 2; finally, *v* and *b* are denoted by their proper signs except in *vrahma sv*-, l. 133.

The language is Sanskrit and the record is written partly in prose and partly in verse. There are 59 verses in all. Of the initial 18 verses which eulogize the reigning king Rāmachandra and his ancestors, one completely and another partly<sup>3</sup> occur in the earlier Paithan plates of the same king. It is again noteworthy that in the concluding portion, which contains benedictive and imprecatory verses, there is one verse which is only a hemistich, and another, which is an *Anush-*

<sup>1</sup> In their size and weight the present plates resemble the Paithan plates of the same king Rāmachandra edited by Dr. Fleet, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 314 ff. Of the three plates here the first weighs 18 lbs., the second 14·25 lbs. and the third 15 lbs.

<sup>2</sup> The aforementioned Paithan plates have a Garuḍa seal.

<sup>3</sup> These are verses 4 and 13. The second half of the latter verse occurs as the first half of the corresponding verse in line 46 of the Paithan plates.

*pubh* verse of six *pādas*. The inscription is composed in a good style and contains an interesting use of *double entendre* in several verses of the eulogistic portion. Of lexicographical interest are the old Marāṭhī words, *phulabaḍuē* and *jōisī* (modern *Jośī*). The former which is the title of a royal functionary<sup>1</sup> occurs also in an old Marāṭhī work of the same age, viz., the *Śisupālavadha* (v. 51) of Bhāskarabhaṭṭa. The nasalisation of the final syllable in the Marāṭhī names of villages is also noteworthy. As regards orthography we may note that *kh* is used for *sh* as in *paritōkhṇa*, l. 41 and *vice versā* as in *ratna-shanyāl*, l. 48. The dental and palatal sibilants are used each in its proper place except in a few cases such as *sprisyatē*, l. 25. The letters *v* and *b* are almost everywhere clearly distinguished. In one case (namely, in *Mahādēōpurī*, l. 116), *va* is changed to *ō* as in old Marāṭhī works. The rules of *sandhi* are violated in several places, the most common instance being the addition of an *anusvāra* before final *n* as in *ullāsayaṁn=*, l. 12, *uddharaṁn=*, l. 18, etc.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the king Rāmachandra of the Later Yādava dynasty. The object of it is to record the grant, by Rāmachandra, of some villages to his minister Purushōttama *alias* Purushai Nāyaka, for the formation of an *agrahāra* and the donation, by Purushōttama, of the *agrahāra* which he named Purushōttamapurī after himself, to certain Brāhmanas. The *agrahāra* consisted of the four villages, Pōkharī, Aḍagau<sup>2</sup>, Vāghaurē and Kurupāragau, which were situated in the Kānhairī-*khaṁpaṇaka* (subdivision) of the Kānhairī-dēśa. The first three of these villages had three hamlets (*khēṭakas*) attached to each of them, viz., Sāēgāhvāna, Pimpalagāhvāna, Pālipskharī, Pimpalavāḍi, Kājalakōvi, Sōijayē, Simpivilirē, Gōlēgāhvāna and Dhāravāghaurē. The *agrahāra* was bounded on the east by Dāṇḍigau, and Sādulē, on the south by Keśavapurī, Śavarigavā and Harikinibagau, on the west by Rājegau, Hivarē, Chīnchavali and Mahādēvapurī joined to Dṛuḷagāhvāna and on the north by the Gaṅgā. The land of these villages was divided into 86 parts (*vr̥ttis*<sup>3</sup>) of which two were assigned to two gods, whose names have not been specified, one was set apart to provide for the annual performance of the *agnishṭikā* rite<sup>4</sup> and the maintenance of a charitable water-shed (*prapā*)<sup>5</sup>, while the remaining 83 parts were donated to 83 Brāhmanas, one being assigned to each. The names of the donees and their fathers together with such details as their *śākhās* and *gōtras* are given in lines 80-114. Of the eighty-three Brāhmaṇa beneficiaries, fifty-seven belonged to the R̥igvēda, twenty-one to the Taittirīya-*śākhā* of the Black Yajurveda, one to the Kāṇva and one to the Mādhyandina-*śākhā* of the White Yajurveda and the remaining three to the Sāmaveda. Among the *gōtras* the following are represented :—Kāśyapa, Bhāradvāja, Jāmadagnya-Vatsa, Vasishṭha, Viśṇuvṛddha, Kauśika,

<sup>1</sup> *Phulabaḍuē* means the Superintendent of the arrangement of flowers. See v. 25.

<sup>2</sup> I have not nasalized the final vowel of this and other place-names.

<sup>3</sup> That *vr̥tti* meant an actual plot of land, not a share of the produce, is clear from the Chanjē inscription of Sōmēśvaradēva (above, Vol. XXIII, p. 281) where in line 11 some *vr̥ttis* are mentioned as defining the boundaries of the donated land.

<sup>4</sup> The *agnishṭikā* rite is performed in the cold seasons of Hēmantā and Śisira. It consists in the kindling of fire with the recitation of appropriate *mantras* and the feeding of Brāhmanas and supplicants every morning and evening, commencing from an auspicious day in the month of Mārgaśrēṣṭha. It is believed to yield great religious reward in the next world as the fire is enjoyed by the people who sit round it in the cold seasons and talk on all sorts of matters, political, religious and social. For a description of the rite, see Hēmadri's *Dānakhaṇḍa*, *prakaraṇa* xiii (*Chaturargachintāmaṇi*, ed. by Pandit Sadāśiv Achārya Dikshit, Vol. I, pt. ii, pp. 859 ff.) The *Līlā-charitra*, a Mahānubhāva work of the Yādava period, mentions the *agnishṭikā* fire at Pimpalagaon not far from Dēvagiri, which was visited by Chakradhara, the founder of the Mahānubhāva sect.

<sup>5</sup> The *prapā* is a charitable water-shed maintained usually in summer, where thirsty travellers and cattle got free drinking water.

Agastya, Viśvāmitra, Kauṇḍinya, Harita, First Ātrēya,<sup>1</sup> Viṣṇuvṛddha-Āṅgīrasa, Vādhryaśva, Gautama, Naidhruva, Dēvarāta. Ātrēya, Vatsa, Kapi, Gārgya, Pūtimāsha, Śrīvatsa and Lōhita. Unlike some other Yādava inscriptions such as the Chikka-Bāgiwāḍi plates of the time of Kṛishṇa<sup>2</sup> and the Paṭṭhan plates of Rāmachandra, the present record does not, except in four cases, mention the family names of the Brāhmaṇa donees and it is noteworthy that at least three of these four family names, viz., Miśra, Dubē and Trivēdi, are of North-Indian Brāhmaṇas.

The inscription contains two dates, one in lines 33-34 and the other in lines 72-73. Both of them refer themselves to the Śaka era and are expressed in years which are said to have elapsed since the time of a Śaka king.<sup>3</sup> It is noteworthy that there is no reference in them to the king Śālivāhana as the founder of the era. This manner of mentioning the era confirms Dr. Fleet's suspicion that the date of the Thāṇā plates of Rāmachandra also, of which the original plates are lost, did not probably contain any reference to this legendary king<sup>4</sup>. The earliest inscriptions which mention this king's name in connection with the dates of the Śaka era are those of the king Bukkarāya I of Vijayanagara, as has already been pointed out by Dr. Fleet.

The earlier of the two dates mentioned in the present inscription, which records the grant of the aforementioned four villages by Rāmachandra is Saturday, the 11th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada of Śaka 1232, the cyclic year being Sādhārāṇa. This date regularly corresponds, for the expired Śaka year 1232, to the 5th September A. D. 1310, on which day the aforementioned *tithi* ended at 11 h. after mean sunrise. The cyclic year was Sādhārāṇa according to the southern luni-solar system. The second date which registers the donation of the *agrahāra* of the same four villages by the minister Purushōttama is mentioned as *Kapilashashṭhī* in the month of Bhādrapada in Śaka 1232 and the cyclic year Sādhārāṇa. The fortnight and the week-day are not expressly stated in this case. They are, however, implied by the mention of the *Kapilashashṭhī*; for it is well known that the latter name is given to the sixth *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the *amānta* Bhādrapada when it falls on a Tuesday and is joined with the *nakshatra* Rōhiṇī and the *yōga* Vyatīpāta. It is regarded as particularly auspicious if the sun is besides in the *nakshatra* Hasta<sup>5</sup>. This date also is quite regular. It corresponds, for the same expired Śaka year 1232, to Tuesday, the 15th September A.D. 1310, when the sixth *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the *amānta* Bhādrapada ended at 12 h. 15 m. after mean sunrise. This *tithi* was *Kapilashashṭhī*; for on that day the moon was in the constellation Rōhiṇī till 3 h. 20 m. and the *yōga* Vyatīpāta ended at 12 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise<sup>6</sup>. The sun also was then in Hasta; for it had entered that *nakshatra* only a week before, viz., at 18 h. 8 m. after mean sunrise on the 8th September A.D. 1310. The inscription states that Rāmachandra had asked Purushōttama several times before to make an *agrahāra* worthy of himself. The latter was evidently awaiting the *tithi* *Kapilashashṭhī*, a grant made on which is regarded as specially meritorious. He finally made the grant on the aforementioned day when the rare combination of the particular *tithi*, week-day, *nakshatras* and *yōga* necessary for a *Kapilashashṭhī* occurred in the early hours of the morning.

<sup>1</sup> There are four *ganas* in the Atri *gōtra* which differ from one another only in respect of the third *pravara*. The *pravaras* of the first Ātrēya *gōtra* are Ātrēya, Ārchanānasa and Śyāvāśva.

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, pp. 303 ff.

<sup>3</sup> The same manner of mentioning the date is met with in the earlier Rāshtrakūṭa grants, see above, Vol. XXIII, p. 16.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. XIII, p. 199.

<sup>5</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 183.

<sup>6</sup> For calculations of the *yōga* I have used the tables for the *Sūrya Siddhānta* in Diwan Bahadur S. K. Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. I, pt. i.

Having thus disposed of the formal portion of the grant, we shall now turn to the historical information furnished by it.

The genealogy of the reigning king Rāmachandra is here traced from **Simha** (Simhāṇa). Verse 4 states that Simhāṇa defeated **Ballāla** and the lord of **Bhambhāgiri**, imprisoned the king **Bhōja** on the crest of a fortress and vanquished **Arjuna**. These exploits of Simhāṇa are enumerated in other records also. In fact the aforementioned verse was already known from the **Paīṭhan** plates of Rāmachandra. Most of the kings mentioned in it have already been identified by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar and Dr. Fleet in their respective works.<sup>1</sup> Still there are a few more details about them which can now be gathered from records which have recently come to light.

**Ballāla** defeated by Simhāṇa was evidently the Hoysala king **Vira-Ballāla II**, who flourished from circa A.D. 1173 to A.D. 1220<sup>2</sup>. The war in which he suffered a defeat seems, therefore, to have been fought in the beginning of Simhāṇa's reign (circa A.D. 1210 to 1247). **Hemādri's Vratakhanda** gives credit to Simhāṇa for the annexation of the entire kingdom of **Ballāla**. This is no doubt an exaggeration; but as Fleet has shown, Simhāṇa seems to have annexed some territory to the south of the **Malaprabhā** and the **Krishṇā** which formed the southern boundary of the **Yādava** kingdom during the reigns of his predecessors **Bhillama** and **Jaitugi**. The **Āndhra** king defeated by Simhāṇa was probably **Gaṇapati** of the **Kākatīya** dynasty who had been released from imprisonment and placed on the throne by Simhāṇa's father **Jaitugi**<sup>3</sup>. The battle does not appear to have been decisive; for **Gaṇapati** also claimed success over his **Yādava** antagonist<sup>4</sup>. No definite information about the third king **Kakkalla** overthrown by Simhāṇa was available until recently. Dr. Bhandarkar suggested that he belonged to the **Kalachuri** dynasty of **Tripurī**; for some kings of that dynasty were known to have assumed the analogous name **Kōkkalla**.<sup>5</sup> From a stone inscription recently found at the village **Uddari** in the **Sorab tālukā** of the **Shimogā District** in the **Mysore State**,<sup>6</sup> it seems however that this **Kakkalla** (who is called **Kākala** in that record) was a mighty ruler of **Varāṭa**. **Varāṭa** is mentioned in several southern inscriptions.<sup>7</sup> The Hoysala king **Vishṇuvardhana** is said to have dispersed like a gale the clouds which were the **Varāṭa** kings.<sup>8</sup> The exact location of the country is not known, but it seems that it was situated somewhere in South India, probably to the north of the **Mysore State**.

<sup>1</sup> See *Early History of the Deccan* (*Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. ii), pp. 239 ff. and *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts* (*ibid.*), pp. 522 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See *Sewell's Historical Inscriptions of Southern India*, p. 135.

<sup>3</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 316. Some inscriptions describe Simhāṇa as the uprooter of the water-lily that was the head of the **Tēlānga** king (*Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 524 and *Mysore Arch. Sur. Rep.* for 1929, p. 142). But a similar exploit is mentioned in connection with **Mahādēva** also. See above, Vol. XXIII, p. 194. So it is doubtful if Simhāṇa really killed a **Kākatīya** king. Perhaps he fought in the war in which his father **Jaitugi** is said to have cut off the head of **Gaṇapati's** uncle **Rudra** (see **Hemādri's Vratakhanda**, *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 272). Or he may have killed **Gaṇapati's** father **Mahādēva**, who also is known to have met with death on a battlefield; see above, Vol. III, p. 97.

<sup>4</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXI, p. 200.

<sup>5</sup> *Early History of the Deccan* (*Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. ii), p. 24.

<sup>6</sup> *Mysore Arch. Sur. Rep.* for 1929, pp. 142 ff. and plate XVII. This inscription is fragmentary. It opens with the date, **Śaka 1193**, which would assign it to the reign of **Rāmachandra**, but the extant portion contains epithets which are usually applied to Simhāṇa. The same draft seems to have been used in the **Tīḷavalli** inscription (*J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. IX, p. 32), but owing to imperfect readings the reference to **Kākala**, the king of **Varāṭa**, seems to have escaped the notice of earlier writers.

<sup>7</sup> *Mysore Inscriptions*, pp. 14, 20, and 70.

<sup>8</sup> *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 496.

The next king mentioned in the present record as overthrown by *Siṃhaṇa* was the lord of *Bhambhāgiri*.<sup>1</sup> *Hēmādri* mentions his name as *Lakshmīdhara*. The *Āmbē* inscription No. 2 names him as *Lakshmīdēva* and furnishes the additional information that he belonged to the *Ābhira* dynasty.<sup>2</sup> *Bhambhāgiri* has not yet been satisfactorily identified. Mr. G. H. Khare has suggested that it might be either *Bhāmbhōri* in the Ahmednagar District or *Rājāchī Bhām* near *Yeotmal* in *Berār*.<sup>3</sup> But neither of these identifications can be upheld in the absence of a fort near by; for the name *Bhambhāgiri* suggests that it was a fortified place. As *Lakshmīdēva*, the lord of *Bhambhāgiri*, belonged to the *Ābhira* dynasty, he was probably ruling somewhere in *Khāndesh*, which still has a large population of *Ābhiras* or *Ahirs*. There is even now a ruined old town called *Bhāmēr*, four miles south of *Nizāmpur* in the *Pimpalnēr tālukā* of the West *Khāndesh* District. It lies at the foot of a great fortified hill which has many ruined gateways, gates, towers, and also some old caves locally known as *Rājā's houses*.<sup>4</sup> The hill near *Bhāmēr* is, therefore, probably *Bhambhāgiri*. The aforementioned *Āmbē* inscription describes *Khōlēśvara*, a general of *Siṃhaṇa*, as a very wild fire which burned the forest of the family of *Lakshmīdēva*, the *Ābhira* king of *Bhambhāgiri* and a similar statement occurs about *Siṃhaṇa* in the *Uddari* stone inscription. This shows that *Siṃhaṇa* probably exterminated the whole family of the *Ābhira* prince.

The king *Bhōja*, who was confined on a hill, has already been identified with *Bhōja* II of the *Śilāhāra* dynasty of *Kolhāpur*. Some southern inscriptions<sup>5</sup> describe *Siṃhaṇa* as a very lord of birds (*Garuḍa*) in routing the serpent, viz., the king *Bhōja* who resided on *Praṇāla*. *Praṇāla* is plainly *Panhālā*, a strong fort 12 miles to the north-west of *Kolhāpur*. After this defeat of *Bhōja*, the *Śilāhāra* kingdom was annexed by *Siṃhaṇa*; for the inscriptions of his governors are thenceforth found at *Kolhāpur* and the adjoining territory. The earliest of these is dated A.D. 1218 which shows that the defeat of *Bhōja* must have occurred some time before that date. The *Āmbē* inscriptions Nos. 2 and 3 also mention a king named *Bhōja* who was defeated by *Siṃhaṇa's* general *Khōlēśvara*.<sup>6</sup> But as he is said there to have belonged to the *Paramāra* dynasty and to have been the lord of *Chāhanda*, he must be different from the homonymous *Śilāhāra* king. *Chāhanda* where he ruled may be *Chāndā*, the chief town of the *Chāndā* District of the Central Provinces. And it may be noted in this connection that a stone inscription of a *Paramāra* chief, dated *Śaka* 1308, has been found at *Bhāndak*,<sup>7</sup> which lies only 16 miles north-west of *Chāndā*.

*Arjuna*, the lastnamed antagonist of *Siṃhaṇa*, was identified by Dr. Fleet with *Arjunavarmadēva*, king of *Aṇhilwāḍ* of the *Vāghelā* branch of the *Chālukya* family. Though he did not come to the throne till A.D. 1261-62, Fleet thought that he might have held a command under his father *Viśaladēva* (A.D. 1243-44 to 1261-62) and thus might have been a contemporary of *Siṃhaṇa*.<sup>8</sup> Dr. Bhandarkar, on the other hand, proposed to identify him with *Arjunavarmadēva*, king of *Mālwa*.<sup>9</sup> In several other inscriptions *Siṃhaṇa's* victories over both the *Gurjara* and *Mālava*

<sup>1</sup> Mss. of *Hēmādri's Vratakhanda* give the place-name as *Rambhāgiri* (v. l. *Bhangāriga*), but the name *Bhambhāgiri* occurs also in the *Paithan* plates (ll. 26-27) and the *Āmbē* inscription No. 2 (l. 30). The reading *Rambhāgiri* which occurs in line 24 of the latter record is probably a mistake for *Bhambhāgiri*.

<sup>2</sup> G. H. Khare, *Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan* (in Marāṭhī), Vol. I, p. 64.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 60.

<sup>4</sup> *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. XII, pp. 434 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 524, n. 1; *Mysore Arch. Sur. Rep.* for 1929, p. 142.

<sup>6</sup> G. H. Khare, *Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan*, Vol. I, pp. 64 and 74.

<sup>7</sup> *Hiralal's Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar* (second ed.), pp. 15-16.

<sup>8</sup> *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 525, n. 4.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 239.



kings are spoken of, but the name of Arjuna is rarely coupled with either of them. In the stone inscription from Uddari, to which attention has been called above, *Siṃhaṇa* is described as a lion who curbed the pride of the rutting elephant, namely, Arjuna, the king of the *Mūlava* country.<sup>1</sup> This corroborates Dr. Bhandarkar's view that the king Arjuna belonged to the *Paramāra* dynasty.

Our inscription next mentions *Jaitrapāla*, the son of *Siṃhaṇa*. But the praise lavished on him is wholly conventional and affords no proof that he even came to the throne. In fact, epigraphical records make it clear that *Siṃhaṇa* was succeeded by his grandson *Kṛishṇa*, the son of *Jaitrapāla*.<sup>2</sup>

Of the two verses (7 and 8) which describe the achievements of *Kṛishṇa*, the first refers to his victory over *Kāmapāla*. This king, so far as I know, is not named elsewhere and there is no express mention of the dynasty to which he belonged or the country over which he ruled. The *Āmbē* inscriptions Nos. 2 and 3 mention one *Rāmapāla*, the king of Benares, who was routed by *Khōlēśvara*.<sup>3</sup> The similarity of the names *Rāmapāla* and *Kāmapāla* may be taken to indicate that both of them belonged to the same royal family; but the description in verse 7 that the overthrow of *Kāmapāla* delighted cowherds suggests that he belonged to the *Ābhira* dynasty and he may therefore have been ruling somewhere in *Khāndesh*. This conjecture receives some support from the recently discovered *Tāsgaon* plates which intimate a victory over a chief of cowherds (*gōpaka-pālaka*) obtained by *Kēśava*, a feudatory chief of the *Yādava* Emperor *Kṛishṇa*.<sup>4</sup>

Verse 8 intimates *Kṛishṇa*'s victories over the kings of *Gurjara*, *Mālava*, *Chōla* and *Kōśala*. Some other inscriptions also claim for *Kṛishṇa* successes over most of these princes, but they do not specifically name any of them. *Hemādri*, however, mentions *Kṛishṇa*'s defeat of the extensive forces of *Viśaladēva*, the king of *Gujarāt*<sup>5</sup> and the *Bēhaṭṭi* plates describe the fierce fight in a graphic manner.<sup>6</sup> The *Muṇḍli* stone inscription<sup>7</sup> dated A. D. 1252-53 eulogizes *Kṛishṇa* as 'a very *Trinētra* to *Madana* in the form of the king of *Mālava*'. The contemporary king of *Mālwā* was probably *Jaitugidēva* for whom we have the dates V. S. 1292 and 1300.<sup>8</sup> The same inscription speaks of *Kṛishṇa* as the sovereign of the king of *Chōla*.<sup>9</sup> There is, however, no actual proof of *Kṛishṇa*'s encounter with the contemporary *Chōla* king who was *Rājendra III* (1246-79).<sup>10</sup> The king of *Kōśala* was evidently the contemporary *Kalachuri* ruler of *Ratanpur*. He was probably the successor of *Jājalladēva* who was defeated by *Siṃhaṇa*<sup>11</sup>; but we have now no means of ascertaining his name, for the last inscriptional record of the

<sup>1</sup> See *Ha(A)rjuna-Mūlarī-kṣhitipati-matta-mātaṅga-mada-dalana-paṃchānana*, *Mysore Arch. Sur. Rep.* for 1929, p. 143.

<sup>2</sup> *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 244.

<sup>3</sup> G. H. Khare, *Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan*, Vol. I, pp. 64 and 74.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 14. See v. 18 :—

Tvaṃ rē Kōṃkaṇa-bhūpatir=bhava tad=āhaṃ Chandradēvaḥ kṣhaṇam  
tvaṃ chēd=gōpaka-pālako=si tad=arē jātō=smy=aham Kēśavaḥ |  
raksha tvaṃ viśhayaṃ nijam [cha\*] tad=ararē(arē) dhātūyā grabhishyē kṣhaṇād=  
itharā(ttham) yaṃ(n)-nṛipa-mamdirē kalakal-ākshēpāḥ śūzu-kṛīḍanē ||

This verse which the editor found difficult to interpret refers to the personation of the ruler of *Kōṃkaṇa* and the chief of cowherds by some boys and of *Chandradēva* and *Kēśava* (the two brothers who were feudatories of *Kṛishṇa*) by others, while they were playing in the palace of *Chandradēva*. The description is evidently intended to suggest the victories of the two brothers over the king of *Kōṃkaṇa* and the chief of cowherds (*Ābhira*?).

<sup>5</sup> *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 272.

<sup>6</sup> *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XII, p. 42.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 38-9.

<sup>8</sup> R. G. Bhandarkar's Report, 1883-84, pp. 105 and 392.

<sup>9</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 39.

<sup>10</sup> K. Nilakanta Sastri—*The Cōlas*, Vol. II, pt. i, pp. 186 ff.

<sup>11</sup> *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 240.

Kalachuris of Ratanpur which can be referred to that age, viz., the Pēṇḍrābandh plates of Pratāpamalla<sup>1</sup>, is dated K. 965 (A. D. 1214). i.e., more than thirty years before the accession of Kṛishṇa.

The present inscription mentions only one exploit of Mahādēva, the younger brother and successor of Kṛishṇa, viz., his destruction of Sōma. The latter is evidently Sōmēśvara of the Śilāhāra dynasty, the ruler of North Kōṅkaṇ, two records of whose reign have recently been edited in this journal.<sup>2</sup> Mahādēva seems to have continued the hostilities which were begun by his predecessor Kṛishṇa ; for the aforementioned Tāsgaon plates intimate a victory over a king of Kōṅkaṇ won by Chandradēva, a feudatory of Kṛishṇa.<sup>3</sup> The description in verse 10 of the present record suggests that Sōmēśvara was killed in a naval engagement with the fleet of Mahādēva.

Mahādēva's son and successor was Āmaṇa<sup>4</sup> to whose glorification the present inscription devotes two verses. They are, however, altogether devoid of historical interest. Verse 13, of which the latter part was already known from the Paiṭhan plates, states that Rāma (i.e., Rāmachandra), the son of Kṛishṇa, having occupied the fort of Dēvagiri, forcibly wrested the kingdom from Āmaṇa. The next verse gives an interesting description of the ruse which Rāmachandra adopted to obtain possession of the impregnable fort. He entered it with a party of dancers who were his soldiers in disguise. When admitted inside, he rallied his foot-soldiers and attacked his antagonists apparently while they were engaged in seeing the dance. The dancers also, throwing off their ornaments (i.e., disguise), joined in the fight. Rāmachandra seems to have won an easy victory as his enemy was taken unawares. The *Līlācharitra*, a work of the Mahānubhāva sect from which some extracts of historical importance have recently been published,<sup>5</sup> gives a graphic account of the confusion caused by this sudden attack. Chakradhara, the founder of the sect, was then sojourning at the village Savitā<sup>6</sup> (v. l. Sēvatā) near Dēvagiri. Seeing that the people were panic-stricken and some carts carrying wounded persons were passing through the village, Chakradhara sent his disciple Indrabhaṭṭa to inquire what had happened. He confirmed what Chakradhara had already come to know by intuition that a revolution had taken place at Dēvagiri, that Rāmadēva had deposed Āmaṇadēva and himself occupied his throne, that Narasiṃhadēva (who seems to be Āmaṇadēva's general or minister) had fled away and that Rāmadēva had put out the eyes of Āmaṇadēva. As this account occurs in the *Līlācharitra*, which is a biography of Chakradhara, written by his disciple Mahindrabhaṭṭa, we may take it as trustworthy. The *Ratnamālāstōtra* of Kēśava Vyāsa, another disciple of Chakradhara, furnishes the further detail that the aforementioned incident took place in the evening.<sup>7</sup> The *Smṛitishāḥa* of Paraśarāma Vyāsa, who

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 1 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 278 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 204, n. 4.

<sup>4</sup> He is called Ammaṇa in the present plates and Āmaṇa in the Paiṭhan plates.

<sup>5</sup> These extracts were first published by Mr. Y. K. Deshpande in his *Mahānubhāvīya Marāṭhī Vāṇmayā* (1925), pp. 16 ff. and their historical importance was brought to the notice of scholars by Mr. Y. R. Gupte in his article in the *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. V, pp. 198 ff.

<sup>6</sup> The place-name is given as *Sabbhicchha* in a Sanskrit verse cited below. It is possible to fix the exact location of this place. According to the *Līlācharitra*, Chakradhara's itinerary was as follows:—Pimpālvāḍī (about 30 miles south by east of Dēvagiri and 5 miles north of Paiṭhan), Bhōganārāyaṇa, Bābhulgāon (12 miles south of Dēvagiri), Savitā, and Jōgēśvari (6 miles south of Dēvagiri). So Savitā was situated between Bābhulgāon and Jōgēśvari. It seems to have occupied the same position as modern Waḷuj, about 8 miles south of Dēvagiri. It lies on the Dēvagiri-Paiṭhan road. It seems therefore that the wounded persons were being taken to Paiṭhan.

<sup>7</sup> See *Tataḥ Sabbhicchham samupētya sāyaṁ vipraṁ prayuktāṁ parigrīhya tailam | samāgalāṁ grāma-janairitāṁ tām paprachchha rājy-āntara-jāla-vārtām* || cited in the Appendix to the *Līlācharitra*, Part IV, edited by Mr. H. N. Nene.

flourished in the same period, charges Rāmadēva with the murder of his brother, persecution of saints and inefficient administration of his kingdom which culminated in his capture by Muhamadan invaders.<sup>1</sup>

Verses 16-18 describe the achievements of Rāmachandra. Though several inscriptions of the reign of this king have been discovered till now, few of them refer to any historical events. We have, therefore, here for the first time a contemporary account of some important events in Rāmachandra's reign. Verse 16 states that Rāmachandra defeated with ease the mighty lord of the extensive *Ḍāhala* country, subjugated the ruler of *Bhāṇḍāgāra*, dethroned the king of *Vajrākara* and defeated in battle the prince of cowherds. The lord of the *Ḍāhala* country is evidently the Kalachuri king who was ruling at Tripurī, now a small village, 6 miles from Jubbulpore. The Yādavas were often at war with the Kalachuris. In the Pulunja inscription Siṃhaṇa is called *Ḍāhala-hṛit-kutūhala*, i.e., 'a very curiosity of the heart of (the people of) the *Ḍāhala* country'.<sup>2</sup> It is not known who was ruling at Tripurī in the time of Rāmachandra; for the last Kalachuri prince known from inscriptional records is the Mahākumāra Ajayasimha mentioned in the Kumbhi plates<sup>3</sup> (A.D. 1180-81) and the undated Bherā-Ghāṭ stone inscription<sup>4</sup> of his father Vijayasimha.

It is again not known who is meant by the ruler of *Bhāṇḍāgāra* but it seems fairly certain that *Bhāṇḍāgāra* is identical with *Bhaṇḍārā*, 38 miles from Nāgpur, which is now the headquarters of a district of the same name in the Central Provinces. We know that Berār was annexed to the Yādava kingdom as early as the reign of Siṃhaṇa; for a stone inscription of his reign has been discovered at Amrāpur in the Khāmgaon District<sup>5</sup> and several villages in Berār were donated as *agrahāras* to Brāhmanas by his general Khōlēśvara.<sup>6</sup> But the eastern districts of Nāgpur and *Bhaṇḍārā* were probably occupied for the first time during the reign of Rāmachandra. It is noteworthy that an inscription of his reign has been discovered at Rāmṭek near Nāgpur<sup>7</sup> and another at Lānji<sup>8</sup> in the Bālāghāṭ District, about a hundred miles north-east of Nāgpur.

*Vajrākara*, the ruler of which was deposed by Rāmachandra, is probably identical with *Vairāgarh*, 80 miles north-east of Chāndā in the Garh-Chirōli *taluk* of the Chāndā District. Near the village there is still a large stone fortress in a fair state of preservation surrounded by a moat. *Vairāgarh* is named in ancient records as *Vajra* or *Vajragadha* on account of its diamond mines which are referred to even in Muhammadan chronicles.<sup>9</sup> It was evidently a place of considerable importance, for it is referred to in several records. Kulōttunga Chōla I, for instance, is said to have captured many elephants at *Vayirāgaram*.<sup>10</sup> The chief of cowherds defeated by Rāmachandra may, like Lakshmidēva and Kāmapāla, have been ruling somewhere in Khāndesh.

<sup>1</sup> *Smṛitisthala* (Marāṭhi), ed. by Mr. V. N. Deshpande, p. 26. The editor refers this work to the 14th century A. D.

<sup>2</sup> Fleet says that Krishna destroyed Tripura which seems to be the modern Tēwar near Jubbulpore. (*Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. ii, p. 527). But the expression *Ya(a)ri-baḷia-Tripura-trinētram* in the Muṇḍoli inscription (*J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XII, p. 35), on which he relies, means only that he was Trinētra (Śiva) to Tripura in the form of the enemy's soldiers. There is no reference to Tripuri there.

<sup>3</sup> *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 116.

<sup>4</sup> Banerji, *The Haihayas of Tripuri and Their Monuments* (Mem. A. S. I. No. 23), p. 142.

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 127-28.

<sup>6</sup> See his Āmbē inscription No. 2, lines 20 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Above, pp. 7 ff.

<sup>8</sup> Hiralal's *Inscriptions in C.-P.*, etc., p. 20.

<sup>9</sup> See *Burhān-i-Ma'asir* (Ind. Ant., Vol. XXVIII, p. 286) and *Āin-i-Akbarī* (ed. by Jarrett), pp. 229-30. In the Hāthīgumphā inscription of Khāravela this place is mentioned as *Vajiraghara*. See above, Vol. XX, p. 78.

<sup>10</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 128. See also the Ratnapur Stone inscription of Jājalladēva, above, Vol. I, p. 30.

Verse 17 mentions some more victories of Rāmachandra. He subjugated in battle the king of Palli, made the king of Kānyakubja bend low, overran the mountain Kailāsa, routed the ruler of Māhima, captured forcibly the lord of Saṅgama and destroyed the ruler of Khēṭa. The Pallirāja<sup>1</sup> may have been the chief of some hill tribe like the Bhills or Gonds in the Vindhya mountain. There is no corroboration of Rāmachandra's raids on Kanauj and Kailāsa, but his other victories do not seem to be improbable. Māhima is probably identical with the place of the same name near Bombay. According to a tradition preserved in some Marāṭhī records, Kōṅkaṇ was conquered by Bhīma Rāja, the son of Rāmadēva Rāja of Dēvagiri. He is said to have made Māhim his capital and divided the kingdom of Kōṅkaṇ into fifteen *mahāls* or groups containing 444 villages.<sup>2</sup> The lord of Saṅgama, captured by Rāmachandra, was probably ruling at Saṅgamēśvara, about 20 miles north-east of Ratnāgiri. Khēṭa may be Khēḍ, the chief town of the Khēḍ *tālūkā* in the Ratnāgiri District. The place dates from early times; for the Khēṭāhāra, which was evidently named after it, is mentioned in the Goa grant of Satyāśraya Dhruvarāja, dated Śaka 532<sup>3</sup>. These three victories of Rāmachandra were probably attained in the same expedition which was mainly directed against the petty chiefs ruling in Southern Kōṅkaṇ.

Verse 18 states that Rāmachandra drove out the Muhammadans from Vārāṇasī or Benares and built a golden temple there which he dedicated to Śārṅgapāṇi. This plainly implies that he held that holy city for some time. There is nothing improbable in this claim. It was always the cherished ambition of powerful Hindu rulers to save the holy places of North India from devastation and plunder by Muslim invaders, though express statements to that effect are rarely found in their inscriptions.<sup>4</sup> There is, of course, no reference to this occupation of Benares by Rāmachandra in Muslim chronicles as there is no allusion to Muslim invasions of the Yādava kingdom in this or any other record of Rāmachandra. The present inscription does not state when this invasion of Benares took place; but it must evidently have occurred before 'Ala-ud-dīn's invasion crippled the power of Rāmachandra in A. D. 1294. It was probably carried out some time during the period from A. D. 1285 to 1290 when there was confusion and disorder in the North after the death of Balban and before the establishment of the power of Jalāl-ud-dīn.

The present inscription is the last record of Rāmachandra. It is not known how long he continued to reign after its issue. According to Muslim chronicles a large army from the North under the command of Malik Kāfūr and Khvāja Hāji passed through Dēvagiri in the course of an expedition against Dvārasamudra and Ma'bar towards the end of A. H. 710 (A.D. 1310-11); but Muhammadan historians are not unanimous as to who was then ruling at Dēvagiri. Baranī<sup>5</sup> and following him, Firishta<sup>6</sup> state that when Malik Kāfūr and Hāji reached Dēvagiri they found that Rāmadēva was dead. Firishta tells us further that the young prince Śaṅkaradēva was not well-affected to the Muhammadans. On this evidence Rāmadēva is believed to have died in A.D. 1309.<sup>7</sup> The present record shows, however, that he was ruling till the end of September A.D. 1310 at least and it is doubtful if he was succeeded by Śaṅkaragaṇa before the end of that year; for Khusrū

<sup>1</sup> [There is a Pallidēsa mentioned in the Dohad Stone inscription of Mahamuda (Begarha), above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 212 ff. It is also the ancient name of Palnāḍ in Guntur District.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 27.

<sup>3</sup> *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. X, p. 348.

<sup>4</sup> In the inscriptions of the Gāhādvalas, for instance, Chandra-dēva is described as the protector of the holy places Kāśī, Kuśika, Uttarakōśala and Indrasthāna. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 7 and Vol. XVIII, p. 10.

<sup>5</sup> See *Ta'rikh-i-Firūz Shāhī* (Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. III, p. 203).

<sup>6</sup> See Firishta's *History* tr. by Briggs, Vol. I, p. 373.

<sup>7</sup> Bhandarkar, *Early History of the Deccan*, *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 251.

states in his *Tārīkh-i 'Alāī* that the Muhammadan generals reached Dēvagiri on the 13th of Ramzān, in A. H. 710 (the 3rd February A. D. 1311) where 'the Rāi Rāyān' Rām Deo forwarded with all his heart the preparations necessary for the equipment of the army'.<sup>2</sup> As Khusrū was a contemporary chronicler<sup>3</sup> and gives definite dates to substantiate his narrative, his account may be taken to be correct. Rāmachandra seems to have died soon thereafter; for at the end of A. H. 711 (A. D. 1312) 'Ala-ud-dīn received the news that the Rājā of Dēvagiri was withholding the stipulated tribute.<sup>4</sup> This Rājā was Śaṅkaradēva who had in the meanwhile succeeded Rāmachandra.

The present inscription gives in verses 19-28 the pedigree of **Purushōttama**, the minister of Rāmachandra, who made the grant recorded in it. In the lineage of the sage Vasishṭha, there was born a pious man named Bhānūsūri who constructed several temples and excavated tanks. His son was Alhadēva<sup>5</sup> who was renowned for his learning. Alhadēva's son was Vināyaka, the father of Sāmvaladēva. Rāmachandra received Sāmvaladēva into his favour and made him the superintendent of the arrangement of flowers. Sāmvaladēva married Akvāmbikā who was the daughter of Sāraṅgasūri, the son of Mādhavasūri of the Jāmadagnya-Vatsa *gōtra*. Purushōttama was the son of Sāmvaladēva and Akvāmbikā. Being attracted by his intelligence, learning and courage, Rāmachandra made him his minister. Purushōttama carried on the affairs of the state very ably. He ruthlessly put down all traitors and made all people conform to the rules of conduct laid down for the *varṇas* (castes) and *āśramas* (orders of life)<sup>6</sup>. Rāmachandra was greatly pleased with him for the execution of all his commands and conferred on him the aforementioned villages to enable him to make an *agrahāra* worthy of himself.

Many of the localities mentioned in this grant can be easily identified. **Purushōttama-purī**, the chief place of the newly formed *agrahāra*, still retains its old name. As already stated, it lies on the southern bank of the Gōdāvarī in the Bhīr District. **Kānhairī**, the headquarters of the subdivision in which it was situated may be Kanhera, 8 miles south-west of Chālisgaon, in Khāndesh, which has a fort with a strong natural position.<sup>7</sup> Most of the boundary villages of the *agrahāra* can still be traced in the vicinity of Purushōttampurī in their respective directions. Thus **Sādulē** is plainly Sādōlā about 3 miles south by east; **Kēsavapurī**, **Sāvarigavā**<sup>8</sup> and **Harikinibagau** are respectively identical with the modern Kēsapurī, Sāvargaon and Harki Nimgaon which lie about 7 or 8 miles to the south; and **Hivarē** and **Rājagau** still exist as Rājēgaon and Hivrā buzurg 5 and 6 miles respectively to the west. The river Gaṅgā which formed the northern boundary of the *agrahāra* is of course the Gōdāvarī.<sup>9</sup> Of the four villages, which constituted the *agrahāra*, two, *viz.*, **Vāghaure** and **Aḍagau**, can now be identified; the former is Wāghur 4 miles south by west and the latter Tiki Aḍgaon about the same distance to the south of Purushōttampurī. Only two of the nine hamlets attached to these villages can now be traced, *viz.*,

<sup>1</sup> This is evidently a corrupt form of the title *Rāya-Nārāyaṇa* assumed by Yādava Kings. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 317.

<sup>2</sup> See Elliot, *History of India*, Vol. III, p. 87.

<sup>3</sup> Khusrū closes his narrative with the conquest of Ma'bar at the end of A. H. 710 (A.D. 1311). He died in A.D. 1325. Baranī, on the other hand, is, as remarked by Dowson, very sparing and inaccurate in his dates.

<sup>4</sup> Elliot, *History of India*, Vol. III, p. 204; Firishṭa's *History*, tr. by Briggs, Vol. I, pp. 378-79.

<sup>5</sup> [See p. 212, n. 7.—Ed.]

<sup>6</sup> From the *Smṛitishāja* (ed. by V. N. Deshpande), p. 86, it appears that the Mahānubhāvas were subjected to oppression during the rule of Rāmachandra, probably because of their non-observance of such rules of conduct.

<sup>7</sup> *Khāndesh District Gazetteer*, p. 453.

<sup>8</sup> The endings *gau* and *gavā*, like *gāshru* used in ll. 94-95 of the Paithān plates, are derived from the Sanskrit word *grāma* meaning a village.

<sup>9</sup> This river is called Gaṅgā in the Paithān plates also. See ll. 59 and 94, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 317-18.

Pimpalavāḍī which now appears in the form Phūlpimpalgaon about 2 miles south of Tiki Aḍgaon, and Gōḷē āh āṇa which is probably Gōhan Thaḍi, 3 miles north by west of Wāghur. The other villages and hamlets cannot be traced on the maps available to me.

TEXT<sup>1</sup>.

[Metres : Verses 1 and 32 *Mālinī* ; vv. 2, 10, 11, 35 and 37-57 *Anuṣṭubh* ; vv. 3, 5, 15, 17, 19, 21 and 33 *Sragdharā* ; vv. 4, 8, 9, 12, 14, 16, 23, 24, 28, 31 and 34 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; vv. 6, 7, 13, 18 and 26 *Upajāti* ; v. 20 *Śikharinī* ; vv. 22, 27 and 59 *Vasantatilakā* ; v. 25 *Harinī* ; v. 29 *Praharshipī* ; v. 30 *Pañśastha* ; v. 36 *Indravajrā* ; v. 58 *Sālinī*.]

## First Plate.

- 1 ॥ ओं श्री आदिवराहाय नमः ॥ निरतिशयनिरन्तानन्दचि[त्सु]स्वरूपः<sup>2</sup> प्रबलविमलसत्व-  
(त्व)स्त्री-
- 2 कृतव्यक्तशक्तिः । परमरमणमंगं मंगलानां निधानं दधदधरितसेव्यः सेव्यतां श-
- 3 र्ङ्पाणिः । [1१॥\*] लक्ष्मीनारायणक्रीडासरः<sup>3</sup> क्षीरसमुद्रजं (जम्) । लीलांजुजं विजयते  
विधुस्त्रिभु-
- 4 वनश्रियाः । [1२॥\*] निःसीमः सीमवंशः स जयति जगति प्रीक्षसत्कीर्त्तिवर्द्धिर्मुक्तारत्न-  
नि तत्रा-
- 5 प्युरुरचिररुचौ वृणयः स्वच्छद्वत्ताः । तेष्वप्येकावली सद्गुणघटिततनुः कंठकांतिः  
कवीनां
- 6 तस्यामप्येष चिंतामणिरुचितरुचिर्नायकः सिंहभूपः । [1३॥\*] बल्लाली विजितः परा-  
भवभुवं सं-
- 7 भावितोभ्राधियः कक्कली दलितः क्षणि गिलितो भंभागिरिरीश्वरः । दुर्गाग्रे विनि-  
बध्य ॥<sup>4</sup>
- 8 भोजनृपतिर्यस्तीर्जुनो निर्जितः सिंहनेति निशम्य के भुवि भयं भेजुर्न भूमीभुजः  
[1४॥] तत्पुत्री जै-
- 9 त्रपालः कुलकुमुदविधुर्वीरलक्ष्मीप्रसादप्रासादौ रु(रू)पसंपत्सुशमितसुषमाकंदकंदर्पदर्यः ।  
यः क-
- 10 णः किं दधीचिः किमु किमुत शिविः किं नु जीमूतवाहः सत्वी(त्वी)द्रेकैकसीमा  
पुनरभवदिति व्यक्ततर्कव्यतः<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> From ink impressions.

<sup>2</sup> [The intended reading possibly is *chit-sat-svarūpaḥ*, the expression answering to the well-known compound *sach-chid-ānanda-svarūpa*.—B. C. C.]

<sup>3</sup> This *visarga* was added subsequently.

<sup>4</sup> These *daṇḍas* are superfluous.

<sup>5</sup> This mark is to show that the word is continued in the next line.

- 11 किं [1:11\*] श्रीकृष्णभूपः प्रभविष्णुरस्माद्भव भूयःपरिभूतवोरः [1\*] पलायमानान-  
वलीक्य वीरान्यत्कीर्तिदंभेन दि-
- 12 शी हसंतिः<sup>1</sup> [1:11\*] यः कामपालप्रसरच्चरिचः स्वयंवरायातविशाललक्ष्मोः । उल्लास-  
यंगीकुलमादरेण कृष्ण-<sup>2</sup>
- 13 त्वमुच्चैः प्रकटीचकार [1:11\*] रे रे गूर्जर जर्जर व्रजरजोराजी<sup>3</sup> भराजीवन रे रे  
मालव मालवं त्यज भज त्वं चील ची-
- 14 लांचलं(लम्) । रे रे कीशल कोशलंधनपरो भूयास्त्वमित्यं जगुर्भूपा यद्विजयप्रयाण-  
समये बंदीजनव्यंजनाः [1:11\*]
- 15 कृष्णे राजनि लीलया स्वनगरीं वैकुण्ठमालीकितुं यातेशासदिमां महीमथ महादेवः  
स तस्यानुजः यद्दी-
- 16 स्तंभविजृम्भमाणवसुधाकस्तूरिकाचिचक्रभ्रांतिं बिभ्रव(द)जायंत क्षितिभुजां क्षोभाय कौले-  
यकः [1:11\*] निमज्जयं(य)न्क-
- 17 लाशेषमपि सीमं पयोनिधौ । स्थानाच्चित्रं महादेव एव यः कथ्यते जनैः [1:11\*]  
जज्ञे शक्तिधरस्तस्य सूरुरंमणभूप-
- 18 तिः । भूदेवानुद्धरनुच्चैः<sup>4</sup> करतारकपीडितान् [1:11\*] यत्र क्षत्रपितामहे वितरति  
प्रत्यर्थिपृथ्वीश्वराः सर्वे दानम<sup>5</sup>वा-
- 19 [मु]मुक्कमनमो नूनं बभूवुर्भुवि । चंडाशोः किरि(र)णावलीमविरतं संसेव्य लीलावती-  
वाक्यव्याकुलमानसैः
- 20 कथमपि व्यालीकि यतैः पदं(दम्) [1:11\*] आरुह्य वैरिचितिपालमौलिनिश्रेणिभि-  
र्देवगिरिं गरिष्ठ(ष्ठम्) । प्रसह्य तस्मा-
- 21 दपहृत्य भुंक्ते कृष्णात्मजः स्वामनिं स रामः [1:11\*] आदौ देवगिरिप्रवेशनमथी  
नृत्तप्रकारिच्छणं पश्चात्त्वै(त्वै)-
- 22 रपदातिमेलनमथालंकारविज्ञेयणं(णम्) [1\*] अन्विष्टार्थविरोधिदूरकरणं तस्माद्रसासादनं  
श्रीरामेण कृतं

<sup>1</sup> This *tisarga* is superfluous.

<sup>2</sup> Read *ullāsayan=gōkūlam=*.

<sup>3</sup> This mark is to show that the word is continued in the next line.

<sup>4</sup> The sense requires a reading like *-rājīm*.

<sup>5</sup> What appears like an *anusvara* on *śa* may be due to a fault in the copper.

<sup>6</sup> Read *=uddharann=uchchaiti*.

<sup>7</sup> The engraver at first incised *dāmanī* which he subsequently altered to *dānam=*.

[illegible]





- 23 ततस्तत इतः श्रीकीस्य लोकीत्तरः । [११४॥\*] श्रीरामः शर्ववर्मा पदघटनलघूपाय-  
द्वन्द्वगृह्यव्याख्याताशिष-
- 24 सूत्रो विकरणविलसद्वातुनिष्पादितार्थः । [\*] वर्णानां व्युत्क्रमेण व्यवहरणमपाकृत्य  
संदर्शितार्था(र्थी) जेता
- 25 दिव्याकृतौनां शिशुरपि तदिह स्पृश्य(श्य)ते नापशब्दैः । [११५॥\*] येनीत्तालविशालडा-  
हलमहीपालः क्षणांनि-<sup>1</sup>
- 26 जिंती भांडागारधराधवः परिभवं येनीञ्चकैर्लभितः । येनीन्मूलितराज्य एव<sup>2</sup> रचितो  
वज्राकर<sup>3</sup>क्ष्मापतिर्ये-
- 27 नाजौ विजितः स गोपनृपतिर्वर्णः स रामः कथं(थम्) । [११६॥\*] भल्लीभिः पल्लि-  
राजः समरभुवि जितः कुञ्जितः कन्यकुञ्जः
- 28 क्षिप्तः कैलासशैलः पृथुतरमहिमा माहिर्मेद्रः परास्तः । उत्तुंगः संगमेशः प्रसभम-  
धिगती मोटितः ।<sup>4</sup>
- 29 खेटनाथो येन स्नेनैव धाम्ना स कथमवितथं वर्ण्यते रामचंद्रः । [११७॥\*] यः  
शुक्ल(ल्लव)संकेतलिपिं व्यलीपयत्स-
- 30 वार्धहरिषु करान्य(त्र्य)वारयत् । वाराणसीं स्नेच्छगणाद्व्यसीचयत् हिरण्यं शार्ङ्गधरालयं  
व्यधा-
- 31 त् ॥ [११८॥\*] स खल्वेवंविधगुणग<sup>5</sup>णालंकृतश्रीमन्मो(मौ)ढप्रतापचक्रवर्त्ती यादवकुलकमल-
- 32 कलिकाविकासभास्करो देवगिरिपुरपुरंदरो महाराजाधिराजः श्रीरामचंद्रदे-
- 33 वः शकनृपकालातीतसंवत्सरिषु द्वात्रिंशदधिकद्वादशशतसंख्याकिषु ।<sup>6</sup> साधारण-
- 34 संवत्सरांतर्गतभाद्रपदशुक्लैकादश्यां स(श)नौ कान्हेरिदेशसंवत्सान् कान्हेरिखंपणकांत-

*Second Plate ; First Side.*

- 35 र्गतान् पीष(ख)री । तंयविष्टखेटकानि साण्गाह्वाणं । पिंपलगाह्वाणं । पालि<sup>7</sup>पो-  
खरी ॥ अडगौ ।
- 36 एतयविष्टानि खेटकानि । पिंपलवाडी । काजलकोवि । सोडजणं ॥ वाघौरे । ए-

<sup>1</sup> Read *kshanān=nirjitō*.

<sup>2</sup> What appears like a somewhat displaced *anustūpa* on *va* is probably due to a fault in the copper.

<sup>3</sup> Originally *Vajrādharah*, subsequently altered to *Vajrākara*.

<sup>4</sup> This *danda* is superfluous.

<sup>5</sup> The *rēpha* on *ga* has been cancelled.

<sup>6</sup> The superscript curve of *i* in *li* is very faint. The name occurs again in l. 74 as *Pālipōkharī*.

- 37 तत्प्रविष्टानि खेटकानि । सीपिविहिरि<sup>1</sup> ॥ गोलिगाह्वाण । धारवावीरं ॥ कुरु-
- 38 एषारगौ ॥ एवमेतांश्चतुरो ग्रामान् स्वप्रविष्टनवखेटकसहितान् तत्रत्यनि-<sup>2</sup>
- 39 धिनिन्नेपवृक्षत्रि(वृ)णजलपापाणदंडशुक्ल(स्फ)कारुकादिसमस्तादाययुक्तान् वासिष्ट(ष्ठ)गोत्राय
- 40 ऋग्वेदशाखाध्यायिने फुलवडुण्सांवलनायकसुताय महामंडलीक<sup>3</sup>पुरुषैनायका-<sup>4</sup>
- 41 य समस्तनिजाज्ञासंपादनजनितपरितोखि(षि)ण अग्रहारकरणाय हस्तोदकपूर्वकं प्रादात् ।
- 42 अस्यैते प्रशस्तिश्लोकाः । विश्वस्यैकः पुरोधः सुत इति विदितः<sup>5</sup> स्रष्टुरात्मा  
द्वितीयः सप्तर्षि-
- 43 णां वरिष्ठः स जयति तपसां वासभूमिर्वमिष्ठः । पातिब्रह्मपदेशप्रथमगुरुगुणारंभती  
यस्य पत्नी
- 44 बद्धा यज्ञोष्ठकीणि त्रिजगदवतमःकौमुदी कामधेनुः ।[1१८॥\*] ततोऽन्यस्तादृक्षः सम-  
जनि ततोऽन्यो सु-<sup>6</sup>
- 45 निरिति क्रमात्प्रांशुर्वंशः त्रिभुवनवतंसः प्रववृते । तमोमीहयाहग्रहकलुषितानां तनुभृतां  
प्रजा-<sup>7</sup>
- 46 धं तन्वानस्तरणिकिरणानुक्रम इव ॥[२०॥\*] तत्रासीद्भानुसूरिर्निजसवहविषे निर्गतानां  
सुराणां धर्म-
- 47 प्रासादभंग्या दिशि दिशि विहिता येन सोपानमार्गाः । किं चोद्धर्तुं किलाधी-  
गतिमपि गमिता-
- 48 कर्मयोगेन जन्तून्वाता<sup>8</sup>प्यातालमूलावधि विशदयशोरत्नप(ख)न्यस्तडागाः ।[1२१॥\*]  
तस्माद्भूव तपसां
- 49 निधिरह्मदेव<sup>9</sup>स्संकेतधाम सकलार्थकृतां गुणानां(नाम्) । कुक्षौ हरेरिव जगंति चतु-  
र्दंशापि विद्यास्थ-<sup>10</sup>
- 50 लानि सुखमासत यस्य वक्त्रे ।[1२२॥\*] विद्वन्मौलिमणिर्विनायक इति ख्यातस्त-  
तोभू[त्सु]तस्तीर्थान्य-

<sup>1</sup> The name of this hamlet occurs in lines 75-76 as *Simpidihirēm*.

<sup>2</sup> This mark is to show that the word is continued in the next line.

<sup>3</sup> The correct form of the title would be *Māhamaṇḍalika*.

<sup>4</sup> The *risarga* is imperfectly incised here.

<sup>5</sup> This mark is to show that the word is continued in the next line.

<sup>6</sup> Read *khātāḥ pātāla-*, unless *sh* before *pā* is to be taken as an *upadhmanīya* sign.

<sup>7</sup> [Reading is °r-Elhadīras- —Ed.]

- 51 'प्यघम'र्षणं विदधते यत्कीर्त्तिगंगाभसि । दूराद्दानगुणं निश्चय्य रभसादागच्छेता-  
मर्थिनां<sup>1</sup>
- 52 मये यस्य गृहं व्यनक्ति निगमव्याख्यानवीथी महान् ॥[२३॥\*] धर्मप्रेमसुहृदयशः-  
प्रसवभूः<sup>2</sup>श्चातुर्यमारी धृ-
- 53 तिच्चांतिचिमपदं कृपाकुलपतिर्धैर्यप्रतिष्ठीच्छवः<sup>3</sup> । विद्याकीशगृहं विचारसचिवः संपत्स-  
भामंडपः
- 54 स्रुतः सांवलदेव इत्युदभवत्सूरेस्ततः ख्यातिमान् ॥[२४॥\*] प्रकृतिमृदुलं मान्यं शुद्धं  
मनीहरणक्षमं कु-<sup>4</sup>
- 55 सुमसदृशं निश्चित्यैनं त्रियः परमास्यदं(दम्) । निपुणधिषणी रामक्षीणीपतिर्यदुपंगवः  
कुसुमर[च]-
- 56 नाध्यक्षं दक्षं प्रसादपरोकरोत् ॥[२५॥\*] शुचौ हिते धीमति सत्यवाक्ये सेवापरे  
सांवलदेवसूरी । दिने दि-
- 57 नेवर्द्धत राजचित्ते प्रीतिः प्रगल्भा स्वगृहे [च] लक्ष्मीः ॥[२६॥\*] सारंगसूरितनयामथ  
जामदग्न(ग्न्य)वत्सान्वयप्रभ-<sup>5</sup>
- 58 वमाधवसूरिपौत्री(त्रीम्) [1\*] अक्तांविकेति विदितां गुणरत्नभूषां योषामसावुदवहृदिधिना  
स्वयोग्यां(ग्याम्) ॥[२७॥\*]
- 59 पुत्रीभूदनयोर्नयाद्वटितयोर्मैधाविना वेधसा विभ्राणः पुरुषोत्तमत्वमुचितं नान्वार्थसं-  
स्पर्शिना [1\*]
- 60 मत्स्याद्यंगपरिग्रहे विमृशतो दीर्घांशमं<sup>6</sup>न्विच्छतः श्लाघ्यं जन्म हरैर्य एष वपुषः<sup>7</sup> स्त्रीकार  
एकादशः ॥[२८॥\*]
- 61 सन्नोद्धा(ष्टग) द्विगुणमतिं विवेकवत्या दीर्घाभ्यां द्विगुणदृशं श्रुतिस्मृतिभ्यां(भ्याम्) ।  
धैर्येण द्विगुणबलं तमक्ष-

<sup>1</sup> The two *aksharas* *gha* and *ma*, which were wrongly repeated here, have been cancelled.

<sup>2</sup> This *anuvāra* is superfluous.

<sup>3</sup> This mark is to show that the word is continued in the next line.

<sup>4</sup> This *visarga* is redundant.

<sup>5</sup> The superscript, *ch* in *chchha* is imperfectly incised. Read *pratiśhīh-śisavah*.

<sup>6</sup> This *visarga* was added subsequently.

- 62 येण स्वे राज्ये यदुत्तपतिर्व्यधाअधानं(नम्) ।[12८॥\*] स विद्युतेवीज्व(ज्व)लया निजाज्ञया  
प्रदर्श्य वर्णाश्रमयोः पृथक्(क्)-
- 63 मान् । महीपतेः कोशगृहं महीयसीं सुवर्णद्वष्टं व्यतनीहनीपमाः<sup>1</sup> [12९॥\*]  
स्वामिद्रीहकृतामयीवलय-
- 64 वहकं कठोरं मनस्तस्य प्रज्वलता प्रतापशिधि(धि)ना नीतं जवादार्जवं(वम्) ।  
क्रूरास्तेषु सक्कटकट्टमनिभाः[.]
- 65 मुष्टा निक्कष्टास्ततो रामचोणिपतेः सुवर्णसदृशं तेजः कृतं प्रोज्व(ज्व)लं(लम्) ।[13१॥\*]  
सुक्तनिधिषु काशी-
- 66 द्वारकाद्येषु तीर्थेष्ववहितहृदि तस्मिं<sup>2</sup> कल्पितानल्पसत्रे । मुनिवचनविचारान्मुक्तिमान्प्र-<sup>3</sup>
- 67 देषु स्फुरति परमिदानीं भुक्तिभु(सु)क्तिप्रदत्वं(त्वम्) ।[13२॥\*] स्वाचारं स्वामिभक्ते  
विनयवति परस्त्रीधनाशाविदू-
- 68 रे तस्मिन्<sup>4</sup> प्रौढप्रतापे वहति पुरुषतां पौरुषेण स्फुटार्धां<sup>5</sup>म् । तत्कीर्तिं निर्जिहानां  
दिशि दिशि

*Second Plate ; Second Side.*

- 69 बहुशी [हृष्ट]ता सज्जनानामासीत्कंपी रा(ग)रीयांच्छिरसि<sup>6</sup> मनसि चाहर्निशं दुर्जन-  
नां(नाम्) ।[13३॥\*] श्रीमां<sup>7</sup>न् रामनृपः प्रसन्नहृद-
- 70 यो लोकद्वयश्रेयसे कुर्वात्को[चि]तमग्रहारमिति तं वारान्वहनादिशत् । तस्मै चाय  
महाप्रसाद इति तां स्त्री-
- 71 कुर्वते सत्क्रियां धारापूर्वमनल्पसारविषयान्ग्रामानदान्मानदः ।[13४॥\*] सोयमेवंविधगुण-  
रत्नाकरश्रीमन्महा-
- 72 राजाधिराजश्रीरामचंद्रदेवीयमहामंडलीक<sup>8</sup>पुरुषेनायकः शकनृपकालातीतसंवत्सरेषु द्वाविंशद-<sup>9</sup>
- 73 धिकद्वादशशतसंख्याकेषु साधारणसंवत्सरांतर्गते भाद्रपदमासि कपिलप्रध्यां(ध्यां) कान्हेरि-  
देशसंबद्धान् कान्हे-

<sup>1</sup> Read =ghan-ōpamah.

<sup>2</sup> Read tasmīn.

<sup>3</sup> This mark is to show that the word is continued in the next line.

<sup>4</sup> The engraver first incised tasmīn which he subsequently altered to tasmīn.

<sup>5</sup> This anuvāsa is superfluous.

<sup>6</sup> Read gariyū=chchirasi.

<sup>7</sup> This anuvāsa is redundant.

<sup>8</sup> Read Mahāmāṇḍalika.

- 74 रिखंपणकांतर्गतान् ॥ पोष(ख)री ॥ तत्प्रविष्टानि वे(खे)टकानि । साणगाह्वाण ।  
पालिपोखरी ॥ अडगौ ॥
- 75 तत्प्रविष्टानि खेटकानि । पिंपलवाडी । काजलकीवि । सौंडजणै ॥ वाघीरै ॥  
एतत्प्रविष्टानि खेटकानि । सीपि-
- 76 दिहिरै<sup>1</sup> । गोलिगाह्वाण । धारवाघीरै ॥[\*] कुरुणपारगौ ॥ एवमेतांश्चतुरी ग्रामान्  
स्वप्रविष्टनखेटकसहि-
- 77 तान् तत्रत्यनिधिनित्तेपल्लणजलपाषाणदंडशुक्ल(रक्त)कारुकादिसमस्तादाययुक्तान् षडशीतिसं-  
ख्याका वृत्ती[:]
- 78 परिकल्प्य(रूप्य) देवदयार्थं वृत्ति(त्ति)द्वयं अग्निष्टिकाप्रपार्थ(र्थ)मेका वृत्ति(त्ति)ब्राह्मणार्थं  
त्र्यशीतिसंख्याका वृत्तयः इत्यनया
- 79 भागकल्पनया नानागोत्रेभ्यो नानाशाखाध्यायिभ्यः त्र्यशीतिसंख्यविप्रेभ्यो देवदयाग्निष्टि-  
काप्रपास-
- 80 हितेभ्यः स्वाभिलखि(वि)तफलसिद्धार्थं हिरण्याक्षतोदकपूर्वकं प्रादात् ॥ अथ ब्राह्मण-  
नामानि । तत्र बह्वृचाः [1\*]
- 81 केशी<sup>2</sup>भट्सुतमहादेवभटः । कीमणसुतविष्णुभटः । विष्णुमंचिसुतः पेदिभटः ।  
गोविंदभट्सुतो
- 82 लाषणभटः<sup>3</sup> । एते काश्यपाः ॥ मल्लिदेवभट्सुतलक्ष्मीधरभटः । पद्मनाभभट्सुतदामोदर-  
भटः । आ-
- 83 पदेवभट्सुतमैरालभटः । योगिभट्सुतवासुदेवभटः । राघी<sup>4</sup>भट्सुतः कमलदेवभटः ।  
देवणभट-
- 84 सुतो महादेवभटः । जीगदेवभट्सुतः गदीभटः । ध्वा(?)मिदेवभट्सुतः लघुमिदेव<sup>5</sup>भटः ।  
नागनाथभट-
- 85 सुतः<sup>6</sup> कालिदासभटः । गंगाधरमित्रसुतः पद्मनाभभटः । एते भारद्वाजाः । सूदन-  
भट्सुतदामोदरभ-

<sup>1</sup> This name occurs above in line 37 as *Simpivihirēh*.

<sup>2</sup> Read *Kēśava*. Similar corrupt forms of names occur in some places below.

<sup>3</sup> Read *Lakshmana-bhattaḥ*.

<sup>4</sup> Read *Rāghava*.

<sup>5</sup> Read *Lakshmidēva*.

- 86 दः । गणपतिभट्टसुतः वीरभट्टभट्टः । गीर्धदेवभट्टसुतो यज्ञेश्वरभट्टः । सारंगनायकसुतो गोविन्दना-
- 87 यकः । दामोदरभट्टसुतः मन्नादेवभट्टः । मन्नानायकभट्टसुतकृष्णभट्टः । वामनाचार्य-  
सुतो धनेश्वरभट्टः ।
- 88 एते जामदग्न(ग्न्य)वत्साः । पद्मनाभभट्टसुतो जातुभट्टः । विनायकभट्टसुतो राघवना-  
यकः । नागनायक-
- 89 सुतपुरुषोत्तमदेवः । नरसी(सिं)हभट्टसुतचांगदेवभट्टः । मन्नादेवभट्टसुतः कमलादेवभट्टः ।  
परशराम-
- 90 भट्टसुतः केशवभट्टः । एते वाशिष्ठाः(ष्ठाः) ॥ पुरुषोत्तमभट्टसुतः कृष्णभट्टः । पुरुषो-  
त्तमभट्टसुतो गोविन्दभट्टः [1\*]
- 91 मन्नादेवभट्टसुतो वासुदेवभट्टः । एते विष्णुवृद्धाः । नागदेवभट्टसुतः खेडदेवभट्टः ।  
सुदर्शनभट्टसुतः
- 92 पुरुषोत्तमभट्टः । विश्वनाथभट्टसुतः कृष्णभट्टः । गोविन्दभट्टसुतो मन्नादेवभट्टः । एते  
कौशिकाः ॥ प-
- 93 ज्ञानाभभट्टसुतो नागदेवभट्टः । देकाभट्टसुतः आदित्यभट्टः । एतावागस्त्यौ<sup>1</sup> । शारंगपा-  
णिदेवसुतः क-
- 94 ण्यदेवः । रामदेवभट्टसुतो ब्रह्मदेवभट्टः । एतौ विश्वामित्रौ । सांवलदेवसुतो  
जोगदेवभट्टः दादं-
- 95 भट्टसुतो दामोदरभट्टः । एतौ कौडिन्धौ । अनन्तभट्टसुतो वैजनाथभट्टः । पद्मनाभ-  
भट्टसुतो दा-
- 96 मोदरभट्टः । एतौ हरितौ । शारंगपाणिभट्टसुतः चक्रपाणिभट्टः । कमलदेवभट्टसुतो  
दादंभट्टः [1\*]
- 97 एतौ प्रथमात्रेयौ । भास्करभट्टसुतः कृष्णभट्टः । वापदेवभट्टसुतः सिंहभट्टः । एतौ  
विष्णुवृद्धांगिर-
- 98 सो । मांडदेवभट्टसुतचंडिकाभट्टः । मांडदेवभट्टसुतो रामेश्वरभट्टः । एतौ वाध्यश्वौ ।  
पद्मनाभ-

<sup>1</sup> *Agastya*, which was first incised, was subsequently altered to *Agastya*.

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[illegible]

- 99 भट्सुती नागदेवभट्टः । गौत्तमः<sup>1</sup> ॥ महादेवभट्टसुतश्चांगदेवभट्टः । नैध्रुवः ॥ दामी-  
दरभट्टसुतपुरु-
- 100 षोत्तमभट्टः । देवरातः । गोपालभट्टसुती महादेवभट्टः । आत्रेयः । भास्करभट्टसुत  
आपदेवभट्टः ।
- 101 वत्सगीत्रः । गायत्रीभट्टसुतः कृष्णभट्टः । कपिसी(गो)त्रः ॥ नागदेवजीइसीसुतः परश-  
रामजीइसी ।
- 102 गार्ग्यः । नागणसुतकेशवदासः । पूतिमाषः । विष्णुभट्टसुती नरसीहदासभट्टः [I]
- 103 वासिष्ठः । अथ तैत्तिरीयाः । नारायणपेदिसुती मैरालभट्टः । माधवभट्टसुतत्रिवी(वि)-
- 104 क्रमभट्टः । गंगाधरभट्टसुतः सोमनाथभट्टः । माधवभट्टसुती मांइदेवभट्टः । एते
- 105 भारद्वाजाः । कृष्णभट्टसुती विद्मदेवभट्टः । ब्रह्मदेवभट्टसुती गणपतिभट्टः । महादे-
- 106 वभट्टसुती विश्व(श्वे)श्वरभट्टः । नागखा(खा)मिभट्टसुती रामेश्वरभट्टः । विष्णुभट्टसुत  
आपदेवभट्टः [I\*]

## Third Plate.

- 107 एते कौडिन्याः ॥ विष्णुभट्टसुतसोमनाथभट्टः । सिंहपेदिसुत आदित्यभट्टः । विष्णुभट्ट-  
सुती ना-
- 108 गदेवभट्टः । एते आत्रेयाः ॥ श्रीधरभट्टसुती धनेश्वरभट्टः । केशवाचार्यसुतपुरुषोत्तम-  
भट्टः । एतौ जामदग्न(ग्न्य)वत्सौ । नागदेवभट्टसुतकीटेश्वरन(नं)[दि]ः । रु(रु)पदेव-  
भट्टसुत आपदे-
- 110 वभट्टः । एतौ गौतमौ । विष्णुभट्टसुती(तः) शार्गपाणिभट्टः [I\*] श्रीवत्सगीत्रः ।  
दामीदरभट्टसुतः सू-
- 111 र्यभट्टः [I\*] लोहितगीत्रः । लक्ष्मीधरभट्टसुती रामेश्वरभट्टः । हरितः । नरसी(सिं)-  
हचिवेदी(दि)सुतकं-
- 112 मलदेवभट्टः । प्रथमात्रेयः । एल्लूदूवेसुतनारायणपेदिः । काश्यपगीत्रा(त्रः) [I\*]  
सोमनाथह्मांसुतः पद्म-
- 113 नाभह्मांता । काश्यपी माध्यंदिनः । अनंतभट्टसुतसारंगभट्टः । काश्यपकाण्डः ।  
दादभट्टसुतः काकभट्टः ॥(I)

<sup>1</sup> Read *Gautamah*.<sup>2</sup> Read *Narastinhadāsa*. The *visarga* which was wrongly incised after *sa* has been cancelled.

- 114 काकोभट्टस्तसांवलभट्टः । ए[त्ति] हरितौ । रामपंडितसुतवसंतपंडितः । भारद्वाजः ॥  
एते सामगाः । अथै-
- 115 तदग्रहारभूमेराघाटाः । पूर्वतः दांडिगौ । सादुलें । दक्षिणतः केशवापुरी<sup>1</sup> ।  
सांवरिगवां । हरिकीनि-
- 116 बगौ । पश्चिमतः राजगौ । ह्रीवरें । चिंचवली । दुगलीगाह्वाणसंबध(ड)महादे-  
ओपुरी । उत्तरतः गंगा [1\*]
- 117 एव(वं) चतुराघाटविशुद्धः पुरुषीत्तमपुरापरनामधेयीग्रहारः कृतः [1\*] अथ ब्राह्मण-  
नियमाः । अ(आ)-
- 118 चंद्रार्कमिदं भोज्यमेभिरेषां च वंशजैः । नाधेयं न च विक्रेयं सदा सन्मार्गवर्ति-  
[भिः] । [1३५॥\*] पण्यंगनानां सद-
- 119 नं न देयं द्यु(द्यू)तप्रचारोपि निवारणीयः । शस्त्रादिकं वापि न धारणीयं सत्क-  
र्मनिष्ठै(ष्ठै)भं(र्भ)वितव्यमेभिः [॥३६॥\*]
- 120 राजसेवकानां वसतिप्रयाणदंडौ न स्तः । अथ भूमिदानप्रशंसा । सिंहासनं तथा  
[च्छ]वं वराश्वा वरवा[र]-
- 121 णाः । भूमिदानस्य पुण्याणि फलं स्वर्गस्तथैव च [1३७॥\*] नृत्यंति पितरस्तस्य  
वल्गंति च पितामहाः । भूमिदीक्षा-
- 122 त्कुले जातः सोस्मांस्तारयिष्यति<sup>2</sup> [1३८॥\*] आदित्या इव दीप्यंते तेजसा दिवि  
मानवाः [1\*] ये प्रयच्छ(च्छं)ति वसुधां ब्रा-
- 123 ह्मणायाह्मिताग्नये [1३९॥\*] यथा जनित्री पुण्याति जीरेण स्वसुतं नृपा[1\*] एवं  
सर्वगुणैर्भूमिर्दातारमनुपुष्यति [1४०॥\*] अग्नि-
- 124 षोमादिभिर्यज्ञैरिष्टा विपुलदक्षिणैः । न तत्प(त्फ)लमवाप्नोति यद्वत्वा(त्त्वा) वसुधां नृप  
[1४१॥\*] नृत्यौर्हि<sup>3</sup> किंकरा दंडा
- 125 ह्यग्नितापाः सुदारुणाः । घोराश्च वारुणाः पाशाः नोपसर्प्यन्ति भूमिदं(दम्) [1४२॥\*]  
संतर्प्यन्ति दातारं भूमिः प्रभव-

<sup>1</sup> Read *Kēśavapurī*.<sup>2</sup> Read *śō-emān santārayiṣyati*.<sup>3</sup> Read *Mṛityōr=hi*.

- 126 तां वर । कशाय कशमृत्याय वृत्तिचौणाय सीदते ।[18३॥\*] भूमिं वृत्तिकरीं  
दत्त्वा(त्त्वा) च्छत्री भवति मानवः ।[18४॥\*] षष्टिं वर्षसहस्रा-
- 127 णि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः आच्छेत्वा(त्ता) चानुमंता च तान्येव नरके वसेत्  
।[18५॥\*] वारिदस्तृप्तिमाप्नोति सुखमक्ष-
- 128 यमन्नदः । तिलप्रदः प्रजामिष्टां दीपदश्च कुरुत्तम<sup>१</sup> । भूमिदः सर्वमाप्नोति दीर्घमा-  
युस्तयैव च ॥[४६॥\*] अथ
- 129 ब्राह्मणभूमिहरणे दोषाः ॥ गामिकां रत्निकामिकां भूमिरप्येकमंगुलं(लम्) । हरं(रन्)  
नरकमाप्नोति यावदा-
- 130 भूतसंज्ञवं(वम्) ।[18७॥\*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुंधरां(राम्) । षष्टिं  
वर्षसहस्राणि विष्टायां जायते कृमिः ।[18८॥\*] स्वद-
- 131 तां परदत्तां वा हरेत सुरविप्रयोः । वृत्तिं स जायते विद्वग्दर्षाणामयुतायुतं(तम्)  
।[18९॥\*] विंध्यटवौषतीयासु
- 132 शुष्ककीटरशायिनः ।[\*] कृष्णसर्पाः प्रजायन्ते ब्रह्मभूस्यपहारकाः ।[1५०॥\*] हिनस्ति  
विषमत्तार वज्रिरग्निः प्र-
- 133 शान्यति । कुलं समूलं दहति ब्र(ब्र)ह्मस्वारणिपावकः ।[1५१॥\*] ब्रह्मस्वं दुरनुज्ञातं  
भुक्तं हन्ति विपूरुषं(षम्) । प्रसह्य ।<sup>२</sup>
- 134 तु बलाद्भुक्तं दश पूर्वान् दशापरान् ।[1५२॥\*] गृह्णं(हन्ति)ति यावतः पा(पां)सून्  
क्रंदतामश्रुविंदवः । विप्राणां हतवृत्तीनां व-
- 135 दान्यानां कुटुंबिनां(नाम्) ।[1५३॥\*] राजानी राजकुल्याश्च तावतीब्दान्त्रिरंकुशाः[\*] ।  
कुंभीपाकेषु पच्यन्ते ब्रह्मभूस्यप-<sup>३</sup>
- 136 हारिणः ॥[५४॥\*] अथ भूमिपालनफलं(लम्) ॥ दानपालनयोर्मध्ये दानाच्छेद्योतु-  
पालनं(नम्) । दानात्सुगमवाप्नोति-
- 137 ति पालनादच्युतं, पदं(दम्) ।[५५॥\*] गण्यन्ते पांश्वो भूमेर्गण्यन्ते वृष्टिविंदवः । न  
गण्यन्ते विधानापि भूमिसंर-
- 138 क्षणे फलं(लम्) ।[५६॥\*] बहुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिः[\*] सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य  
यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फ-

<sup>१</sup> Read either *kur=uttamām* or *Kur=uttama*.<sup>२</sup> *Danda* unnecessary.<sup>३</sup> This mark is to show that the word is continued in the next line.

- 139 लं(लम्) ।[५७॥\*] सामान्योयं धर्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले-काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः ।[\*]  
सर्वानितान् भाविनः पार्थिवै(र्वै)द्रान् भू-
- 140 यो भूयो याचते रामचंद्रः ।[५८॥\*] महंशजाः परमहोपतिवंशजा वा पापादपेत-  
मनसो भुवि भाविभूपाः । ते
- 141 पालयंतु सम धर्ममि[मं समग्रं] तेभ्यो मया विरचितोजलरिष मूर्द्धिः<sup>1</sup> ।[५९॥\*]  
मंगलं मद्भाषीः ॥ छ ।

## TRANSLATION.

Om ! Obeisance to the holy primeval Boar !

(Verse 1) May Śārṅgapāṇi (Vishṇu) be worshipped!—(he) whose proper form consists of unsurpassed and infinite bliss and consciousness; whose manifest power is possessed through mighty and stainless *sattva*; who has an extremely attractive body which is an abode of auspicious things (and) who is the refuge of those who are worsted by others !

(V. 2) Glorious is the moon, the pleasure-lotus (in the hand) of the goddess of fortune of the three worlds, which sprang from the milk-ocean which is the pleasure-lake of Lakshmi and Nārāyaṇa !

(V. 3) Glorious is that infinite race of the moon, the creeper of whose fame shines in this world. In that race,<sup>2</sup> again, there were the bright and round pearls possessed of great and attractive lustre, viz., the Vṛishṇis of unblemished character. Among them, again, there is a one-string necklace formed with a beautiful thread, (viz., the Yādava family of Dīvagiri which is possessed of excellent merits) which gave lustre to the necks of poets.<sup>3</sup> In it, again, there is this central gem possessing the beautiful lustre of the wish-fulfilling jewel, (namely,) the king Śiṃha.

(V. 4) What kings were not terrified to hear that by Śiṃha Ballāla was vanquished, the lord of Āndhra was made to suffer a defeat, Kakkalla was overthrown, the lord of Bhambhāgiri was devoured in a moment, the king Bhōja was thrown into confinement on the crest of a fortress and Arjuna was subjugated ?

(V. 5) His son was Jaitrapāla, the moon to the *kumuda* which was (his) family (and) a very gracious temple of the goddess of heroism; who by his excellent form completely quelled the pride of the god of love, the tap-root of beauty; who was concluded to be the unique limit of the excess of magnanimity by the people who (at first) expressed (their) doubts as to whether he was Karṇa, or Dadhichi, or Śibi, or Jimūtarāhana.<sup>4</sup>

(V. 6) From him was born the lord, the illustrious king Kṛishṇa, who frequently vanquished brave men. Seeing warriors fleeing away (before him), the regions laughed at them under the guise of his fame.

<sup>1</sup> Visarga is superfluous.

<sup>2</sup> The original has *ramṣah* which means also a bamboo. On this *double entendre* is based the following metaphor. According to a poetic convention, pearls are produced also from bamboos.

<sup>3</sup> Because it supplied them with an excellent subject for their poems.

<sup>4</sup> All these were noted for their great liberality.

(V. 7) He whose activities extended to Kāmapāla and to whom extensive fortune resorted of its own accord, clearly manifested himself to be Kṛishṇa,<sup>1</sup> delighting zealously a multitude of cowherds.

(V. 8) On the occasion of his march for conquest, princes disguised as bards sang as follows :—Collect, O old Gūrjara, the mass of dust in the cowpens throughout (*thy*) life ! Do not, O Mālava, stop mowing ! Cling, O Chōla, to the hem of the lower garment (*of ladies*) ! Be intent, O Kōśala, on giving up (*thy*) treasure !

(V. 9) When the king Kṛishṇa went sportively to his own city Vaikuṇṭha in order to have a look at it, that younger brother of his (*viz.*), Mahādēva, ruled over this earth thereafter ;—(*he*) whose sword, which produced the misapprehension that it was the ornamental mark of musk (*on the forehead*) of the Earth who was shining on his arm, caused terror among hostile kings.

(V. 10) Though he plunged the crescent moon into the ocean, removing her from her proper place, he is, strange (*to say*),<sup>2</sup> still called Mahādēva by the people.

(V. 11) (*Then*) was born his son the king Ammaṇa, who was possessed of great strength<sup>3</sup> and who greatly rescued the Brāhmaṇas oppressed by taxes, even as Skanda rescued the gods oppressed by (*the demon*) Tāraka.

(V. 12) When the Grandsire of warriors<sup>4</sup> was giving away (*in charity*), all hostile kings, indeed, became eager to receive the gifts ; since having continuously exposed themselves to the rays of the hot-rayed (*sun*), they whose minds were distressed by the reproachful words of (*their*) beautiful (*wives*), regretfully cast a (*wistful*) glance at their kingdoms.<sup>5</sup>

(V. 13) Climbing the highest Dēvagiri by means of the ladder which were the heads of hostile princes, the (*famous*) Rāma, the son of Kṛishṇa, enjoys his kingdom, forcibly wresting it from him (*i.e.*, Ammaṇa).

(V. 14) First entrance into the fort of Dēvagiri, then observation of the manner of dancing, afterwards rallying of self-willed foot-soldiers, then throwing off of ornaments, removal of the opponent who obstructed (*his*) desired object and wresting of the earth from him—these were successively accomplished by the illustrious Rāma. Hence his glory<sup>6</sup> is extraordinary !

<sup>1</sup> Kṛishṇa also is known for similar deeds. He gave protection to Kāma (*i.e.*, the god of love) who became his son Pradyumna. He was chosen by Lakshmī (who had incarnated herself as Rukmiṇi) at her *svayamvara*. Finally, he used to delight herds of cows by his sweet music.

<sup>2</sup> The astonishment is due to the fact that the god Mahādēva (whose name the king bears) always keeps on his head the crescent moon which had sprung from the ocean. The contradiction in this verse is only apparent, the figure being *Virōdhābhāsa* ; for Sōma means here the Śilāhāra king Sōmēśvara whom Mahādēva killed in a naval engagement.

<sup>3</sup> *Śaktidhara* (the wielder of a spear) is also a name of Skanda.

<sup>4</sup> *Kaṣatra-pitāmaha* 'Grandsire of kings' was one of the *birudas* of the Yādavas of Dēvagiri. The *Thāpā* plates mention in two places (lines 28 and 35-36) a similar title in connection with Rāmachandra.

<sup>5</sup> The idea seems to be that these princes were standing in the hot sun the whole day in the hope of receiving back their kingdoms as gifts from Āmaṇadēva. As they went home empty-handed, they were rebuked by their wives. *Lilāvatī* is also the name of the first section of Bhāskarāchārya's *Siddhāntaśīrṇamānī*. Is there, then, a play on the word *chaṇḍānīśu* also (meaning Bhāskara) ? Bhāskarāchārya is not, however, known to have written a work named *Kīranāvalī*.

<sup>6</sup> *Ślōka* means also a verse. This verse which describes the successive achievements of Rāmachandra is superior to the following traditional verse which describes in a similar manner the successive doings of Rāma, an incarnation of Viṣṇu :—Āḍau Rāma-tapōvan-ābhigamanam hatvā mṛigaṁ kūchanam Vaidēhi-haraṇam Jaṭāyumarāṇam Sugrīva-sambhāṣaṇam | Vālī-nirdalanam samudra-taraṇam Leṅkā-purī-dāhanam paśchād=Rāvaṇa-Kumbhakaraṇa-hanaṇam=etad=dhi Rāmāyaṇam ||

(V. 15) The illustrious Rāma,—who noticed an easy way of securing his kingdom, whose entire policy is explained by his occupation of the fort (of *Dēvagiri*), who obtained his object by his personal energy which shone by the use of various means, who showed the way to acquire wealth by forbidding actions of the castes in transgression (of the dictates of the *Sūtras*), who surpassed celestial beings<sup>1</sup> in that though a boy<sup>2</sup> he was not affected by abuse,—is (verily) Śarvavarman,<sup>3</sup> who noticed an easy way of forming *padas*,<sup>4</sup> all of whose aphorisms are explained by Durgā's<sup>5</sup> commentary, who derived the (intended) sense from roots shining with conjugational signs, who showed how to obtain the meaning (of abbreviations) without writing the letters (of the alphabet) in the reverse order,<sup>6</sup> and who has surpassed the primeval grammarians,<sup>7</sup> since not even a boy (who studies his grammar) is tainted by the use of wrong words.<sup>8</sup>

(V. 16) How can that Rāma be described ?—(he) who vanquished in a moment the king of the great and extensive *Dāhala* country ; who made the lord of the country of *Bhāṇḍāgāra* suffer a great defeat : who deprived the king of *Vajrākara* of his kingdom, and who subjugated in battle that (well-known) king of cowherds ?

(V. 17) How can that Rāmachandra be truly described ?—(he) who only by his prowess defeated with arrows the lord of *Palli* on a battle-field, made the king of *Kanyakubja* bend low, captured by force the mighty lord of *San̄gama* and crushed the chief of *Khēṭa* ?

(V. 18) He abrogated the conventional rules about tolls, exempted all *agrahāras* from taxes, freed *Vārāṇasī* from a hoard of *Mlēcchhas* and constructed (there) a golden temple of *Śrīrūga-dhara*.

(Lines 31-42) He, the *Praudhapatāpa-Chakravartin*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious king *Rāmachandra*, adorned by a multitude of such excellences, the sun which makes the lotus-bud, viz., the *Yādava* race, bloom, the *Purandara* of the city of *Dēvagiri*, granted with joy caused by the execution of all his commands, by pouring water on the hand, on *Saturday*, the eleventh *tithi* of the bright fortnight of *Bhādrapada* in the (cyclic) year *Sādharaṇa* when twelve hundred years increased by thirty-two had elapsed since the time of the *Śaka* king, the four villages together with nine hamlets included in them, situated in the *Kānbhairi khampayaka* (sub-division) included in the *Kānbhairi dēśa*, together with the treasures, deposits, trees, grass, water, stones, and all dues such as fines, taxes, and cess on artisans,—(the four villages, namely), *Pōkharī* (with) the hamlets included in it, (viz.), *Sāḍgālvāṇa*, *Pimpalagālvāṇa* (and) *Pālipōkharī* ; *Aḍagau* (with) the hamlets included in it, (viz.), *Pimpalavāḍi*, *Kājalakōvi* (and) *Sōiṇṇē* ; *Vāghaure* (with) the hamlets included in it, (viz.), *Simpivihirē*, *Gōḷgālvāṇa* (and) *Dhāravāghaurē* ; (and) *Kuruṇapāragau*—

<sup>1</sup> *Dity-ākṛiti* means a celestial being such as Rāma who was an incarnation of Viṣṇu. He was blamed by the people of *Ayōdhya*, because he took back his wife *Sitā* after her stay in *Rāvaṇa*'s house. (See *Vālmiki's Rāmāyana* (Bom. ed.), *Uttarakāṇḍa*, *śarga* 63.)

<sup>2</sup> As Rāmachandra had a long reign of about forty years, he may have been in his teens when he wrested the crown from his cousin.

<sup>3</sup> Śarvavarman is the reputed author of the *Kātantra* system of Sanskrit grammar.

<sup>4</sup> A *pada* is a nominal or a verbal form ending in a case-affix or a termination.

<sup>5</sup> Durgā or Durgasūtiha is a well-known commentator of the *Kātantra sūtras*.

<sup>6</sup> In the *Māhātmya sūtras*, on which the system of Pāṇini is based, the natural order of the letters of the alphabet is reversed for the sake of the *pratyāhāras*. In the *sūtras* of Śarvavarman, however, the natural order of the letters is retained.

<sup>7</sup> In the second sense we have to make the *pada-chehḥida* as *jētū ādi-ryākṛitīnām* (who surpassed the primeval grammarians like Pāṇini).

<sup>8</sup> The *Kātantra* system is much easier than the Pāṇinian, so that even a boy can soon master the Sanskrit language with its aid. For the story of its origin, see the *Kāthāsaritsāgara*, *lambaka* 1, *tarāṅga* 6-7.

to the *Mahāmāṇḍalika* Purushai Nāyaka, the son of the *Phulaḥaḍuē* Sāmvala Nāyaka, who belongs to the *Vāsishṭha-gōtra* and is a student of the *Rigvēda-śākhā*. The following are the eulogistic verses about him :—

(V. 19) Glorious is Vasisṭha, the abode of austerities, who is the sole preceptor of the world, the son of the Creator, known as his second self, (and) the foremost of the seven sages ; whose wife is Arundhatī whose virtue is the foremost teacher for (giving) instruction in chastity ; and in a corner of whose cowpen there is the celestial cow which is a very moonlight for (dispelling) the darkness, namely, the distress of the three worlds.

(V. 20) From him another son was born like him and then from him another. Thus in course of time there sprang a noble family, an ornament of the three worlds, resembling a succession of the sun's rays causing awakening among the embodied beings troubled by the alligator-like darkness and infatuation.

(V. 21) In that (family) was born Bhānusūri who constructed in every quarter, staircases in the guise of temples for the sake of gods who had come out (of heaven) to receive offerings in his sacrifices ; and who, in order to raise up the creatures who had sunk low by reason of their (bad) deeds, excavated, as deep as the surface of the nether regions, tanks which were the mines of jewels in the form of his bright fame.<sup>1</sup>

(V. 22) From him was born Alhadēva,<sup>2</sup> (who was) a treasure of austerities, and a meeting place of all fruitful excellences ; in whose mouth dwelt with ease the fourteen lores even as the fourteen worlds do in the belly of Hari (at the time of world-destruction.)

(V. 23) From him was born a son named Vināyaka, the crest-jewel of (all) learned people In the water of the Ganges, namely, his fame, even the holy places perform the purificatory rite ; (and) the loud noise of the exposition of the Vēdas discloses his house to the supplicants who come in haste, having heard of his virtue of liberality.

(V. 24) From that learned man sprang a famous son named Sāmvaladēva, the friend of the love of piety, the source of glory, the essence of cleverness, the abode of contentment, forgiveness and happiness, the head of the family of compassion, the festivity of the establishment of courage, the treasury of learning, the minister of discrimination and the assembly-hall of wealth.

(V. 25) Having ascertained that like a flower he was gentle by nature, venerable, pure, capable of attracting the mind and the best abode of fortune, the king Rāma, the foremost of the Yadus, who has a keen intellect, being intent on showing favour to him, made him, (who was) vigilant, the superintendent of the arrangement of flowers.

(V. 26) Day by day there grew in the mind of the king affection for Sāmvaladēva, who was honest, beneficent, intelligent, truthful and devoted to service even as fortune did in his home.

(V. 27) Then he married, according to the sacred rite, a wife named Akvāmbikā, worthy of himself, who was the daughter of Sāraṅgasūri and the son's daughter of Mādhavasūri born in the family of Jāmadagnya-Vatsa, and who was adorned by the jewels of excellences

(V. 28) To these, who were designedly united by the wise Creator, there was born a son, bearing the fitting and significant name of Purushōttama. This is the eleventh incarnation of Hari, who reflecting on the slight blemish in incarnating himself as the fish, etc., was seeking a noble birth.

<sup>1</sup> I.e., he became famous by excavating these tanks.

<sup>2</sup> [See above, p 212, n. 7.—Ed.]



(V. 29) The Yadu king made him a minister of his Government—(*him*) who had double wisdom due to his association with good people marked by discrimination, double vision by his study of the extensive *śrūtis* and *smṛtis*, (*and*) double strength by his inexhaustible courage.

(V. 30) Having shown by his brilliant command separate courses of conduct for the castes and orders of life, even as a cloud shows different paths by its lightning, he poured a large shower of gold into the treasure-house of the king.

(V. 31) The crooked and hard mind of treasonous people was quickly made straightforward by his brilliant prowess, even as the hard and curved bracelet of iron is made straight by burning fire. The cruel ones among them were burnt like thorny trees and then taken out. Then the glory of the king Rāmachandra was made bright like gold.

(V. 32) When he, who had devoted his heart to the holy places like Kāśī and Dvārakā which are the treasures of religious merit, established charitable feeding houses (*in them*) the capacity to yield (*both*) enjoyment and liberation now shines in those (*holy places*) which, from a consideration of the declaration of sages, were (*previously*) held to confer liberation only.

(V. 33) While he, who is well-conducted, devoted to his lord, modest, extremely averse to others' wives and wealth and possessed of great prowess, was conducting himself as a (*noble*) man, displaying herosim, there generally followed, day and night, in the wake of his glory which went forth in every direction, joy in good people and great trembling in the head and heart of wicked ones.

(V. 34) The illustrious and gracious-minded king Rāma asked him many times to make an *agrahāra* worthy of himself for (*the attainment of*) well-being in both the worlds. And when he accepted that honour as a great favour, he (*i.e., the king*) who humbles the pride (*of his foes*), conferred on him villages of great value by pouring water (*on the hand*).

(Ll. 71-80) He, that Purushai Nāyaka, the mine of such jewels of excellences, the *Mahāmūṇḍalika* of the illustrious *Mahārājādhirāja Rāmachandradēva*, has conferred, for the attainment of his desired object, making first the offerings of gold, rice and water on the *Kapilashashthi* in the month *Bhādrapada* included in the (*cyclic*) year *Sādhārana* when twelve hundred years increased by thirty-two had elapsed since the time of the Śaka king, the four villages together with nine hamlets included in them, situated in the *Kānhairi khampanaka* (*sub-division*) of the *Kānhairi dēśa*, together with the treasures, deposits, grass, water, stones and all dues such as fines, taxes (*and*) cess on artisans,—(*the four villages, namely*), *Pōkharī* (*with*) the hamlets included in it, (*viz.*), *Sāēgāhvāna*, *Piṃpalagāhvāna* (*and*) *Pālipōkharī*; *Aḍagau* (*with*) the hamlets included in it, (*viz.*), *Piṃpalavāḍī*, *Kājalakōvi* (*and*) *Sōijane*; *Vāghaurē* (*with*) the hamlets included in it, (*viz.*), *Sīṃpidihirē*, *Gōlēgāhvāna* (*and*) *Dhārvāghaurē*; and *Kurupāragau*—after dividing them into *ṛittis* (*i.e., parts*) numbering eighty-six (*and*) assigning (*them*) to the Brāhmaṇas, eighty-three in number, who belong to various *gōtras* and are students of various *śākhās*, together with two gods, *agnishṭikā* and *prapā*, in this manner, namely, two *ṛittis* to the two gods, one *ṛitti* for (*the performance of*) the *agnishṭikā* rite and (*the maintenance of*) a *prapū* (charitable water-shed) (*every year*) and the remaining *ṛittis* numbering eighty-three to (*the following*) Brāhmaṇas. Now the names of the Brāhmaṇas :—

(Here follow the names of eighty-three Brāhmaṇas together with those of their fathers, *gōtras* and *śākhās*.)

(Ll. 114-117) Now the boundaries of this *agrahāra* land :—To the east *Dāṇḍigau* (*and*) *Sādulē*; to the south *Kēśavapurī*, *Sāvarigavā* (*and*) *Harikinibagau*; to the west *Rājagau*, *Hivarē*, *Chīñcha-*

vali, (and) Mahādēvapuri joined to Drugalēgāhvāna; to the north the Gaṅgā. The *agrahāra*, which has the other name of *Purushōttamapuri*, has thus been formed with the four boundaries well-determined in this manner.

(Il. 117-20) Now rules for the conduct of the Brāhmaṇas. This land shall be enjoyed by these (*Brāhmaṇas*) and their descendants, following always the righteous path; it shall not be mortgaged or sold. No quarter shall be given to prostitutes; the custom of gambling also shall be prohibited; (and) weapons and (*such*) other things shall not be used<sup>1</sup> These Brāhmaṇas shall (*always*) be intent on (*performing*) good deeds. There shall be no forced contribution (*for the expenses of*) royal officers halting at and departing from (the *agrahāra*)<sup>2</sup>.

(Il. 120-41) Now the praise of a gift of land :—

(Here follow twenty-three benedictive and imprecatory verses.)

(Line 141) May there be bliss and great fortune!

## NO. 22.—TWO GRANTS OF PRITHIVICHANDRA BHOGASAKTI.

By MADHO SARUP VATS, M.A., AND D. B. DISKALKAR, M.A.

In August 1936 when Mr. Vats was Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, Poona, three grants consisting of seven copper plates were sent to him by the Collector of Nāsik. They were found with a Marāṭhī Patel family, surnamed Shid, of Anjaneri village in the headquarters Taluka of the Nāsik District. Three of the plates were found to make one grant, marked A and two another, marked B, both issued by a king named Prithivichandra Bhōgasakti. Lines 1-25 of the former are identical with lines 1-27 of the latter. The remaining two plates were found to make a third grant of the Gurjara king Jayabhāta III. Below are described the first two grants mentioned above as A and B.

Each of these grants was held together by two copper rings. To one of the two rings of the one marked A is affixed a tubular seal containing the figure of a lion in relief. The surface of the seal is circular and  $1\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter. The three plates of this set along with the rings and the seal weigh 308 *tolas*. There is also the figure of a boar engraved in the middle of the second half of the second plate of this grant. The plates measure  $12\frac{1}{4}$  to  $12\frac{3}{8}$  inches in length and  $7\frac{5}{8}$  to 8 inches in width. As usual, the first and the third plates are inscribed on the inner faces only and the middle plate on both the sides. The inscription consists of 55 lines of writing, 14 on each of the first, second and fourth faces and 13 on the third one.

A circumscribed lotus is incised on the uninscribed outer face of the first plate, while a large figure of conch shell appears upside down across the outer face of the third plate which bears a postscript record of king Tējavarman in 9 lines.

The two plates making up the second grant measure  $11\frac{3}{8} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$  to  $7\frac{3}{8}$  inches. One of the two rings of this grant is missing and the remaining one has a tubular seal similar to that found in A. The weight of the two plates forming this grant together with the ring and the seal is

<sup>1</sup> Such restrictions date from ancient times. See, for instance, vv. 31 ff. of the Sirpur inscription of the time of Mahā-Śivagupta, above, Vol. XI, pp. 192 f.

<sup>2</sup> The same expression occurs also in the Paithan plates. It was first interpreted by Dr. Fleet as referring to the exemption of the king's servants from fines either for staying at or for setting out on journeys from them. (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 315). Later on he gave the alternative explanation that "the expression... may refer to 'fines' i.e., 'forced contributions of money or supplies' obligatory on the holders of villages on such occasions" (*C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 98, n. 2). There is no doubt that the latter is the correct interpretation.

178 *colas*. In this, the inscription consists of 38 lines only, 12 being inscribed on the first plate, 14 and 12 respectively on the inner and outer faces of the second plate.

Both the grants are, on the whole, well preserved, but in some cases owing to portions of the plates being more or less corroded certain letters of grant B are not quite legible.

The characters in the inscriptions belong to the southern variety of the seventh century A.D. and are similar to those of the Valabhi and Gurjara grants of the same period. They are crowned by small circles and are more angular than rounded, mark, for instance, the letters *m*, *v*, and *d*. Among peculiarities of the inscription in grant A, it may be pointed out that the sign for the medial long *ā* is used in two ways, cf. *Pūrvaṭṭrikūṭa*, l. 38 and *Pūrvāṭṭrikūṭa*, l. 39. The sign for initial *ē* in l. 51 deserves to be noted specially with reference to the same sign in ll. 14 and 31 of grant B. Equally remarkable are the forms of letters *ph* and *bhū* in lines 52 and 53 respectively. It may also be noted that both the forms of *l* are found in this inscription. As regards the orthography it may be stated that the sign for *upadhmanīya* is but once used in l. 44 of A and a consonant is usually doubled both before and after *r* as in *gōṭra*, *putra*, *parākkrama*, *vikkrānta*, *kkriyā*, *kshōbhīṭ-ārṇava*, *nirvīśeṣa*, *varmma*, *dākṣiṇy-ādibhīr-ggūṇaiḥ*, *pūrva*, *dēvasy-ārchechana*, *Janārddana*, etc. *Ṇ* is used for *anusvāra* in *vaṇśasy-* (l. 6) and *Sīṅhavarṇma* (l. 9). The language of the records is Sanskrit prose with the exception of the invocatory and the imprecatory verses at the beginning and end.

As regards the peculiarities of the inscription in grant B, it may be stated that the signs for the medial *u* and *ri* and the subscript *r* are not easily distinguishable from one another. So also is the case with *r* and *l*. The *rēpha* is turned round to the left of a letter so much so that it goes above it. In this inscription, too, a consonant is usually doubled before and after *r*. Grant A seems to contain Sanskrit renderings of certain local words or phrases e.g., *karaṇḍ kōṭeraṇ*, l. 35, *ghṛita-sṭikā*, l. 37. Of the former, the sense is not at all clear, but the latter was possibly a small measure such as a ladle<sup>1</sup>.

In both the grants, the records open with an invocatory verse in praise of the boar incarnation of the god Viṣṇu as is always the case with the inscriptions of the Western Chalukyas of Bādāmi who were acknowledged as their overlords by the kings of the Harīśchandra family. Then follows the prose portion describing in usual terms the origin of the Chalukya family in which was ruling the emperor *Vikramāditya*, who was an ornament of the whole earth. This is followed by the description of a ruler named *Svāmichandra* whose sovereign *Vikramāditya* Chalukya considered him as his son, who was an ornament of the Harīśchandra family and who enjoyed the possession of the whole of the *Puri-kōṭkaṇa*, consisting of 14,000 villages. *Svāmichandra*'s son was *Sīṅhavarman* and the latter's son was *Bhōgaśakti*, who bore the second name of *Prithivīchandra*<sup>2</sup>. Much of the further portion of the inscription is devoted to an extravagant praise of this feudatory king *Bhōgaśakti*.

The grant marked A was issued by *Bhōgaśakti* after addressing the state officials etc. of *Gōparāśhṭra*, eastern *Triṭkūṭa*, *Āmrarājī*, *Mairikā*, two *Mahāgiriḥāras*, and *Palla Aḍhamba[ka]* divisions, and its object was to provide for conducting the worship of the god *Nārāyaṇa* and for dance, music, free kitchen, etc., at the temple which had been built at *Jayapura* by *Bhōgēśvara* who is probably to be identified with *Bhōgaśakti* himself. The endowment made for the above purposes consisted of the revenues of eight villages, viz., *Jayagrāma*, *Ambō-Avaṅgaṇa*, *Pālittapāṭaka*, *Kōkilākshaka*, *Kalahaka*, *Mradgāhitaka*<sup>3</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> [See below p. 235, n. 3.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> [He also seems to have had the *Uṛuḍa* Tribhuvanaṅkuṭa (l. 25A, l. 27B).—Ed.]

<sup>3</sup> [See below p. 232, n. 2.—Ed.]

**Kshēmagiraka** and **Ānagrāma** and the income derived from certain taxes. The taxes consisted of certain levies during the *yātrā* festival of the god from every shop in the market and every court-yard(?); and on the import and export of every load of caravan; a handful of corn, and a fixed measure of ghee from (every house in) the principal village in each of the sub-divisions of **Gōparāshṭra**, **Āmrarājī** and **Mairikā**; and in like manner from other villages<sup>1</sup>; one hundred *Kṛishṇarāja* rupees from the sub-division of eastern **Trikūṭa**; two hundred *Kṛishṇarāja* rupees from the western **Mahāgiriḥāra** and one hundred from the eastern one; and fifty *Kṛishṇarāja* rupees from the **Palla Āḍhamba** sub-division. But the above eight villages, on which taxes were thus imposed, were exempted from all the usual exactions of forced labour, etc. A committee of five or ten merchants was enjoined, in accordance with the established custom of the town, to arrange for the *yātrā* festival of the god **Vishṇu** for a whole fortnight in the month of **Mārgaśīrsha**. The management of the temple was vested in the merchant guild of the town of **Jayapura** and the local merchants were exempted from (all other state) taxes.

This grant is dated in the year **461** of an unspecified era. Its scribe was **Bharatasvāmin**, an inhabitant of **Kallivana**.

The grant **B** refers to the re-colonisation of the formerly deserted **Samagiripaṭṭana** (the township of **Samagiri**) along with **Chandrapurī** and four other hamlets called **Ambayapallikā**<sup>2</sup>, **Savāṇēyapallikā**, **Maureyapallikā** and **Karṇsārīpallikā**. All these were vested in the town council of **Samagiripaṭṭana**, the merchants whereof were exempted from the payment of custom duties, the *aputradhana*, etc. The town council was also empowered to impose fines for certain moral delinquencies and other crimes.

The outer face of the third plate of grant **A** bears another inscription of nine lines in characters larger in size and slightly different in form, from those of the main inscription. It records the grant by king **Tējavarman** of a free pasture land in the village of **Pālitapāṭaka** near **Jayapura**, already mentioned in the main inscription. In lieu of this land belonging to the god *Bhōgēśvara-dēva*, who is identical with the *Bhōgēśvara-pratishṭhita-Nārāyaṇa* of the main inscription, one hundred rupees were deposited by him with the merchant guild of **Jayapura** as a perpetual endowment, the interest of which was to be utilised for providing *guggula* for the daily worship of the god.

It is interesting to note that **Tējavarman**, who calls himself a *rājan*, is mentioned also in grant **B** wherein he is said to have promulgated the orders contained in the grant. As **Bhōgaśakti** and his predecessors also bore no more assuming a title than *rājan* it is possible that **Tējavarman** belonged to the same family and might even have been a successor of **Bhōgaśakti**, since his record appears as a postscript to grant **A**.

The great historical importance of the present grants lies in the fact that they bring to light a new feudatory dynasty which ruled in the latter part of the seventh and the beginning of the eighth century A.D. over the vast territory comprising the whole of **Purī-kōṇkana** consisting of 14,000 villages which apparently included the present **Nāsik District** under the sovereignty of the **Western Chalukyas**. The first member of this feudatory family, which was named after **Harīśchandra**, was **Svāmichandra**, who acknowledged the sovereignty of **Vikramāditya**, the **Western Chalukya** emperor who, as we know, reigned from 655 to 680 A.D. It is specially noted in the inscriptions that **Svāmichandra** was loved by his overlord as his own son. The figure of a boar, the emblem of the **Chalukya** family of **Bādāmi**, engraved on the reverse of the second plate of Grant **A**, was probably meant to indicate respect and loyalty to the Imperial dynasty, whereas

<sup>1</sup> [See below p. 235, n. 3.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> [See below p. 237, n. 3.—Ed.]

the figure of a lion embossed on the seals attached to the plates was presumably the emblem of the Hariśchandra family. Since nothing is specifically mentioned in the inscriptions to the credit of Svāmichandra's two successors, Simhavarmarāja and Bhōgaśakti, it may be concluded that they did little in raising the importance of the family.

There is nothing in the inscription to denote the era to which its date should be referred. The Chalukya emperors, to whom Bhōgaśakti's family owed allegiance, used no doubt the Śaka era in all their grants and ordinarily it might be expected that the same would be used by their feudatories of the Hariśchandra family as well. But that the date 461 of our record cannot be referred to the Śaka era is obvious from the fact that Svāmichandra, the grandfather of Bhōgaśakti who is the donor of the present grant, was a contemporary of the Chalukya emperor Vikramāditya, who, we know, ruled from A.D. 655 to 680. This is possible only if the date is referred to the Kalachuri era which is found generally used in inscriptions of the period discovered in the Lāṭa country and the Nāsik District<sup>1</sup>. The inscription therefore belongs to the year 709-10 A.D. The Hariśchandra family, although it owed allegiance to the Chalukyas, seems to have adopted the Kalachuri era in their grants because it was current in the country.

The Aihole inscription of Pulakēśin II, dated A.D. 634, tells us that this ruler had defeated the Mauryas of Kōṅkaṇa and had subdued the city called Purī<sup>2</sup>, which was the glory of the western sea. But we know that in the concluding years of Pulikēśin's reign his hold over the northern territories had slackened. Svāmichandra of the Hariśchandra family, who was probably ruling over a small territory round about Jayapura in the Nāsik District, seems to have rendered such signal services to the Chalukya emperor Vikramāditya, son of Pulikēśin, in consolidating his power over the western and northern parts of the empire that he was not only considered as his son by the emperor but, as may be inferred from our Anjaneri plates, also appears to have obtained from him as a reward the whole of the territory known as Purī-kōṅkaṇa.

The Dhōṇḍhaka grant<sup>3</sup> of the Chalukya Jayasimhavarman, younger son of Pulikēśin, shows that he was ruling over the Nāsik territory in about Śaka 580 (A.D. 658). Similarly, the Nirpaṇ plates<sup>4</sup> found in the Igatpuri Taluka of the Nāsik District record a grant by Tribhuvanaśraya-Nāgavardhana, son of Dharāśraya-Jayasimhavarman, one of the younger brothers of the emperor Pulikēśin himself, of a village named Balēgrāma in the Gōparāśhṭra *viśhaya*. Although there are strong reasons to suppose that the Nirpaṇ plates are spurious, yet from both of these it is clear that a portion of the Nāsik District was for some time in the possession of a scion of the Imperial family. Now our Anjaneri plates show that the divisions of Gōparāśhṭra and others were in the possession of Bhōgaśakti and probably of his predecessors too. This was possible only if Vikramāditya had taken out the territory from the possession of a scion of his own family and granted it to Svāmichandra for his valuable services.

It seems strange, however, that no successor of Vikramāditya has been mentioned in the record, not even the sovereign Vijayāditya (A.D. 697-733) who was reigning at the time of this inscription. It need not be supposed from this that the Chalukya emperors lost hold over the pro-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. (a) Ābhōṇa (Nāsik District) plates of Saṅkaragapa dated in the year 347 = A.D. 595. Above, Vol. IX, pp. 297 ff. (b) Vaṇḍēra (Nāsik District) plates of Buddharāja dated in the year 360 = A.D. 608. Above, Vol. XII, pp. 33 ff. (c) Sarsavṇī (Baroda State) plates of Buddharāja dated in the year 361 = A.D. 609. Above, Vol. VI, pp. 297 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. VI, pp. 1 ff., verses 20-21.

<sup>3</sup> G. H. Khare, *Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan* (in Marāṭhi), Vol. I, pp. 12 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 124.

vince in which Bhōgaśakti was ruling, since the latter makes a proper mention of the Chalukya family at the beginning of the inscription and engraved the figure of a boar in the middle of it showing thereby that he had full regard for the Imperial family and owed allegiance to it.

Secondly, a copper plate grant referring to the reign of Vijayāditya was found at Balsār<sup>1</sup> in Gujarāt which was issued from the town of Maṅgalapuri by the Rājā Maṅgalarasa, son of Dharāśraya-Jayasinhavarman, the younger brother of Vikramāditya I. Contrary to the usual practice of the Gujarāt grants, this record is dated not in the Kalachuri era but in Śaka 653 and this fact suggests that the record really belongs not to the Lāṭa country but to the territory above the Ghāts in the direction of Nāsik and Khāndesh. This shows that Vijayāditya's power was acknowledged in the Nāsik District as late as A.D. 731. The failure, therefore, to mention the name of the reigning emperor in the Anjaneri grants indicates not so much the carelessness of the scribe or the draftsman of the record as the troublous times.

We do not know how long after the date of our inscription the Hariśchandra family continued to rule over Puri-kōṅkaṇa, but it seems certain that with the overthrow of the Western Chalukya power by the Rāshtrakūṭas the family of Svāmichandra suffered the same fate, for the Kanheri cave inscription of Śaka 765 (A.D. 843-44) states that the Śilāhāra chief *Mahāsāmanta* Pullaśakti was ruling over the whole of the Puri-kōṅkaṇa holding it through the favour of the Rāshtrakūṭa emperor Amōghavarsha. Pullaśakti's father, Kapardin I, seems to have founded the Śilāhāra family of north Kōṅkaṇa at the beginning of the ninth century. This is another reason to suppose that the Hariśchandra family ruled not later than the middle of the 8th century and ended with the fall of the Imperial Chalukyas.

The mention of the *Kṛishṇarāja rūpakas* in the inscription is important. It shows that at the time of the Anjaneri plates there were in use in the Nāsik District silver coins named after Kṛishṇarāja. There can be no doubt that this Kṛishṇarāja was the famous Kalachuri emperor, whose son Śaṅkaraga (Śaṅkaragaṇa) issued the Śaṅkheḍā plate<sup>2</sup> of Śāntilla and whose coins were found not only in Dēvalanā in the Nāsik District but also in the islands of Bombay and Salsette. These bear the legend *Paramamāhēśvara Kṛishṇarāja* and the figure of a bull.

The *yātrā* festival in honour of the god Viṣṇu mentioned in the inscription A is interesting. That it was held in the month of *Mārgaśīrsha* is stated in l. 44 of grant A. Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit informs that the occurrence of a special festival in the bright fortnight of *Mārgaśīrsha* is a peculiar feature in some parts of the Marāṭhā country. Thus among the Brāhmaṇas of Nāsik and Ahmadnagar there is a regular *Navarātra* festival in this month just as there is the usual festival in the month of *Āśvina* celebrated all over India. The sixth day of the fortnight is called *Champā-shashthī* which is particularly observed among the Dēśastha Brāhmaṇas. Most of the people above the Ghāts have as their tutelary deity Khaṇḍōba of Jejuri near Poona, to whom *Champā-shashthī* is sacred. Khaṇḍōba is a peculiar deity, perhaps originally equivalent to Skanda, but having quite independent characteristics such as a dog for a *vāhana*. It is very likely that the fair or festival referred to above dates back to the time of the present inscription.

The following localities are mentioned in grant A: Gōparāshṭra, Pūrva-Trikūṭa, Amrarājī, Mairikā, Mahāgīrihāra, Palla Ādhamba[ka], Jayapura, Jayagrāma, Ambā-Avaṅgaṇa, Pālitpāṭaka, Kōkilākshaka, Kalahaka, Mradgāhitaka<sup>3</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> See *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. II, pp. 23 f.

<sup>3</sup> [See below p. 232, n. 2.—Ed.]

**Kshēmagraka, Ānnagrāma and Kallivana.** The first six are stated to be *riṣṭayas* or territorial divisions. The approximate situation of **Gōparāśhṭra** can be known from the mention in the Nirpaṇ plates referred to above, of a village named **Balēgrāma** as situated in the **Gōparāśhṭra-riṣṭaya**. **Balēgrāma** is no doubt to be identified with modern Belgaum-Taralha in the Igatpuri Taluka of the Nāsik District. **Jayapura**, where the temple of **Nārāyaṇa** was situated, may be Jarvad Budrukh, 10 miles south-west of Anjaneri. **Jayagrāma** may be Jaikheda in the Dindori Taluka. **Ambē-Avaṅgaṇa** is Ambegaon, about 23 miles north-west of Nāsik; **Kalabaka** may be Kokangaon, 2 miles south-east of Jaikheda and **Mradgāhitaka**, Maganpara, 5 miles north-west of Jaikheda. **Kallivana** is undoubtedly Kalvan in the Nāsik District, which is also mentioned in some other grants of the period.

The localities mentioned in grant B are **Samagrīpattana**, **Chandrapurī**, **Ambayapallikā**, **Savāṇēyapallikā**, **Maurēyapallikā** and **Karṣārīpallikā**, **Samagrīpattana** cannot now be traced, but it was probably situated near **Chandrapurī** with which it is coupled in the present grant, and which is probably identical with **Chandachi Met**, 12 miles south-west of Anjaneri. **Savāṇēyapallikā** may be Samundi, 5 miles north-east and **Karṣārīpallikā** may be Karholi or Karohavadi, 6 and 7 miles respectively east of **Chandachi Met**. **Maurēyapallikā** may be Morvadi, 3 miles south-west of Nāsik<sup>1</sup>.

#### Grant A.

#### TEXT.

#### First Plate.

- 1 श्रीं [1<sup>a</sup>] जयत्याविष्कृतं विष्णोर्वागहं क्षोभितार्णवं(वम्) [1<sup>a</sup>] दक्षिणीव्रतदंद्वाग्रविश्रा-  
न्तमुवनं वपुः [11] [1<sup>a</sup>]
- 2 श्रीमतां सकलभुवनसंस्तूयमानमानव्यसगीक्षाणां सप्तलीकमाटभिः सप्तमाट-
- 3 भिरभिवर्धितानां 1<sup>a</sup> कार्त्तिकेयपरिरक्षणप्राप्तकल्याणपरंपराणां भगवन्नारायण-
- 4 प्रसादसमासादितवराहलाञ्छनक्षणक्षणवशीकृताशिषमहीभृतां हारीतीपुक्षाणां च-
- 5 लुक्प्रानामन्वये सकलमहीमण्डलैकतिलको मन्नाराजाधिगजपरमेश्वरः श्रीविक्रमादि-
- 6 त्ववत्प्रभस्तत्पादप्रसादोपजीवी स्वपुत्रनिर्विशेषो हरिश्चन्द्रवङ्गस्थानकारभृतः(त)शर-
- 7 दुपगमप्रमन्नमण्डलचन्द्रमा इव प्रजानामानन्दकारी श्रीस्वामिचन्द्रो नाम राजा येने-
- 8 टं चतुर्दशग्रामसहस्रमंख्यं सकलमपि पुरीकीङ्गणं भुक्तमासीत् [1<sup>a</sup>] तस्य च  
राज्ञः['] श्रीस्वा-

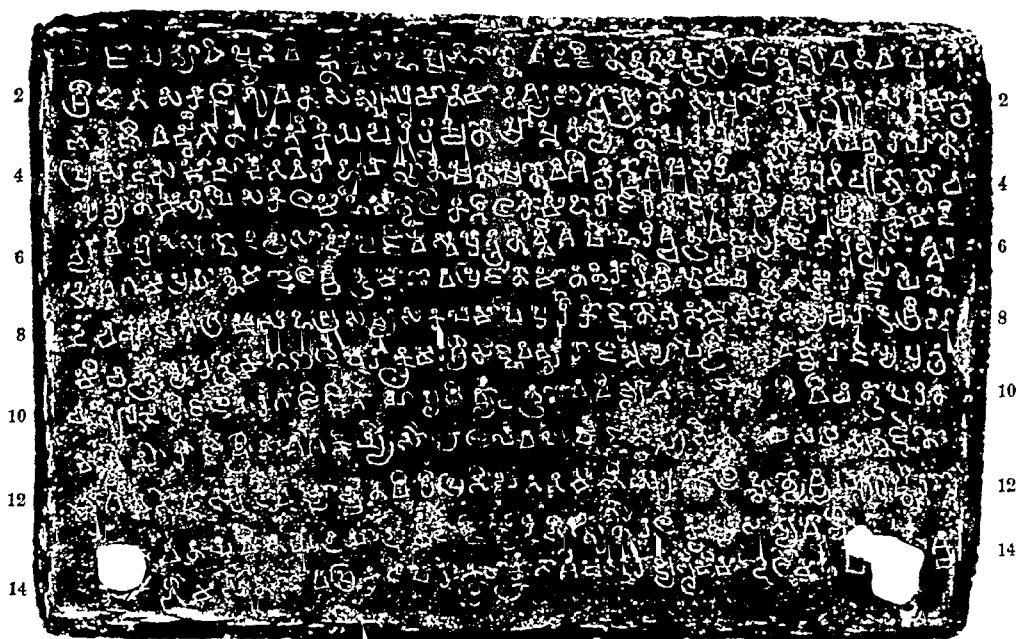
<sup>1</sup> We have to thank Prof. V. V. Mirashi of the Nagpur University for suggesting the identification of most of the place names mentioned in the grants and also for making some valuable suggestions in the preparation of this article.

<sup>2</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

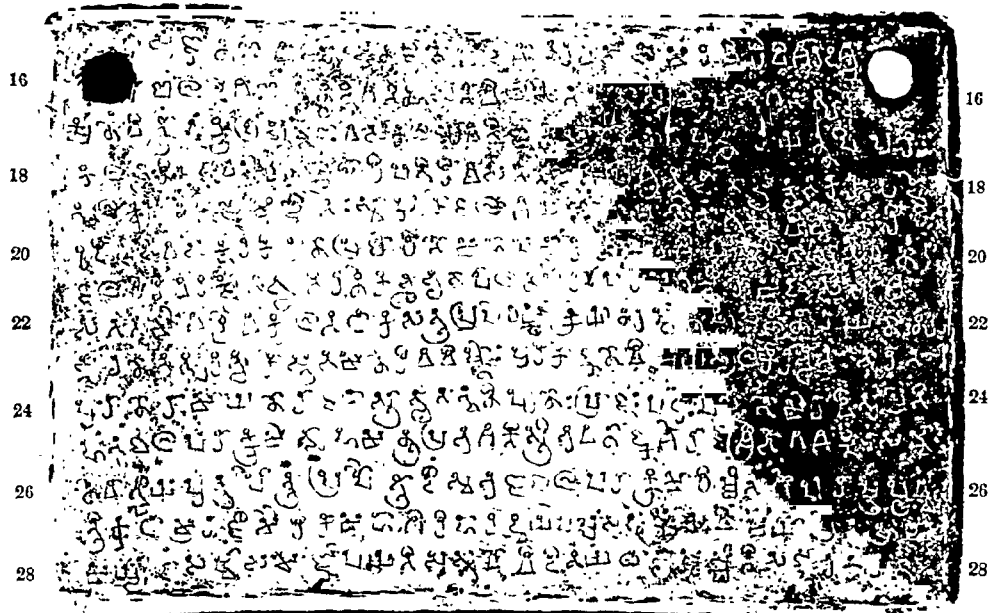
<sup>3</sup> *Da da* unnecessary.

Grant A.

i.



ii.a.





ii, b.

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iii, a.

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- 9 मिचन्द्रस्य पुत्री महाबलपराक्रमः श्रीसिङ्घ(सिंह)वर्ध्मराजस्तस्यापि श्रीसिङ्घ(सिंह)वर्ध्म-  
राजस्य पुत्रः]
- 10 चतुरदधिलतरंगालिङ्गितायां पृथिव्यां चन्द्र इव विख्याततेजाः पृथिवीचन्द्रापरना-  
11 मधेयो राजा श्रीभोगशक्तिय्योसौ बान् एव पूर्वजन्माभ्यासेन स्वयं समुत्पन्नज्ञानी  
12 भगवती वासुदेवस्यार्चनविधिं प्रति सततमभियुक्ती ब्रह्मण्यश्च युधिष्ठिर इ-  
13 व नयविनयदयादानदाक्षिण्यादिभिर्गुणैरलंकृतः सत्यवादी च  
14 भीमसेन इव प्रकटपराक्रमाक्रांताशिपस्त्रराज्यभूमिमण्डली महाबलः]
- Second Plate ; First Side.*
- 15 अर्जुन इव जनाईनेज्ञानीपदेशानुवर्त्ती समरविधिविशारदश्च<sup>1</sup>  
16 बलदेव इव नृत्तगीतहसितविलसितक्रोडासुखीपभोगतत्परः  
17 क्षणं विक्रान्तश्च प्रद्युम्न इव सकलयुवतिजनमनोहरं वपुर्धारयन्नपि पर-  
18 कलत्तनिस्पृहः वनवारणयूथाधिपतिरिव सततमभिप्रवृत्तदानार्द्राक्षतकरः पद्मी-  
19 त्पलकुमुदपण्डमण्डितः स्वादूदको जलाशय इव प्राणिनां दृष्ट्याविच्छेदकारी  
20 उदितदिवसकरकिरणप्रवीधितो महापद्माकर इव श्रियो निवासभवनं  
21 जलधिरिव रक्षितस्थितिरनेकभूभृत्पालनपरः परमगम्भीरो महासत्व(त्व)श्च  
22 सततमेव देवकुलतटाकसत्तप्रपाधमक्षिणानुष्ठानव्यसनी नारायणानु-  
23 स्मरणतत्परश्च ।<sup>1</sup> कौस्तुभमणिरिव विष्णीः पुरीकोङ्कणविषयस्यालंकारभूतः भारत-  
24 पुराणरामायणराजशास्त्रार्थतत्त्वनिपुणः, प्राज्ञः पटुः पण्डितो मेधावी अप्रति-  
25 हतबलपराक्रामोत्साहमन्त्रप्रभुशक्तिस्त्रिभुवनाङ्गुशी राजा श्रीभोगशक्तिः सर्व-  
26 नेवात्मीयपुत्रपौत्रप्रपौत्रादी<sup>2</sup> स्वभुजबलपराक्रमाधिष्ठिता<sup>3</sup> गोपराष्ट्रपूर्व-  
27 क्षिकूटाम्बरराजोसैरिकामहागिरिहारइयपल्लआढम्बकविषया . . . .<sup>4</sup>  
28 मर्यादां(दान्) सर्वा(र्वान्) समाज्ञापयति अस्तु वो विदितं यथा सृष्टिस्थितिसङ्हा-  
(मंहा)रकारणं

<sup>1</sup> *Danda unnecessary.*<sup>2</sup> Read *-prapautr-ādīn.*<sup>3</sup> Read *°dhishhitān.*<sup>4</sup> [Reading seems to be *Palluādhambala-vishayām(yān) Prēṭahradā-maryyādām(dān)*. In l. 39 the first name is read as *Pallūdhamba*.—Ed.]

*Second Plate ; Second Side.*

- 29 देवातिदेवं सुरासुरगुरुं भगवंतं वासुदेवं मुक्ता नान्या विशिष्टदेवतास्ती-  
 30 ति मत्वा जयपुरे भोगेश्वरप्रतिष्ठिताय पुराणपुरुषाय परमात्मने भगव-  
 31 ते नारायणाय गन्धपुष्पधूपदीपसन्मा(म्मा)र्जनीपलेपनक्ष्रियात्यं नृत्तगीतवाद्यो-  
 32 पेतसंगीतकार्यं सत्तार्यं खण्डस्तुटितसंस्कारार्थं च [I] मातापितृरात्मनश्च पुण्य-  
 33 वृद्धये अष्टौ ग्रामा आदानानि च प्रतिपादितानि [I] तेषामानि जयग्रामः  
 अश्वे-  
 34 अवङ्गणं [I] पालितपाटकाः कीकिलाचक<sup>1</sup> कलहकः मन्नाहितकः<sup>2</sup> जेम-  
 35 गिरकः आन्नग्रामश्च [I] आदानानि [I] आपणेषु आवाराः करणे कीवेरं [I]  
 सार्यवह्निलेषु  
 36 प्रवेशे निर्गमे च प्रत्येकं रूपकः देवस्य यात्रीत्सवे दातव्यं [I] गोपराष्ट्राम्बराजीमै-  
 37 रिजाविषयेषु ज्येष्ठिकाग्रामे मुटकः<sup>3</sup> घृतसेतिका च अनेनावतारेण इतरे-  
 38 ष्वपि ग्रामेषु [I] पूर्वक्षिकूटविषये क्षणराजरूपकशतं १०० [I] महागिरिहारे  
 अपरे  
 39 क्षणराजरूपकशतद्वयं २०० पूर्वं शतं १०० पञ्चदशविषये क्षणराजरूपकाः [I]  
 पञ्चाशत् ५०

- 40 ये चाष्टौ ग्रामास्ते सर्वादानविष्टिप्रातिभेदिकापरिहीणाः अचाटभटप्रवेश्याः  
 41 अभ्यन्तरसिद्धिकाः आचन्द्रार्काखवक्षितस्थितिसमकालीनाः य-

*Third Plate ; First Side.*

- 42 तस्तस्मादस्मदंश्यैः प्रबलपवनप्रेरितोदधिजलतरंगचंचलं  
 43 जीवलीकमवलीक्य अयमस्मदायोनुमंतव्यः पालयितव्यश्च [I]  
 44 वणिग्भिर्पंचभिर्दशभिरपि नगरधर्ममवलंब्य मार्गशीर्षमासस्य पञ्चमाक्षं  
 45 देवस्य विष्णोर्याज्ञोत्सवस्मारयितव्यः [I\*] यो वाज्ञानतिमिराहतमतिराच्छिन्द्यादा-  
 46 च्छिद्यमानं वानुमोदेत स पञ्चभिर्महापातकैस्त्युक्तः[\*] स्यात् [I\*] यदेतद्दे-

<sup>1</sup> A figure of a boar is engraved here.<sup>2</sup> [Reading seems to be *Mudgā*.—Ed.]<sup>3</sup> [Reading is *mūṣakaḥ*. See below p. 235, n. 3.—Ed.]

- 47 वकुलं तद्वणिङ्गगराय निरूपितं तैश्च सर्वैर्भगवतो देवस्य शुश्रूषा योगक्षेम-  
 48 च वोढव्यः [1\*] नगरस्य च स्थितिर्हित्व्यते [1] ये स्थानवासिनो वाणिजकास्तेषां  
 शुल्कं जेमकी  
 49 वा कदाचिदपि नास्ति । य एतां स्थितिं भिनत्ति स पञ्चभिर्महापातकैः[1\*] संयुक्तः[1\*]  
 स्यादिति ।  
 50 षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः [1\*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव  
 नरके वसेत् ॥ [२\*]  
 51 पूर्वदत्तां द्विजातिभ्यो यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर । महीं मतिमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपा-  
 लनं(नम्) [॥] [३\*]  
 52 बहुभिर्बन्धुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः [1\*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य  
 तदा फलं(लम्) ॥[४\*]  
 53 विध्याटवीश्वतीयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः [1\*] कृष्णाह्वी हि जायंते भूमिदायं  
 हरन्ति ये ॥[५\*]  
 54 संवत्सरशतचतुष्टये एकपञ्च्यधिके ४०० ६० १ शासनं लिखितं कस्मिन्न-  
 55 वास्तव्येन भरतस्वामिना ॥

*Third Plate ; Second Side.*

*Inscription of Tejavarman.*

- 1 ओं स्वस्ति श्रीतिजवर्मराज्ञा(राजिन) जयपुरस्य दक्षिणायां(णस्यां)  
 2 दिशि पालितपाटको गोप्रचारो मुक्तः [1\*] तस्य च प्र-  
 3 माणं चतुर्दिक्षु दुर्गादेवि(वी)सहिता[1\*] शैलिमा गावो स्थापिताः[1\*] सौम-  
 4 स्वं तदेव प्रमाणं [1\*] तस्य गोप्रचारस्यार्थं भोगेश्वरदेवस्य भूमिनि-  
 5 ष्क्रयार्थं जयपुरवणिङ्गागरस्य रूपकशतं<sup>१</sup> दत्तं तस्य च रूपक  
 6 शतस्य वृद्धिः गुग्गुलमूल्यं भोगेश्वरदेवस्य वर्षप्रतिवर्षं  
 7 नगरेण यावदाचन्द्रार्कतारकं दातव्यं यो वास्या-  
 8 न्यथा कर्षति<sup>२</sup> स पञ्चभिर्महापातकैस्संयुक्तो भ-  
 9 विष्यति ॥

<sup>१</sup> *Dhi* which was first omitted is written below the line in smaller character.

<sup>२</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>३</sup> Read *simnaḥ* or *simāyāḥ*.

<sup>४</sup> *Mā* which was at first omitted, is written below this line.

<sup>५</sup> *Tam* was at first omitted and then written below the line.

<sup>६</sup> Read *karishyati*.

## TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1) Ōm. Victorious is the form of Viṣṇu manifesting itself as the boar, which troubled the ocean and which had the earth resting upon the tip of its up-lifted right tusk.

(Ll. 2-6) In the family of the illustrious **Chalukyas** who belong to the *Mānavya gōtra* praised over the whole world; who have been nourished by the seven mothers, the mothers of the seven worlds; who have attained an uninterrupted continuation of prosperity through the protection of (*the god*) *Kārttikēya*; who subjugated all the kings in an instant at (*their having*) a sight of the boar-insignia which was acquired through the favour of the lord *Nārāyaṇa*; and who are the descendants of *Hārīti*—(*was born*) the *Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara*, the illustrious **Vikramāditya Vallabha**, the sole forehead mark (*tilaka*) of the whole earth.

(Ll. 6-28) Living upon the favour of his (*Vikramāditya's*) feet and being unto him like his own son, was the illustrious king named **Svāmichandra**, who was an ornament of the **Harīśchandra** family, who delighted his subjects like the autumnal bright full moon and who enjoyed (*the possession of*) the entire **Purī-kōṅkaṇa** consisting of fourteen thousand villages. The son of this king Svāmichandra was the illustrious king **Simhavarman**, who was great in strength and prowess. And this illustrious king Simhavarman's son was the illustrious king **Bhōgaśakti** also known as **Prithivichandra** whose glory like that of the moon is resplendent on the earth embraced by the waves of the four oceans; who even as a child, was imbued with inborn knowledge acquired by constant application in his previous births; who is ever engaged in the worship of the god *Vāsudēva*, and is well versed in the sacred lore; who like *Yudhishṭhira* is adorned with the virtues such as justice, modesty, compassion, charity, courtesy, etc., and is also truthful; who like *Bhīmasēna* is a great hero and has filled the circle of his entire kingdom by his manifest prowess; who like *Arjuna* is adept in the art of war and is a follower of the teachings of *Kṛishṇa*; who like *Baladēva* is given to the enjoyment of dance, music, merry-making, flirtation and sports and (*at the same time*) would be heroic in a moment; who, though endowed like *Pradyumna* with a physique which attracted the hearts of all damsels, has no desire for the wives of others; whose (*right*) hand, like the trunk of the leader of wild elephants wet with the incessant flow of ichor, is moistened on account of his being constantly engaged in performing charities; who quenches the thirst of beings like a pond of sweet water adorned by multitudes of lotuses and lilies; who is the abode of splendour like a large tank of lotuses blossomed by the rays of the rising sun; who like the ocean is steadfast, is the protector of numerous kings and is profound and noble as the ocean is used to keep within its boundary, protects numerous mountains (*in its depth*), is profound in depth and contains large (*aquatic*) animals; who is ever eager to perform acts of charity such as (*the construction and endowment of*) temples, tanks, free kitchen and water stalls; who is given to the contemplation of *Nārāyaṇa*; who is the ornament of the **Purī-kōṅkaṇa viśaya** as the *Kaustubha* gem is of *Viṣṇu*; who is skilled in (*ascertaining*) the real import of the *Mahābhārata*, the *Purāṇas*, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and in king-craft; who is wise, sagacious, learned and intelligent; who is endowed with irresistible strength, valour and (*the attributes of*) *utsāhaśakti*, *prabhuśakti* and *mantraśakti*; who is the goad of the three worlds (*Tribhuvānāṅkuśa*)—the same illustrious king **Bhōgaśakti** commands all his sons, grandsons, great-grandsons, etc., placed in charge of the *viśayas* of **Gōpārāṣṭra**, eastern **Trikūṭa**, **Āmrarājī**, **Mairikā**, two **Mahāgirihāras** and **Palla Āḍhambā**—[*ka*] which have been acquired by the prowess of his arms (and all others)<sup>2</sup>:

<sup>1</sup> If *kṣhaṇam* is taken in the sense of happiness then this phrase might be translated as "who had conquered (i.e., acquired complete possession of) happiness."

<sup>2</sup> [I would translate ll. 25-28 as follows:—"Bhōgaśakti commands all his sons, etc., and all the districts of Gōpārāṣṭra, etc., upto the boundary of *Prētahradā*, which were conquered by the prowess of his own arms and courage".—*Ld.*]

(Ll. 28-49) "Be it known to you that having recognised that no other pre-eminent deity excepting the god Vāsudēva who is the cause of creation, preservation and destruction, who is the supreme god, and who is the god of gods and demons, I have made to the god Nārāyaṇa, the Primeval Being and the supreme spirit, installed by Bhōgēśvara in (*the town of*) Jayapura, in order to augment the merits of my parents and myself, an endowment of eight villages together with the taxes thereof so as to provide (*at the temple*) for perfume, flowers, incense, light, ablutions and unguents and also for dance, vocal and instrumental music, free kitchen, repairs and upkeep. The names of these (*villages*) are Jayagrāma, Ambē-Avaṅgaṇa, Pālittapāṭaka, Kōkilākshaka, Kalahaka, Mradgāhitaka, Kshēmagiraka and Ānnagrāma. As to the taxes, the stall tax is to be levied in the market places, a rupee each is to be paid on the occasion of the god's *yātrā* at the entry and exit of each caravan of merchandise. *Muṭakas*<sup>1</sup> (handfuls) of corn and *Sētikās*<sup>2</sup> of ghee are to be levied from (*every house in*) the principal village of each of the *vishayas* of Gōparāśhṭra, Āmrarāji and Mairikā, and in like manner from other villages too.<sup>3</sup> (*Taxes to be collected in cash are*) 100 one hundred *Kṛishṇarāja* rupees from the *vishaya* of eastern Trikūṭa; 200 two hundred *Kṛishṇarāja* rupees from the western Mahāgīrihāra and 100 one hundred from the eastern one; and 50 fifty *Kṛishṇarāja* rupees from the *vishaya* of Pallūḍhamba. (*In consideration of the above*) these eight villages have been exempted from all kinds of taxes, forced labour and vexatious interference; they are not to be entered by the regular or irregular troops (*and*) they are to enjoy rights over wealth underground. This grant shall last as long as the moon, the sun, the oceans and the earth endure. Therefore, viewing the world as unsteady as the waves of the sea ruffled by a strong wind, this grant of ours is to be upheld and maintained by our descendants. The *yātrā* festival of the god Viṣṇu should be arranged by (*a committee of*) five or ten merchants for a whole fortnight in the month of *Mārgaśīrsha* in accordance with the established custom of the town. Whoever, blinded by the darkness of ignorance, shall confiscate or assent to confiscation (*of the grant*) he shall be guilty of the five great sins. Since this temple has been entrusted to (*the care of*) the town merchants, on them shall devolve the proper worship and service of the divine Lord. And the following town convention is laid down. The local merchants shall, for ever, be immune from customs duties and feeding expenses (*of officers on duty*). Whoever shall violate this convention, shall be guilty of the five great sins."

(Ll. 50-53) [Here are four of the usual imprecatory verses.]

This grant was written by Bharatasvāmin, an inhabitant of Kallivana in the year 461 (expressed both in words and in figures).

#### Inscription of Tējavarman.

(Ll. 1-9) Ōm hail. The king Tējavarman has given a free grazing ground (*within the limits of the village*) Pālittapāṭaka situated to the south of Jayapura. For the demarcation thereof along with (*the temple of*) the goddess Durgā stone sculptures of cows have been set up on all four sides. That is the measure of its extent. In order to compensate for the land belonging to

<sup>1</sup> This term is still used in Mahārāshṭra.

<sup>2</sup> Might be a small measure such as a ladle or a derivative from *śukṭikā* or mother-of-pearl.

<sup>3</sup> [I would translate the passage as follows:—'One load (of corn) and one *sētikā* of ghee from the principal village of the districts of Gōparāśhṭra, etc., and in the same proportion from the other villages also.' I would connect *mūṭaka*, which seems to be the reading here, with the word *mūṣa* or *mōṣa* (Hindī *moṭh*) meaning a 'bundle' or 'provision bag'. *Sētikā* is apparently connected with *sētakā* of the *Purāṇas* which is equivalent to 4 *palas* or approximately 14 *tolas*. See Edward Thomas—*Ancient Indian Weights*, p. 26. I am, however, unable to suggest any meaning for *kōvēra* in l. 35.—Ed.]

Bhōgēśvaradēva now converted into a pasture, one hundred rupees have been deposited with the merchant guild of Jayapura. And from the interest of this one hundred rupees should be met, year after year, the cost of *guggula* for the (worship of the) god Bhōgēśvara until the sun, moon and stars endure. Whosoever shall interfere with this shall be possessed with the five great sins.

## Grant B.

## TEXT.

## First Plate.

- 1 श्रीं जयत्याविष्कृतं विष्णोर्वीराहं क्षोभिततार्खव(वम्) [१\*] दक्षिणीन्नत[दं]द्राग्र-
- 2 विश्रान्तभुवनं वपुः [॥१\*] श्रीमतां सकलभुवनसंस्तूयमानमानमान<sup>2</sup>-
- 3 व्यसगोक्षाणां ममलोकमाहमिस्सममाहभिरभिवर्जितानां कार्तिके-
- 4 यपरिरक्षणप्राप्तकल्याणपरंपराणां भगवन्नायणप्रसादस-
- 5 मासादितवराहलांकनेक्षणक्षणवशीकृताशेषमहीभृतां हारीतीपुत्रा-
- 6 णां चतुर्व्यानामन्वये सकलमहीमण्डलैकतिलकी महाराजाधिराजपर-
- 7 मेश्वरश्रीविक्रमादित्यवल्लभस्तत्पादप्रसादोपजीवी स्वपुत्रनिर्विशेषी
- 8 हरिश्चन्द्रवंशस्थालंकारभूतः शरदुपगमप्रसन्नमण्डलश्चन्द्रमा इव प्र-
- 9 जानामानन्दकारी श्रीस्वामिचन्द्री नाम राजा येनेदं चतुर्दशग्रामसहस्र-
- 10 संख्यं सकलमु(म)पि पुरीकोकणं भुक्तमासीत् [१\*] तस्य च राज्ञः श्रीस्वामि-  
चन्द्रस्य
- 11 पुत्री महाबलपराक्रमः[१\*] श्रीसिङ्घ(सिंह)वर्मराजस्तस्यापि श्रीसिङ्घ(सिंह)वर्मराजस्य
- 12 पुत्रश्चतुस्रदधिजलतरंगालिङ्गितायां पृथिव्यां चन्द्र इव

## Second Plate ; First Side.

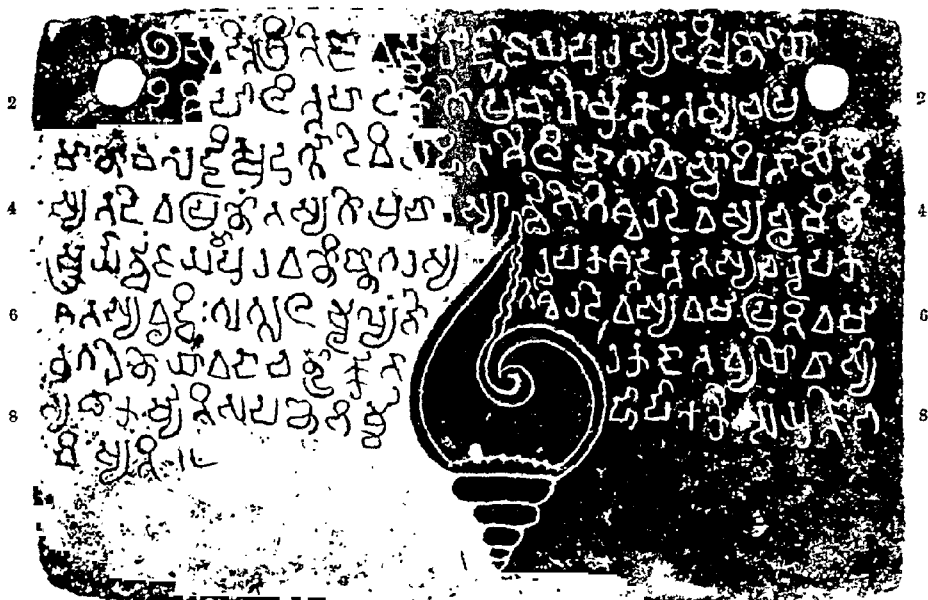
- 13 विख्याततेजाः[१\*] पृथिवीचन्द्रापरनामधेयो राजा श्रीभोगशक्तिः योसी बाल
- 14 एव पूर्वजन्माभ्यासेन स्वयं समुत्पन्नज्ञानो भगवतो वासुदेवस्यार्चनवि-
- 15 धिं प्रति सततमभिभुङ्क्ते ब्रह्मण्यश्च युधिष्ठिर इव नयविनयदयादानदाक्षि-
- 16 ण्यादिभिर्गुणैरलंकृतस्सत्यवादी च भीमसेन इव प्रकटपराक्रमाक्रान्ताशेषस्वरा-
- 17 ज्यभूमिमण्डलो महाबलश्च अर्जुन इव जनार्दनज्ञानोपदेशवर्ती समरविधिविशा-
- 18 रदश्च बलदेव इव नृत्तगीतहसितविलसितक्रीडासुखीपभोगतत्परः क्षणं वि-
- 19 क्रांतश्च प्रद्युम्न इव सकलधुवतिजनमनोहरं वपुर्धारयन्नपि परकलक्षनि-
- 20 स्पृहः वनवारणयूयाधिपतिरिव सततमभिप्रवृत्तदानार्द्रिङ्गितकारः पद्मी[त्यल]-

<sup>1</sup> Expressed by a symbol.<sup>2</sup> One māna is redundant.

# TWO GRANTS OF PRITHIVICHANDRA BHOGASAKTI. (II).

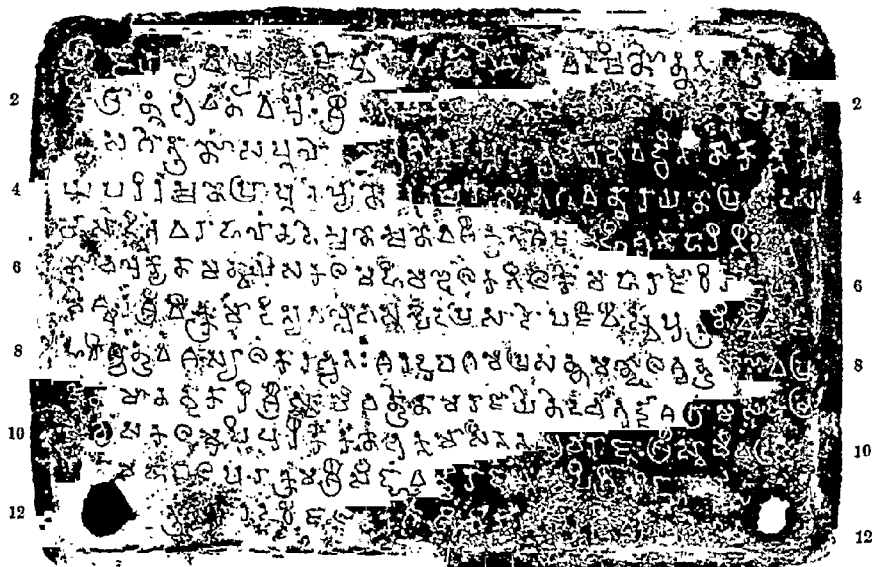
## Inscription of Tejavarman.

iii, b.



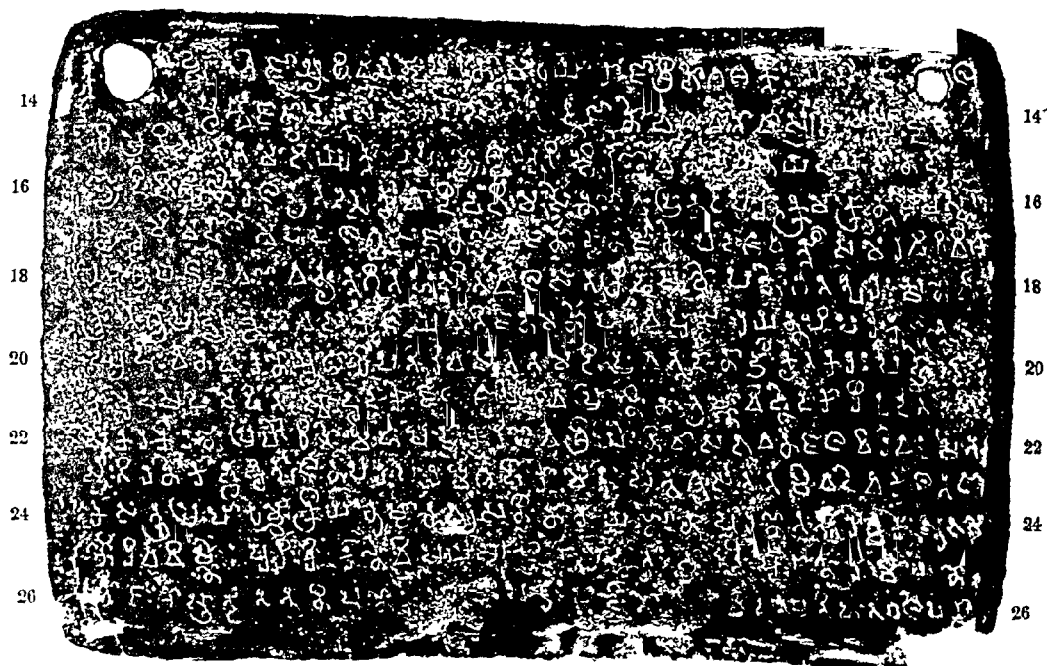
Grant B.

i.

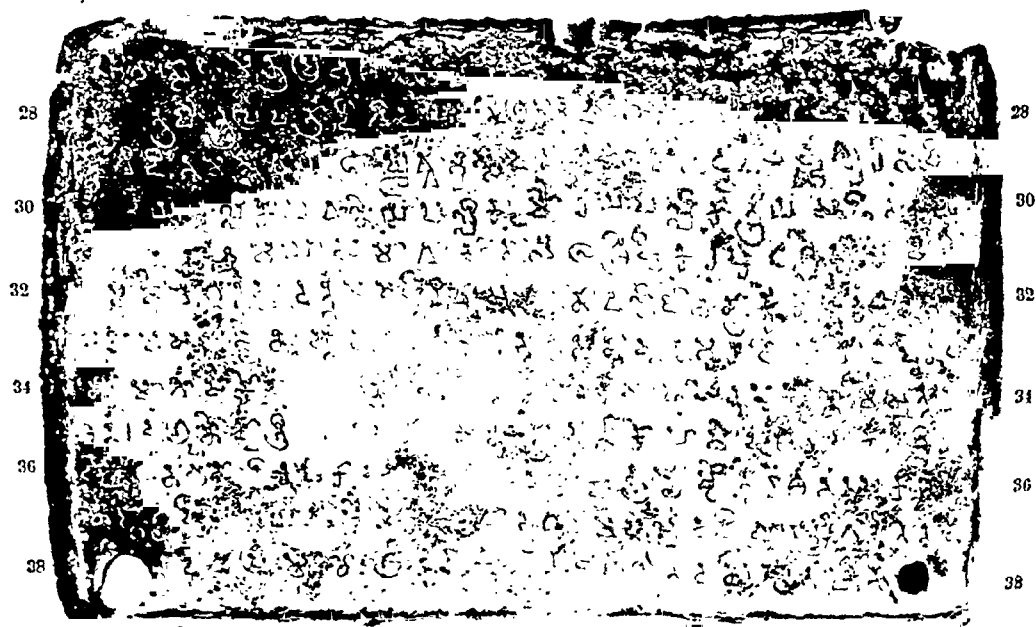




*ii,a.*



*ii,b.*



- 21 [कुं(कु)]सुदण्डमंडितः स्वादूदकी जलाशय इव प्राणिनां तृष्णानिच्छेदकारी उदितदिव-  
 22 सकरकिरणप्रबोधितो महापद्माकर इव श्रियो निवासभवनं जलविधिखिव रक्षित-  
 23 स्थितिरनेकभूशुत्पालनपरः परमगंभीरो महासत्व(त्व)श्च सततमेव देवकुलतटा-  
 24 कसत्तप्रपाधभ्रुक्रियानुष्ठानव्यसनी नारायणानुस्मरणतत्परश्च कौस्तुभम-  
 25 णिरिव विष्णीः पुरीकीकणविषयस्थालंकारभूतः भारतपुराणरामायण-  
 26 राजशास्त्रार्थतत्व(त्व)निपुणः प्राज्ञः पटुः पण्डितो मेधावी अप्रतिहतबलपरा-

*Second Plate ; Second Side.*

- 27 [कुंमो]त्साहमन्त्रप्रभुशक्तिस्त्रिभुवन[िडुशी] [राजा भोगशक्तिः सर्वानिवात्मी\*]-<sup>1</sup>  
 28 यपुत्तपौत्तप्रपौत्तादीं(दीन्) विषयपतिग्रामभोगिकम[ह]त्तरा[दीं(दीन्) समाचापय]-<sup>2</sup>  
 29 ति विदितमस्तु वो यथा पूर्वसुत्तादितं [स]मगिरिपट्टनं चन्द्रपुरीसंहितं]  
 30 [अ\*]स्वयंपत्तिकास[वा]ण्यपत्तिकाभौरियपत्तिकाक्षयसहितं कंसा-  
 31 रिपत्तिका च मया समावासितं एलअष्टिकरपुटअष्टिप्रसुख-  
 32 समस्तनगरस्य दत्तं समगिरिवास्तव्यानां वणिजां चन्द्रार्ककालिकां शुल्कमादौ(दे)-  
 33 यं समस्तराज्ये नास्ति [I\*] अपरं च अपुत्तधनं त्रा(ना)स्ति उम्बरमेद[ः]  
 34 राजपुरुषा-  
 35 णामावासकी जेमकश्च एतन्नास्ति [I\*] कुमारीसाहसे रूपकाणामष्टीत्तर-  
 36 शतं । संग्रहणि हाचिंशतिरूपकाः कर्षत्रोडणिकायां षोडश रूपकाः शिर-  
 36 स्फीटने चत्वारि रूपकाः भारिकायां वणिकपुत्रस्थाष्टीत्तरशतं रूपकाणां  
 37 नङ्गे गृहीतस्य यच्चाष्टौ षोडश वा नगरमहत्तका विचार्य वदन्ते तदे<sup>5</sup>  
 38 तदेव प्रमाणं [II\*] श्रौतिजवर्मराजेन एतदनुष्ठितमिति ।

#### TRANSLATION.

(Ll. 1-28) [Common with Grant A.]

(Ll. 29-38) "Be it known to you that the deserted lands comprised within the township of Samagiri along with Chandrapuri and the three hamlets of Ambayapallikā,<sup>6</sup> Savānēyapallikā and Maurēyapallikā as well as Karsāripallikā have been recolonised by me and vested in the town council headed by the merchants Ēla and Karapuṭa. The merchants residing in Samagiri (paṭṭana) shall, for ever, be exempt from the payment of custom duties throughout the kingdom; their property shall not escheat to the state in the absence of a male heir; nor (shall they pay registration fee) owing to partition of joint property<sup>7</sup> and they shall not have to provide

<sup>1</sup> This portion within square brackets is completely effaced and the reading is restored from Grant A.

<sup>2</sup> This portion within square brackets is badly corroded and hardly any letter is visible.

<sup>3</sup> [Reading seems to be [A]mmēya.—Ed.]

<sup>4</sup> Ēla is written below the line.

<sup>5</sup> Tade is redundant.

<sup>6</sup> [See above, n. 3.—Ed.]

<sup>7</sup> Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit informs me that umbara (derived from Skt. udumbara) wood is still used for the door sill in Mahārāshtra and that therefore the sense is partition of the joint family property.

## No. 24.—A NOTE ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE GANGAS OF SVĒTAKA.

By B. CH. CHHABRA, M.A., M.O.L., Ph.D. (LUGB), OOTACAMUND.

It has already been pointed out<sup>1</sup> that the Gaṅga rulers who issued their charters from Svētaka most probably constitute a separate branch of the Eastern Gaṅgas, but that sufficient data are not yet available for determining the chronology of these kings.<sup>2</sup> In this note an attempt is made to fix the chronological position of at least three of the so far known kings of this branch.

It may readily be recognised that *Bhaṭṭaputra* Durgakhaṇḍīu, son of *Bhaṭṭa* Bōdhana, of the Vatsa *gōtra* and the Chhāndōga *charaṇa*, the donee in the Badakhimedi copper-plates of Indravarmān,<sup>3</sup> is identical with *Bhaṭṭa* Durgakhaṇḍīka, the donee of Dānārṇava's grant,<sup>4</sup> coming likewise from the Badakhimedi Estate,<sup>5</sup> as the name of the donee's father, *gōtra* and *charaṇa* in the latter record are the same as in the former. However, the grantor in the first instance is Indravarmān, while in the second it is Dānārṇava. Next, it may be observed that both of them are stated to be sons of Prithivīvarman. Since both the records are issued from Svētaka and in both of them one and the same person figures as the donee, the natural conclusion is that the donors Indravarmān and Dānārṇava are not far removed from each other in point of time. And when we further know that the name of the donor's father in each case is the same we can safely infer that both Indravarmān and Dānārṇava were brothers and that both of them ruled<sup>6</sup> in succession. However, the question remains as to who was the elder or who preceded on the throne. Luckily we possess a piece of evidence to decide this issue as well.

The names of the writer and the engraver of Indravarmān's charter are given respectively as *Samdhivigrahin* Śrīsāmanta and *kamśāra-kulaputraka* śrēṣṭhīn Śrīsāmanta Svayambhu. Both these persons figure likewise as the writer and the engraver respectively in the Ganjām plates of Prithivīvarman.<sup>7</sup> This Prithivīvarman must, therefore, be identical with Indravarmān's father, as has been indicated by Mr. P. N. Bhattacharya.<sup>8</sup> The presumption here is naturally this that the persons employed by the father as writer and engraver continued to function as such in the son's regime after the father's death. From this we may also infer that Indravarmān was the immediate successor of Prithivīvarman. This inference is confirmed by the fact that the writer and the engraver of Dānārṇava's grant are different persons and not those who served under Prithivīvarman and Indravarmān. Thus we may conclude that Indravarmān was elder than and preceded Dānārṇava.

This part of the chronology will thus be determined as follows :—

1. Prithivīvarman<sup>9</sup> (P. P. M.)

## 2. Indravarmān. (P. P. M.)

## 3. Dānārṇava (P. P. M. Rāṇaka).

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 131.<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 78.<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 129.<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 133.<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 264.

<sup>6</sup> Both Indravarmān and Dānārṇava bear, like their father, the imperial title of *Paramēśvara-Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja*, though curiously enough Dānārṇava bears an additional title of *Rāṇaka*, too, which fact makes it rather doubtful whether he came to the throne at all.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 201.<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 79.<sup>9</sup> He is stated to be son of Mahīndravarmān, whose identity is not certain.

## No. 25.—CHARALA PLATES OF VIRARAJENDRADEVA : SAKA 991.

By A. S. RAMANATHA AYYAR, B.A. AND V. VENKATASUBBA AYYAR, B.A., MADRAS.

The present plates<sup>1</sup> are stated to have been discovered in 1935 by one Narasā Reddī, a resident of Chārāla in the Punganur taluk of the Chittoor District, while he was removing earth from a manure-pit in his garden. The whereabouts of the plates could not however be immediately traced, but with the assistance of Rao Saheb Totadri Ayyangar, Deputy Superintendent of Police, who was then in charge of the Tirupati Division, they were finally located and secured on loan for examination. They have since been purchased by Government and are now deposited in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. We edit the plates from the ink-impressions prepared in the office of the Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras.

The set consists of seven oblong copper-plates with raised rims, each measuring 9" by 4", and strung together on a ring 4" in diameter, passing through a ring-hole at the left margin of the plates. The ends of the ring are soldered to the bottom of a flat circular seal 3½" in diameter and ¼" in thickness. The different leaves of the set do not bear serial numbers engraved near the ring-hole. The plates weigh 154 *tolas* and the ring and seal together weigh 57 *tolas*.

The seal bears in relief from left to right the figures of (1) a lamp-stand, (2) a tiger seated on its haunches facing the proper left and with its tail tucked up between its legs and rising in front up to the neck, (3) a pair of fish in the vertical position, and (4) a lamp-stand. Canopying the fish and the tiger is a tasselled parasol, flanked on either side by a *chaurī*.<sup>2</sup> Below this group is shown a bow curving upwards and with the bow-string in position. All round the margin of the seal is engraved in raised Grantha characters, which are somewhat obliterated in places, the following Sanskrit verse<sup>3</sup> in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre stating that the charter was issued by king Virarājendra :

*Viśvair=viśvambharādhiśair=[nanditair]=vandita[m=ida]m* [!\*]

*Śāsanam Virarājendra-Rājākēsarivarmanṇaḥ* [!]\*]

All the plates have writing on both their sides except the first one, which bears writing on one side only. Each fully written side has, on an average, about 18 lines in the Sanskrit portion and 15 in the Tamil; and the complete record consists of 211 lines. The writing is in a good state of preservation. The languages used are Sanskrit for the *prāśasti* and genealogical preamble of the inscription which is of considerable length running up to 81 numbered verses, and the *rāja-bhāṣā*<sup>4</sup> Tamil for the documentary portion. The alphabets employed are respectively Grantha and Tamil characters attributable to the 11th century A.D. The Grantha letters are well shaped and cleanly cut, but the Tamil letters exhibit a slight carelessness in execution.

The inscription engraved on these plates is dated in Śaka 991, Saumya and the 7th year of the Chōla king Rājākēsarivarman Virarājēndradēva and registers the royal gift of the village Chērām<sup>5</sup> *alias* Madhurāntaka-chaturvēdimāṅgalam in Puli-nāḍu made from

<sup>1</sup> Registered as C. P. No. 1 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1937-38.

<sup>2</sup> The *chaurī* and umbrella appear to have been intended as honorific emblems. These are also found on the top of an inscription of Parāntaka I at Pīlāipākkam (No. 176 of 1929-30 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection) and also on the top of images of gods in niches in early Chōla temples.

<sup>3</sup> This verse is repeated in lines 189-191 of the text.

<sup>4</sup> The Punganur taluk where the plates were discovered was the border between the territories, whose spoken languages were Kannada, Telugu and Tamil, and inscriptions in all these languages are found in this locality. Tamil being the court-language of the Chōla kings, the documentary portion, which was drafted by a Chōla officer, was couched in that language.

<sup>5</sup> The form of the name is somewhat peculiar, without the 'village'-suffix, like Buddhām, etc.

Kāñchīpuram, to three Brāhmins named Sō(Śrō)triya-Kramavittan, Mundaya-Kramavittan and Pallaya-Kramavittan of the Ātrēya-gōtra and Bahudhānya (Bōdhāyana)-sūtra and of the lineage of a certain Rishikēśava (Hrishikēśa)-Bhaṭṭa of Chērām, on the occasion of the Uttarāyana-Saṅkrānti. This document is of interest as being the first copper-plate charter of this king.

For a study of Chōḷa seals<sup>1</sup> we have so far five specimens and the one attached to the present plates, therefore, forms a useful addition. Of these, the seals attached to the two sets of Leiden plates, Madras Museum, Anbil and the present Chārāla plates, have the same objects represented on them, while the seal of the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates exhibits a few more emblems. In shape, however, the two Leiden seals are slightly more ornate, being lotus-like in shape, while the rest are circular; but this may be due only to a difference in the work of the designer. In the Chārāla seal the Chōḷa emblem, the tiger<sup>2</sup>, is seated in the proper right side and facing towards the left, instead of the right as in the other cases. The animal is delineated with claws drawn out, leaving no room for doubt as to its identity, and the two fish are also clearly portrayed. But in point of finish and neatness of execution, the two Leiden seals are the best. The tiger, the pair of fish and the bow are well-known emblems of the Chōḷa, Pāṇḍya and Chēra dynasties respectively, and the juxta-

<sup>1</sup> The seals of the early copper-plate grants contain only the *birudas* of kings, such as *Tribhuvanāṅkuśa*, *Vishamasiddhi*, *Prabhuvēru*, etc. The three early copper-plate grants of the Pāṇḍyas have no seals, and we do not know what legend, if any, this dynasty had used. The Pallava seal of Nandivarman III (*S. I. I.*, Vol. II, p. 501) has a defaced legend in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre running round its margin. In the Vijayanagara, Nāyaka and Sētupati copper-plate grants, the respective sign-manuals of the dynasty were engraved at the end of the documents themselves and not on the seals. The Chōḷa seals, however, have one full verse in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre engraved on them. The formal verses of the four kings Sundara-Chōḷa, Uttama-Chōḷa, Rājendra-Chōḷa and Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa I are reproduced below for purposes of easy reference. Of these, the text of the legend on the seal of the Madras Museum plates of Uttama-Chōḷa is given here for the first time.

(a) Sundara-Chōḷa—

Śasvat(ā)-viśvamlharā-nētram Lakṣmī-jaya-[sa\*]rēruham |  
śāsanam śāsatam śrīmad-Rājakeśarivarmmaṇa[h\*] ||

—(Anbil Plates).

(b) Uttama-Chōḷa—

Nyāyānām śāsanam kurvat-śāsanam cakrabhūbhritā |  
śāsanam bhūpatiē-śtat Parakēsarivarmmaṇaḥ ||

—(Madras Museum Plates).

(c) Rājārāja I—

A stone record of this king opens with the following verse, which is likely to be found engraved on the seals of his copper-plate grants.

Śtat vīra-nripa-śrēṇī-maṇi-māl-ūpalāṭitam |  
śāsanam Rājārājasya Rājakeśarivarmmaṇaḥ ||

—(*S. I. I.*, Vol. II, No. 1).

(d) Rājendra-Chōḷa—

Rājad-rājanya-maluḥa-śrēṇi-ratnēshu śāsanam |  
śtat-Rājendra-Chōḷasya Parakēsarivarmmaṇaḥ ||

—(Tiruvālaṅgāḍu Plates).

The seal of the larger Leiden plates has also this verse engraved on it. On the analogy of the form of the legend of the present seal which is also reproduced in II. 189 to 191 of the text and the fact that legends on circular seals have probably to be read clockwise beginning from the centre of the top, the two lines of the verse given above, Vol. XXII, p. 213, have to be interchanged.

(e) Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa—

Puṇyam Eshvāśvara-sabha-chūdā-ratnāya śāsanam |  
śrī-Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷasya Rājakeśarivarmmaṇaḥ ||

—(Smaller Leiden Plates).

Here also the lines of the verse as read in above, Vol. XXII, p. 267, have been interchanged.

\* It may be noted that king Virarājendra claims to have set up pillars of victory (*jaya-bhadraṭṭan*) at several places with the emblem of the tiger engraved on them (*S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 67). The Mahēndragiri inscription of Rājendra-Chōḷa I (No. 396 of 1896) has also the figure of a tiger seated in front of two fish carved near it.

position of the latter two to the tiger on Chōla seals is meant to indicate the political supremacy of the Chōla over the Pāṇḍya and Chēra kings. The other objects such as the pair of *chaurīs*, the two lamps on either side, etc., belong to the group of eight objects called the *aṣṭamaṅgalam*,<sup>1</sup> which are associated with auspicious ceremonials. It may be noted that the full set of *aṣṭamaṅgalam* objects are represented on the seal of the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates where, in addition to these, a small figure of the Chālukyan crest<sup>2</sup>, the boar, is also introduced, indicative perhaps of the Chōla supremacy over the Chālukya. Though Virarājendra claims to have defeated the Chālukya king several times, it is noticed that the Chālukyan *varāha-lāṅghana* has not been figured on the Chārāla seal.

There are a few orthographical peculiarities noticeable in the record under review. The lengths of medial *ī* in Grantha letters are indicated by a pronounced loop (l. 2). The *ra*-sign when it is the second member in conjunct consonants is shaped like the *ri*-symbol in some cases (ll. 2, 47, etc.). *La* and *la* are often interchanged (l. 20) and *śa* is wrongly used for *cha* in some cases (ll. 167, 176). The rules of *sandhi* are almost always observed, correctly in some cases and incorrectly in others. In the latter instances, the first consonant is retained instead of being changed into the third letter of the same *varga*. The use of the *anusvāra* in place of the appropriate nasals and the doubling of consonants after a *īṣṭha* are frequent. Such features are common to copper-plate inscriptions of this period. The errors have been corrected either in the body of the text or in relevant footnotes. At the ends of some of the verses in the Sanskrit portion, the symbol: followed by three vertical strokes is used as a punctuation mark, and should not be mistaken for the *visarga*, whereas in some other cases it is meant as such. The Tamil text, for the drafting of which the officer Madhurāntaka-Brahmādhiraṇa was responsible, is not free from errors of composition and transcription.

The Sanskrit portion of 81 verses in different metres which comprises nearly three-fourths of the document, is identical, verse for verse, with that in the long stone record of the king dated in the same 7th year, discovered at Kanyākumari in the Travancore State and published in a scholarly manner by Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar in the *Travancore Archaeological Series*<sup>3</sup> and by the late T. A. Gopinatha Rao in a previous volume of this *Journal*.<sup>4</sup> As the Kanyākumari record is, however, damaged in several places, the present inscription is of great help in filling up the lacunæ and settling some doubtful readings in the former and in thus arriving at a complete text of this particular version of the Sanskrit *prāśasti* of the Chōla dynasty. In several instances, the readings furnished by this inscription are better than those made out from the Kanyākumari epigraph. These and other minor differences between these two copies have been noticed in footnotes under the text.

The record may, for the sake of convenience, be divided into four sections—the mythological, the historical, the donatory and the signatory.

#### Section I (Lines 1-104).

In this section of 52 Sanskrit verses, the mythological origin of the Chōla dynasty is given in great elaboration from Brahmā through Kāśyapa, Manu and other members of the Solar race. An eponymous Chōla, a Rājākēśarī and a Parākēśarī are then introduced, and the genealogy is

<sup>1</sup> The *aṣṭamaṅgalam* objects are (1) a mirror, (2) a *pūrṇa-kumbha*, (3) a flag, (4) a fly-whisk, (5) an elephant-goad, (6) a drum, (7) a pair of lamps and (8) a pair of fish. There are different lists of these objects, in which a *śaṣṭikā* and a *śaṅkha* also occur.

<sup>2</sup> The king claims to have captured the *śākara-kṛtī* (i.e.) the *varāha*-banner of the Chālukyas, along with other royal paraphernalia. (*S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 66).

<sup>3</sup> Vol. III, p. 87. This learned scholar has, in many cases, succeeded in arriving at the correct readings, despite the damaged condition of the record in several places.

<sup>4</sup> *Ante.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 21 ff.

further traced, though with no direct sequence, through a few more Purāṇic kings up to a certain Manōratha, after whom the names of a few *quasi*-historical members, such as, Parunetkīlī, Karikāla, Vaḷabha, Jagadēkamalla and Vyālabhayāṅkara are mentioned,—the whole *praśasti* being a manifest attempt on the part of the composer to give his patron a pedigree going back to high antiquity. This portion has been discussed with characteristic fullness by Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar.<sup>1</sup>

## Section II (ll. 104-169).

The really historical portion commences with the name of (Parakēśari) Vijayālaya, and from this king down to Rājēndradēva, the predecessor and elder brother of Virarājēndradēva, this inscription furnishes some useful information about the several members of the Chōḷa family. These facts have also been dealt with in detail elsewhere.<sup>2</sup>

Coming to Virarājēndradēva, the donor of the present grant, his military and other achievements are then described in seven verses (vv. 75-81). It is stated that "when king Rājēndradēva went to heaven, his younger brother Virarājēndra who had deprived his enemies of their splendour, succeeded to the extensive kingdom in accordance with the prescribed laws. Having killed at Kūḍal-Saṅgama the kings of the Karnāṭa-*vaṃśa*,<sup>3</sup> this powerful Chōḷa ruler increased the army of the partakers of sacrificial offerings by the addition (to its numerical strength) of these kings, who had themselves become celestials. With the help of a single elephant,<sup>4</sup> he destroyed the Kuntala army and created a new river of blood, whereat the ocean-god was delighted.

This king Vallabha-Vallabha conquered back the Vēṅgī and Kaliṅga countries, which had been inherited by his brothers but which had been left uncared for by them and had therefore been captured by his powerful enemies. Having defeated the strong armies of his opponents and having destroyed many of their fortresses, he ruled his kingdom in prosperity.

This Vira-Chōḷa, called also Karikāla-Chōḷa, destroyed the strength of the Kali-age and bestowed numerous *dharmaśāsanas* (edicts of charitable gifts). Further, he embellished the crown of the Dancer in the Dabhra-sabhā (*i.e.*, god Natarāja at Chidambaram) with a ruby called the 'Trailōkyasāra', which looked as if the progenitor of his own race (*i.e.*, the Sun) had himself mounted on the top of the crown, so as to cause annoyance to the moon, the ancestor of the dynasty of his enemy (*i.e.*, the Pāṇḍya), which is also worn as the crest-jewel by god Śrīkaṇṭha.<sup>5</sup> This king founded several *brahmadēyas* under the name of Virarājēndra in the Chōḷa, Tuṇḍira, Pāṇḍya, Gaṅgavāṭi and Kulūta<sup>6</sup> countries, and pleased forty-thousand Brāhmins learned in the Vēdas, by munificent gifts of lands."

The regnal year of the king is quoted as the 7th corresponding to Śaka 991, Saumya (ll. 159-160). The same regnal and Śaka years occur also in a record<sup>7</sup> of his from Yōgi-Mallavaram

<sup>1</sup> T. A. S., Vol. III, pp. 87 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, and *ante*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 21 ff.

<sup>3</sup> In this battle several generals lost their lives, but who were 'the kings of the Karnāṭa-*vaṃśa*' who are also said to have been slain is not clear. In *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII, Sk. 136, Ahavamalla is described as an enemy of the Karnāṭa kings also. Probably this is a loose description of the panegyrist.

<sup>4</sup> This achievement with 'a single elephant' also occurs in the Tamil text in *S. J. J.*, Vol. III, p. 66, l. 6.

<sup>5</sup> In addition to this gem, the king presented to the god a pedestal with the name of 'Virarājēndra' engraved on it—(No. 217 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1912).

<sup>6</sup> Kulūta referred to here cannot be the country of the same name in the Punjab, identified with Kulu. A general of the Chōḷa king Rājēndra-Chōḷa I is said to have defeated a Kulūta chief named Vimalāditya (*S. J. J.*, Vol. V, No. 1351), and so this Kulūta must be located near about Vēṅgī and Utkala, and ruled over by an Eastern Chālukyan feudatory.

<sup>7</sup> No. 273 of 1904.

in the Puttur Division of the Chittoor District. The locality where these two inscriptions were discovered, namely the Chittoor District, has perhaps to account for the useful quotation of both the regnal as well as the Saka years in them, for such double citations are somewhat rare in inscriptions of this period in the southern districts.

Several Sanskrit and Tamil *birudas* of the king are also enumerated in this portion of the record (Il. 155-8), some belonging to him by his own right as a scion of the Chōla family, such as *Ravikulatilaka*, *Chōlakulaśekhara*, etc., while others were acquired by him as a result of his victory over the Chālukyas, such as *Sakalabhuvanāśraya*, *Āhavamallakulakāla*, etc. The title '*Āhavamallaṇṇai-vimmaḍi-ven-kaṇḍa*' is of particular interest, as it claims for him victory over Āhavamalla, as many as five times. *Pāṇḍyakulāntaka* refers to his victory over the Pāṇḍyas.

These and other achievements of the king are further elaborated in the short historical introduction commencing with the words '*Vīramēy tūṇaiyāgavum*', etc., which follows thereafter (Il. 160-68). It is herein claimed that Rājākēsarivarman<sup>1</sup> Virarājendra took the head of the Tenṇaṇ (Pāṇḍya), levied tribute from the Chēra king, subdued Siṅgaḷa-dēśam (Ceylon), saw the back of Āhavamalla five times in battle, fulfilled the vow of his elder brothers by recovering Vēṅgai-nāḍu which, however, he gave to king Vijayāditya (Vijayāditya VII) who had submitted to him, gave Kaḍāraṇi back after conquest to the (Kaḍāra ?) king who fell at his feet soliciting his help, drove away Sōmēśvara (Sōmēśvara II) from his Kannaḍa-dēśam, and gave Iraṭṭapāḍi-seven-and-a-half-lakh country to Vikramāditya (VI). Incidentally, Virarājendra is also stated to have defeated the Chālukya king at Muḍakkāru apparently on an earlier occasion, and to have thus cooled his anger.

From a study of the elaborate details contained in the variant historical introductions prefacing his lithic records, it is seen that the reign of Virarājendra, though it occupied a short span of only seven years, was crowded with campaigns conducted in as many as four war-fronts,—on the *west* against Āhavamalla to whom he had a score to pay in revenge for the death of his elder brothers in battle, on the *east* against Āhavamalla's feudatory, the Eastern Chālukya Vijayāditya, on the *south* against the Pāṇḍyas, the Chēras and Ceylon, while on the *north* he is said to have invaded Kalingam and carried his raid as far as Chakkarakkōṭṭam, in extension of his Vēṅgī campaigns.<sup>2</sup> Virarājendra began his military career even as a prince and appears to have taken part in the wars against the Western Chālukyas undertaken by his predecessors Rājādhirāja I, Rājendradēva and Rājamahēndra, and what they had failed to accomplish themselves, he claims to have brought to a successful finish. Soon after the death of Rājendradēva, he is said to have returned to Gaṅgā-purī (Gaṅgaikondaśōlapuram) direct from the battlefield for his coronation and to have again started out on that very day to prosecute the war against Āhavamalla. In all, he credits himself with having routed Āhavamalla in five pitched battles. These facts have been reviewed in a thorough manner by Dr. Hultzsch,<sup>3</sup> but the sequence of events in this Chōla-Chālukya conflict as worked out by him seems to require slight revision.

Before examining this question, however, a few relevant facts bearing upon this period may be quoted here, for purposes of easy reference.

(1) Rājendradēva's rule extended from 28th May 1052 A.D. to A.D. 1063, his highest regnal year so far known being 12.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> There is only one instance (No. 230 of 1928-29) in which he is styled a 'Parākēsarivarman'.

<sup>2</sup> Kalingam and Chakkarakkōṭṭam were in close political connection with the Vēṅgī kingdom at this period, and the political changes in Vēṅgī had their repercussions in the other two northern territories.

<sup>3</sup> *S. J. I.*, Vol. III, p. 191.

<sup>4</sup> *Ante*, Vol. IX, p. 218 and No. 144 of 1898. His 12th year, if correct, will have commenced in June 1063, and he did not probably live long in that regnal year; but the details given in this record (No. 144 of 1898), work for February, A. D. 1063, which, however, fell in his 11th year.



- (2) A record of Rājamahēndra<sup>1</sup> dated in the 4th year, gives astronomical details which correspond to A.D. 1062, July 22. In a record dated in his 3rd year, this prince claims to have worsted the Chālukyas at Muḍakkāru<sup>2</sup>.
- (3) Rājamahēndra did not rule independently and probably predeceased his father; so Rājēndra may have chosen Virarājēndra as heir-apparent, some time before his own death.
- (4) Virarājēndra's date of accession has been calculated to fall between 11th September 1062 and 10th September 1063 A.D.<sup>3</sup>
- (5) He is said to have defeated Āhavamalla three times by the 4th year,<sup>4</sup> and by the end of the 5th year, he claims to have defeated him in five engagements.<sup>5</sup>
- (6) A record of the 5th year<sup>6</sup> which recounts several of his achievements gives astronomical details agreeing only for A.D. 1067, September 10, Monday, and serves as an important chronological landmark.
- (7) Āhavamalla (Sōmēśvara I) drowned himself in the Tuṅgabhadra on Sunday, 30th March, A.D. 1068.<sup>7</sup>
- (8) In the disputed succession that followed Āhavamalla's death, Virarājēndra sided Vikramāditya against the latter's elder brother Sōmēśvara.<sup>8</sup>
- (9) The date of Sōmēśvara (II)'s accession was 11th April A.D. 1068.<sup>7</sup>
- (10) The highest regnal year of Virarājēndra found in his own inscriptions is 7, and in two records<sup>9</sup> of his successor Adhirājēndra, his 8th year is also quoted.
- (11) As Kulōttuṅga-Chōla's accession took place on 9th June, A.D. 1070,<sup>10</sup> Virarājēndra must have passed away early in his 8th year, i.e., towards the beginning of A.D. 1070, and Adhirājēndra, who succeeded the latter, must have had a very short independent reign.

*Virarājēndra's campaigns against Āhavamalla—*

Now as Virarājēndra boasts of the title '*Āhavamallaḡai-aṁmaḡi-veḡ-kaṇḡa*' (i.e.,) he 'who saw the back of Āhavamalla five times', all the five engagements must have been directed against Āhavamalla-Sōmēśvara I during the latter's life-time, i.e., before 30th March A.D. 1068. As Rājamahēndra and Virarājēndra both claim to have fought the Chālukyas at or on the bank

<sup>1</sup> No. 80 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1935-36.

<sup>2</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. VII, No. 743. The name Muḍakkāru means a 'river with a sharp bend', and so it may have been a simple descriptive name of a devious river, which later became its distinctive name. This Muḍakkāru may be different from the Kūḍal-Saṅgamam, which requires more than one river to justify its name. It has to be noted that the name Muḍakkāru is Tamil in form and if this was its original name in its locality, we may have to look for it in some place where Tamil was current. If, however, a Telugu or Kannaḡa name had been appropriately paraphrased into Muḍakkāru, its identification becomes somewhat difficult. As another instance of such transformation may be mentioned the name Kāṇḡai (or Karandāi ?) in the vicinity of Kūḍal-Saṅgamam, which appears to be a Tamilised poetic form of a Telugu or Kannaḡa name. Dr. N. Venkataramanayya suggests that it may perhaps be identified with Kandana (vrōlu) i.e., the modern Kurnool. Similarly Kōṇḡai, the scene of another battle, may perhaps be identified with Kōṇḡavīḡu or Kōṇḡapalli.

<sup>3</sup> *Ante*, Vol. IX, p. 218. This interval can be narrowed down further. Sewell dates it after March 10, A.D. 1063—*The Historical Inscriptions of Southern India*, p. 342.

<sup>4</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 198.

<sup>5</sup> *Ante*, Vol. XXI, p. 232. ll. 5-6.

<sup>6</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 67, l. 37.

<sup>7</sup> *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII, Sk. 136.

<sup>8</sup> The *Takkayāḡapparanī* (v. 774) also confirms the friendship of this Chōla king with Vikramāditya VI.

<sup>9</sup> Nos. 15 of 1890 and 418 of 1902 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

<sup>10</sup> *Ante*, Vol. VII, p. 7, fn. 5.

of Muḍakkāru, and as there is no great possibility for two separate battles at the same place by two kings within a short interval, it is likely that both Rājamahēndra and Virarājendra took part together in the same battle, and as such, this must have happened in about the beginning of A.D. 1062,<sup>1</sup> when Virarājendra was only a prince.

In the present record Virarājendra states that, on the very day of his coronation, he proceeded against his enemy Āhavamalla and routed him and his sons at Kūḍal-Saṅgamam in the north.<sup>2</sup> This information is interesting and has not been specified in his other inscriptions. As Virarājendra's coronation could have taken place only after Rājēndradēva's demise in A.D. 1063, this first battle of Kūḍal-Saṅgamam by Virarājendra, as king, will have to be dated in about A.D. 1064 only. But on the other hand the Maṇimaṅgalam inscription<sup>3</sup> mentions that after the notable victory at Kūḍal-Saṅgamam, the king was pleased to ascend the *virasinhāsana* along with his consort Ulagamuḷududaiyāl and donned (*mēyṇdu*) the crown (*viṇaya-maṇimakulam*). In view of the specific post-dating of the Kūḍal-Saṅgamam battle to his coronation in the present grant, the description given in the Maṇimaṅgalam record has to be understood in the sense that the king signalled his success by a second elaborate coronation ceremony after his return from the battle-field.

As Virarājendra claims to have defeated Āhavamalla **three times** by his 4th year, he must have defeated him on two other occasions in addition to the Kūḍal-Saṅgamam battle. These are mentioned in the Tamil preamble beginning with the words *tiruraḷar*, etc., i.e., (1) a campaign against Gaṅgapāḍi in which Vikkalaṇ and several *sāmantas* were routed and (2) another, against the Western Chāḷukya army in occupation in Vēṅgī, when the Chāḷukya general named Chāmuṇḍarāja was killed. The Muḍakkāru battle may have to be placed in one of the early campaigns.

**Two other expeditions** are also specified in the above *praśasti* to have been undertaken before the end of the 5th year of his reign. One of them was a **battle on the bank of an unspecified river**, when he slew a number of Chāḷukya and other generals. The other was arranged to be fought at Kūḍal-Saṅgamam again, in response to a challenge issued by Āhavamalla fixing a tryst there, but as Āhavamalla did not turn up in person, Virarājendra waited for him at Kāṇḍai (or Karandai) in its vicinity for over a month. In the skirmish that, however, ensued between the latter and the Chāḷukya garrison that was near by, three Chāḷukya generals were killed. Virarājendra proceeding thence, overran Vēṅgī and gave it back to Vijayāditya, and raided the territory as far as Chakkarakkōṭṭam.

Thus the **five occasions**<sup>4</sup> in which Virarājendra 'saw the back of Āhavamalla' were—(1) the campaign against Gaṅgapāḍi in A.D. 1062, (2) the first invasion of Vēṅgī in A.D. 1063, (3) the battle of Kūḍal-Saṅgamam in A.D. 1064, (4) the battle on the bank of an unnamed river in

<sup>1</sup> Taking the 4th year record of prince Rājamahēndra from Māraṅgiyūr as belonging to the beginning of that regnal year, the Muḍakkāru battle, if it took place at the end of the 3rd year, may be dated in about March A.D. 1062.

<sup>2</sup> This battle is referred to as early as the 2+1st year (No. 452 of 1918) or 2nd year+230th day (No. 113 of 1896) of the king. So Virarājendra's actual coronation must have taken place before this date and the battle may have to be placed in the end of A.D. 1064. There is, however, one record from Tiruvorṇiyūr (No. 136 of 1912) dated in the 2nd year which commences with '*tīraṁēy-tunai*,' but without mentioning any of his conquests at all. The Sanskrit verses (vv. 75, 76) also state that after he was crowned, he fought at Kūḍal-Saṅgamam. The scene of this battle has been tentatively identified with a place on the confluence of the Krishṇā and the Tuṅgabhadra. This will take us near Nandikōṭkūr in the Kurnool District which would well fit in as a battle-field midway between the Eastern and Western Chāḷukyan territories. An alternative identification that had been suggested was Kūḍali at the junction of the Tuṅgā and the Bhadrā (*The Cōlas*, pp. 321—22).

<sup>3</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 30, ll. 13-14.

<sup>4</sup> Rājēndradēva also claims to have defeated Āhavamalla twice (*irumadi-veṅ-kaṇḍa*) (*ante*, Vol. XXI, p. 233, l. 11). He is called *Irumadi-veṅ-kaṇḍa Ulaguṇṇakkondaruṇṇa Ayyar* (*An. Rep. on S. I. Epigraphy for 1931-32*, p. 52).

A D 1066, and (5) the encounter at Kāndai (or Karandai) near Kūdal-Sangamam, which was followed up by a second invasion of Vēṅgī towards the middle of A D 1067. As already stated, all these military campaigns must have occurred before Āhavamalla's death in March A D 1068, and before September 10, A D 1067 which is the date of the Manimangalam inscription<sup>1</sup> of his 5th year mentioning them.

*His Vēṅgī campaigns —*

From his records it is learnt that Virarājendra undertook two expeditions against Vēṅgī during his reign as against Āhavamalla's power in that region. The Chōla influence which had prevailed in that territory since the time of the Chōla king Rājārāja I (A D 1000) suffered an eclipse in the middle of the 11th century A D. About A D 1062, soon after the death of the Eastern Chālukya Rājārāja I, his brother Vijayāditya appears to have wrested the power into his hands in preference to Rājārāja's son Rājendra Chōla,<sup>2</sup> who must have been a very young prince at the time. Taking advantage of the indifference of Rājādhirāja and Rājendradēva in Vēṅgī affairs, referred to in verse 77 of the present record, Āhavamalla found it a good opportunity to invade Vēṅgī about this time or somewhat earlier<sup>3</sup> and made Vijayāditya VII his feudatory. Virarājendra's first campaign was therefore directed against Āhavamalla's army in Vēṅgī, but except for the defeat of the Chālukya general Chāmundaia in an engagement, this expedition does not appear to have accomplished much. It is possible that on the receipt of the news of death of his elder brother Rājendradēva, Virarājendra had to rush back to the Chōla capital in the middle of this campaign for his coronation, and as Āhavamalla appears, in the meantime, to have mustered his forces for another fight, the newly anointed Chōla king was obliged to depart from the capital again on the very day of his coronation, posthaste to meet his enemy at Vada-Kūdal-Sangamam. In the second invasion undertaken about A D. 1067, a fierce battle was fought in the vicinity of Vijayavāda (Bezvada). Āhavamalla's power having been broken, his feudatory Vijayāditya appears to have also submitted and transferred his allegiance for the time being, to his Chōla conqueror, from whom, it is said, he got back his territory.<sup>4</sup> Virarājendra's raid through Kalingam and as far as Chakkaiakkōttam was only in continuation of this Vēṅgī campaign.

There appears to have been a third occasion in which Vēṅgī was invested by the Chōla army. This campaign which is described only in the Tirumukkūdal inscription<sup>5</sup> is stated to have occurred after the Ceylon expedition and so has to be dated in about January or February A D. 1068 approximately. Though it is not expressly stated as to what had necessitated it so soon after the last campaign a few months earlier, in which Vijayāditya was given back Vēṅgī, a clue seems to be afforded in the statement that the Chalukki (*ach-Chalukki*)<sup>6</sup> came out with an army twice in numerical strength to what he had marshalled on a former occasion. This

<sup>1</sup> S I I, Vol III, No 30

<sup>2</sup> In ante, Vol XXII, No 35, Mr K V Subrahmanya Ayyar states that the succession of Vijayāditya was not disputed. Prince Rājendra was perhaps too young to make a strong protest.

<sup>3</sup> In a record of Sōmē-vara dated in Śaka 975, his son Sōmē-vara (II) has the title 'Vēṅḡpuravarādhiśvara,' thus postulating Vēṅḡ connection so early (above, Vol XVI, p 53). A record from Drākebhūrma dated in Śaka 986 in the reign of a Vishnuvardhana is attributable to this Eastern Chālukya Vijayāditya who was then probably a feudatory of the Western Chālukyas (S I I, Vol IV, No 1013).

<sup>4</sup> This event must have happened before A D 1067, September 10, which is the English equivalent for the details furnished in the Manimangalam inscription dated in the 5th year of the king, which refers to this episode (S I I, Vol III, No 30, p 67).

<sup>5</sup> In ante, Vol XXI, p 232.

<sup>6</sup> The expression '*ach Chalukki*' used here probably refers only to the Eastern Chālukya Vijayāditya, who has been mentioned just previous to the description of the Ceylon campaign.

inscription dated in the 5th year states that Virarājendra defeated Āhavamalla five times, ending with the battle of Karandai. In later records<sup>1</sup> of the 7th year, the Western Chālukya king continues to be mentioned as having suffered defeat the same number of times. So the enemy encountered by the Chōla at the subsequent battle of Koṇḍai, (probably Koṇḍaviḍu in the Vēṅgī territory), could not have been Āhavamalla, but was in all probability Vijayāditya. The latter who was a Western Chālukya feudatory in the initial years of his reign, appears to have transferred his nominal allegiance to the Chōla conqueror, and as the price of his submission, got back Vēṅgī. It is possible that, a short time later, he attempted to throw off the Chōla yoke and mustering a large army opposed the Chōla king at the battle of Koṇḍai. The Chālukyan army was, however, repulsed, and the victorious Virarājendra is then stated to have planted a pillar of victory at Śūttukkal<sup>2</sup> and marched into Kaliṅgam and Chakkarakkōṭṭam, defeating and killing some Chālukya generals.

*Further Chālukya hostilities.*

The Chōla-Chālukya hostilities did not, however, cease with the death of Āhavamalla. In a record dated in the 6th year,<sup>3</sup> Virarājendra claims to have defeated Sōmēśvara before he had had time to take off his necklet (*kaṇṭhikā*), to have burnt the Chālukya capital Kampili and to have set up a pillar of victory at Karaḍikkal. Another dated in the 7th year,<sup>4</sup> states that Sōmēśvara was driven out of Kannaḍa-dēśam and the Raṭṭapāḍi-seven-and-a-half-lakhs country in its entirety was given to Vikramāditya (VI) who had submitted to him. The *kaṇṭhikā* or the necklet was the conventional emblem of heir-apparency<sup>5</sup> of the Chālukya dynasty, as differentiated from the *makuḷa* or crown, the emblem of royalty, and the Sōmēśvara referred to here was evidently the second of that name. The above-noted claim of Virarājendra has therefore to be understood to be but a poetical way of saying that the Chōla king swooped down on the Chālukya capital evidently in aid of his ally Vikramāditya,<sup>6</sup> immediately after the death of Āhavamalla and before the quondam heir-apparent Sōmēśvara II put on the crown of royalty, i.e., in the interval between 30th March, A.D. 1068, the date of death of Āhavamalla, and 11th April A.D. 1068, the actual date of accession of Sōmēśvara II. The result of this campaign has, however, been exaggerated by the Chōla panegyrist, for Sōmēśvara appears to have ceded only a portion of his territory to Vikramāditya, as evidenced by his own records being simultaneously found in other parts of the kingdom, and Vikramāditya, the protégé of Virarājendra, appears to have himself continued in a subordinate capacity, as suggested by his investiture with the *kaṇṭhikā* only. The claim for a Chālukyan victory made in the Shikarpur record,<sup>7</sup> which must have been dated some time later than April, A.D. 1068, may be noted in this connection. It is stated therein that Virarājendra thinking that this was an opportune occasion, invaded the Chālukyan territory with a large army and laid siege to Gutti; but when Sōmēśvara II opposed him with a powerful cavalry force, he was forced to flee. The Chālukya records are silent about the burning of Kampili, while there is no mention of the Chōla reverses at Gutti in the Chōla records. It may be inferred that the Chōla king was successful in the beginning of this campaign, and that later he sustained a defeat at Gutti in about the end of A.D. 1068, which put an end to his military aspirations in the north.

<sup>1</sup> The Kanyākumari inscription and the present copper-plate. Nowhere has Āhavamalla been described as having been defeated six times or more (*arumadi-veṇ-kaṇḍa*, etc.).

<sup>2</sup> The expression Puli-Śūttukkal has been taken to be the name of a village (*ante*, Vol. XXI, p. 226). But it may also be taken to mean a 'stone pillar of victory with the mark of a tiger on it', which was probably set up at Koṇḍai itself.

<sup>3</sup> *S. I. J.*, Vol. III, p. 201.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 203.

<sup>5</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 267.

<sup>6</sup> This political pact was also cemented by the marriage of Virarājendra's daughter with Vikramāditya.

<sup>7</sup> *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII, Sk. 136.

### *His campaign against the Pāṇḍya.*

In regard to Virarājendra's southern campaigns, the one against the Pāṇḍya is in a way confirmed by the existence of his inscriptions<sup>1</sup> at Kanyakumari (Travancore), Attūr (Tirunelveli District) and Tiruputtūr (Ramanad District). Before the 3rd year of his reign, he had appointed prince Gaṅgaikonda-Chōla as the Chōla-Pāṇḍya viceroy<sup>2</sup> over the Pāṇḍya country in continuation of the previous system of administration, but this Chōla prince was not left undisturbed for long, for according to a record<sup>3</sup> dated in the 3+1st year, Virarājendra marched against a certain Śrīvallabha, apparently a Pāṇḍya, and killed his son Virakēśari. As this campaign has not been referred to in the Tiruveṅkāḍu<sup>4</sup> record dated in the 2nd year+230th day of his reign but is mentioned in the Karuvūr inscription<sup>5</sup> of this king dated in the 3+1st year, it has to be placed towards the end of his 3rd year, i.e., in about A.D. 1065. This victory also appears to have been of a temporary nature, for Virarājendra's successor Kulōttuṅga-Chōla I had again to go to war against the 'five Pāṇḍyas' a few years later.

### *His campaign against Udagai.*

In the course of this southern campaign, the Chēra must have also felt the impact of the Chōla army and consented to pay tribute. The Kēraḷa king and his sons are described to have fled before the mad elephant of Virarājendra in a battle at Udagai<sup>6</sup> and to have hidden themselves in the western ocean. In an inscription<sup>7</sup> copied at Kīlūr in the South Arcot District, dated in the 29th year of Rājārāja I, the king is stated to have burnt the city of Udagai<sup>8</sup> during his Malai-nāḍu campaign. From these references, it is clear that Udagai was a city in the Chēra dominion, and was, in all probability identical with Udayampērūr, 'the big city of the Udayas (the Chēras)' in the northern portion of the Travancore State, which is only three miles distant from Trichūr and which in the olden days was an important place in the Chēra territory. The Chēra contemporaries of Rājendra-Chōla I were Rājasimha and his son Rājārāja who figure in the Mannārkōyil inscription<sup>9</sup> of Jaṭavarman Sundara-Chōla-Pāṇḍya, but who the contemporary of Virarājendra was, is not clear.

### *His conquest of Ceylon.*

The conquest of Siṃhaḷam is only briefly referred to in the present record; but the Tirumukkūḍal inscription<sup>10</sup> dated in the 5th year of the king, describes this campaign in some detail and refers to his defeat of the Ceylon king Vijayabāhu and the subjugation of the island 'girt round by the waters of the sea'. Though this is perhaps a sweeping claim, it has to be conceded that a portion of the island was under Chōla sway at this period. As the Maṇimaṅgalam record of the 10th September A.D. 1067 does not refer to this expedition, it will have to be placed towards the end of that year, about November or December A.D. 1067.<sup>11</sup> Virarājendra's predecessor Rājendradēva had also invaded Ceylon and an inscription<sup>12</sup> of his is found there. Inscriptions<sup>13</sup> of Adhirājendra, the successor of Virarājendra, are also found at Polonnaruva (Ceylon). The latter

<sup>1</sup> Nos. 400 and 401 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1929-30 and No. 110 of 1908.

<sup>2</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 976.

<sup>3</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 20. The Pāṇḍya king Śrīvallabha was the contemporary of Rājendra-Chōla I also.

<sup>4</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 30.

<sup>5</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. VII, No. 863.

<sup>6</sup> Udagai has been taken to be a Pāṇḍya city (*S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 68).

<sup>7</sup> *Ante*, Vol. XI, p. 294.

<sup>8</sup> *Ante*, Vol. XXI, No. 38, where this point has been examined by Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar in detail. The Polonnaruva inscription of Vijayabāhu (*ante*, Vol. XVIII, No. 38) may be considered to mark the eclipse of Chōla power in Ceylon, for no inscriptions of later Chōla kings are found actually in that island.

<sup>9</sup> If the Ceylon expedition of the 5th year took place about November 1067, and an incident of April A.D. 1068 fell in the 6th year, the date of accession of Virarājendra can be narrowed down between the limits—December 1062 A.D. and March 1063 A.D. A date in his 7th regnal year (Kāpṇi, ha. 7, Thursday, Mṛigaśrēṣṭha) was A.D. 1068, September 10, Thursday (No. 160 of 1937-38).

<sup>10</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 1408.

<sup>11</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, Nos. 1388 and 1392.

did not perhaps lead an independent expedition against the island during his very short reign and may be presumed to have participated in his father's campaign only. No records attributable to Virarājendra have, however, been found in Ceylon.<sup>1</sup>

*His campaign against Kaḍāram.*

Another overseas victory is claimed for Virarājendra over Kaḍāram. In the later historical introduction of the 7th year commencing with '*viramēy-tuṇaiyāgarum*'<sup>2</sup> this achievement is introduced between the second invasion of Vēṅgi in A.D. 1067 and the last campaign of Virarājendra that we know of, which was directed against Sōmēśvara II (A.D. 1068). As his father Rājendra-Chōla I claims to have invaded Kaḍāram himself by about A.D. 1026,<sup>3</sup> it is possible that Virarājendra, as a young prince, had accompanied the Chōla army in that campaign also. Such a campaign to the distant Kaḍāram towards the close of Virarājendra's reign appears problematical and has to be confirmed only by future researches. The express statement that the Chōla king conquered Kaḍāram and gave it back to the (Kaḍāra) king who had supplicated him, seems to imply that an expedition, at least under an able general though not personally led by the king himself, may have been sent against this far eastern country in aid of his ally. If it was an accomplished fact of his reign, it may have taken place in the beginning of A.D. 1068. The friendly relationship between the Chōla and the Kaḍāram kings seems to have been continued down to the 20th year of the reign of Kulōttuṅga-Chōla I (A.D. 1090), when two messengers (*dūtar*) of the Kaḍāram king came to the mainland to obtain from the Chōla monarch some concessions on behalf of the Baudha-*vihāra* at Negapatam.<sup>4</sup>

Thus Virarājendra's short reign was a period of strenuous military effort to keep up the weakening Chōla power and prestige to some extent. The several campaigns of his reign may thus be briefly reviewed, in their probable chronological sequence :

- (1) the first campaign against Gaṅgapāḍi in A.D. 1062 ;
- (2) the first invasion of Vēṅgi in A.D. 1063 ;
- (3) the first battle of Kūḍal-Saṅgamam in A.D. 1064 ;
- (4) the southern expedition against the Pāṇḍya and Chēra in A.D. 1065 ;
- (5) the battle on the bank of an unspecified river in A.D. 1066 ;
- (6) the clash with the Chālukyan army at Kāndai (or Karandai) near Kūḍal-Saṅgamam in the middle of A.D. 1067 ;
- (7) the second invasion against Vēṅgi, the battle of Vijayavāḍa and the restoration of Vēṅgi to Vijayāditya before September A.D. 1067 ;
- (8) the expedition against Siṁhalaṁ in the end of A.D. 1067 ;
- (9) the overseas campaign to Kaḍāram in the beginning of A.D. 1068 ;
- (10) the third expedition against Vēṅgi and the battle of Koṇḍai in about February A.D. 1068 ;
- (11) the campaign against the Western Chālukya Sōmēśvara, the burning of Kāmpili and the erection of a pillar of victory at Karaḍikkal in April A.D. 1068 ; and the installation of Vikramāditya VI in a portion of the Western Chālukya dominions ; and
- (12) the battle of Gutti<sup>5</sup> in about the end of A.D. 1068, wherein Virarājendra suffered defeat at the hands of Sōmēśvara II.

<sup>1</sup> See also *ante*, Vol. XVIII, p. 332 and f. n. 2. The Archaeological Commissioner of Ceylon has kindly informed us that there are no inscriptions of Virarājendradēva in Ceylon. <sup>2</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 203.

<sup>3</sup> The conquest of Kaḍāram (Keddaḥ in the Śrīvijaya kingdom located in the Malay Peninsula) by Rājendra-Chōla occurred about his 13th year corresponding to A.D. 1026. As Virarājendra lived up to A.D. 1069, he may have been a young prince capable of participating in a military expedition, 43 years earlier.

<sup>4</sup> *Ante*, Vol. XXII, p. 268.

<sup>5</sup> *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII. Sk. 136.

Though this warlike king was so much preoccupied in his wars during his short reign, for not a year, except perhaps the last, passed without his army being engaged in some campaign or other, he appears to have found time to attend to the welfare of his subjects. He is said to have presented many *agrahāras* to Brāhmanas and several benefactions to temples owed their origin to his munificence.

In this context, it may be remarked that the Chōla version of the Chōla-Chālukya war appears to give a slightly exaggerated account of Virarājendradēva's victories. The Chālukya records, on the other hand, seem to indicate that the reverses were not always on the Chālukyan side alone.<sup>1</sup> In fact, the two parties appear to have been fairly well-matched, with the result that the hostilities were protracted and the opposing armies met in as many as five different engagements. The Chōla army no doubt took the offensive and carried the war into the enemy's country, as testified to by the scenes of battles which were all located in Chālukyan territory, and except for the Chōla reverses in the death of Rājādhirāja I in the earlier battle of Koppam and later at Guttī, Virarājendra's independent campaigns appear to have met with a fair measure of success; but the fact that he is described as having restored the conquered dominions—*viz.*, Vēngi to Vijayāditya VII and Raṭṭa-pāḍi to Vikramāditya VI—seems to indicate that his hold on the conquered territories was not of a permanent nature. His Pāṇḍya and Chēra conquests also appear to have shared the same fate. This policy of restoration adopted by Virarājendra may have been due to considerations of statecraft by which he had tried to placate the kings on his frontiers or to the insufficiency of his own resources which had weakened his hold on his conquests so far away from Chōla headquarters. Whatever the reason, the provenance of his inscriptions with the exception of the Kanyākumari, Āttūr and Tirupputtūr records reveals that his authority extended over a restricted area only, comprising the North Arcot, South Arcot, Chingleput, Tanjore and Trichinopoly Districts of the Madras Presidency with a portion of the adjoining Pudukkōṭṭai State and the Kolar and Bangalore Districts of the Mysore State, added thereto.

The circumstances under which the king died are not known. As a record<sup>2</sup> of his 7th year is dated on September 10, A.D. 1069, and as two records of Adhirājendra refer to the 8th year of his predecessor, Virarājendra must have been alive till at least October A.D. 1069, and he may have passed away sometime later in the beginning of A.D. 1070. It is possible that there is some reference to his last days in an undated record from Tiruvorriyūr,<sup>3</sup> in which provision was made for worship in the local temple for the welfare of the king and for the prosperity of the queen's *tirumāngalyam*. Virarājendra was succeeded by his son Adhirājendra, a portion of whose short period of rule must have merged into his own reign. The prayer offered for the welfare of Adhirājendra in a record from Kūhūr<sup>4</sup> in the Tanjore District, dated in his 3rd year, seems to indicate that this king was himself suffering from illness at the time and his records end with the 4th year<sup>5</sup>. As his successor Kulōttuṅga-Chōla I ascended the throne on 9th June 1070 A.D.,<sup>6</sup> Adhirājendra could have ruled independently for only a short time in the first half of A.D. 1070.

<sup>1</sup> The Chālukya titles 'the shatterer of the pride of the Chōla monarchs' (*ante*, Vol. XV, p. 91) and the foundation of a temple called Chōla-gonḍa-Traipurushadēva at Anṇigere (*S. I. I.*, Vol. XII, B.K. No. 103) may be noted. An invasion led by Prince Vishnuvardhana Vijayāditya in the reign of Trailōkyamalla, against the Chōla king in A.D. 1064 is referred to in *S. I. I.*, Vol. IX, Nos. 127 and 128.

<sup>2</sup> No. 160 of the Mad. Epig. Colln. for 1937-38.

<sup>3</sup> No. 128 of the Mad. Epig. Colln. for 1912.

<sup>4</sup> No. 280 of 1917.

<sup>5</sup> No. 15 of 1890 is dated in the 3rd year+200th day of reign.

<sup>6</sup> *Ante*, Vol. VII, p. 7, fn. 5.

What became of the several Chōla princes, sons of Rājēndradēva and Virarājēndra<sup>1</sup>, is not apparent. Of those, if any, that may have survived the numerous campaigns of this period, there was perhaps none strong enough to occupy the Chōla throne after Adhirājēndra. So the enterprising Eastern Chālukya prince Rājēndra-Chōla II, son of Chālukya Rājarāja I, grandson of the Chōla king Rājēndra-Chōla I, and son-in-law of Rājēndradēva, who was thus intimately connected with the Chōla royal family, availed himself of this opportunity to quietly succeed to the vacant Chōla throne.<sup>2</sup> This political step not only helped to relieve the tension in his own country where his uncle Vijayāditya was still reigning, but also gave Kulōttuṅga-Chōla I a large tract of new territory to rule over, until such time as, with the demise of his uncle, he could consolidate the Chōla and Chālukya fortunes into one line.

## Section III (ll. 170-191).

This section relates to the object of the grant. At the time of making the gift recorded in the present charter, the king is stated to have been seated in the frontal *tirukkāvaṇam* of the audience-hall (*tiruvōlakka-maṇḍapa*) called 'Rājarājaṇ' in the temple of Tiruvēgambam-Uḍaiyār at Kāñchipuram, a *nagaram* in Eyir-kōṭṭam, a sub-division of Jayaṅṇḍāśōla-maṇḍalam. The village *Chērām* *alias* Madhurāntaka-chaturvēdimaṇḍalam, which was granted to the three Brāhmins of the Ātrēya-gotra already referred to above, is said to have been situated in Irattapāḍikonḍāśōla-maṇḍalam, that had been captured by Vīrarājendra-dēva in the campaign, which he had undertaken immediately after his coronation and in which he had defeated Ahavamalla and his sons on the battle-field at the northern Kūdal-Saṅgamam.

The boundary-line of this gift-village is then described in detail. Starting from Kuppēri in the east, it passed through several landmarks, such as rocks, sluices, etc., and ended at a hillock called Kaṭatti-malai.<sup>4</sup> The land enclosed by this boundary-line belonged to the village Chēṛām *alias* Madhurāntaka-chaturvēdimaṅgalam. In this connection it may be noted that the boundary-line was not marked out, as was usual in such cases and in this period, by the circumambulation of a she-elephant (*piḍi-śūḷṇḍu*) and that though it was drafted by the officer Madhurāntaka-Brahmādhiraṇjan, it is lacking in the sententious clauses and schedules regarding tax-exemptions, irrigation-privileges, etc., similar to those mentioned in the Tiruvāṅgaḍu plates of Rājendra-Chōla I. After the description of the boundary-line, the verse which is engraved on the seal of this copper-plate grant is also repeated here, to stress the fact that the foregoing charter was the order of king Vīrarājendra-dēva.

## Section IV (ll. 192—211).

This section constitutes the **concluding portion** of the record and contains the names of the signatories, imprecatory verses and such other routine matters. The name of the *adhikāri-gaḥ* who drafted this order is given as **Guṇanīdi-Aruḷmoliyār** *alias* **Miṇṇavaṇ-Mūvēṇḍavēḷār** of Parakēśarinallūr in Tirunaṟaiyūr-nāḍu, a sub-division of Kṣhatrīyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu, a district of Śōla-maṇḍalam. The *tirumandira-ōlai* officers were Tōṇamayan Pāpanāśan *alias* Vīraśrī-vallabha-Brahmādhiraṇṇa of Kūyākkudi, a *brahmāḍeya* in Kuṟumbay-nāḍu, a sub-division of

<sup>1</sup> See the table given at page 128 of *Trav. Archéol. Series*, Vol. III.

<sup>2</sup> The 'adoption' theory has been ably refuted by Mr. K. V. S. Ayyar in *ante*, Vol. XXII, p. 272. Whether Kulōttunga's succession was peaceful or was attended with civil war and bloodshed has also been the subject of much speculation.

<sup>3</sup> Vīṣṇurājendra was staying in the same place while issuing another record (*S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, p. 60). A palace named Ślākṣhāraṇa-māligai and thrones called Rājendraśloka-Māvalivāṇarāja and Abhimānārāma are also referred to in his inscriptions (Nos. 182 of 1915 and 462 of 1908).

<sup>4</sup> See f.n. 1 on page 264.



Jayaṅgaṇḍaśōḷa-vaḷanāḍu and Aruḷmoḷi-Rājendraśōḷa *alias* Jananātha-Viḷupparaiyaṅ of Śēnda-maṅḡalam in Viraśōḷa-vaḷanāḍu.

The composer of the Sanskrit *prasasti* was a certain **Chandrabhūṣaṇa-Bhaṭṭa** who is referred to later by the paraphrased name of Śaśibhūṣaṇa-Paṇḍita. He is evidently identical with Chandrasēkharaḥbhūṣaṇa-Bhaṭṭa *alias* Vīrarājendra-Brahmādhiraṇ mentioned in an inscription<sup>1</sup> of the king from Gaṅgaikondaśōḷapuram, where a large number of the king's officers are enumerated, among whom Gaṇanidhi-Aruḷmoḷi *alias* Mīṇavan-Mūvēṇḍavēḷar of the present record also finds mention.<sup>2</sup> A certain Chandrabhūṣaṇa-Paṇḍita figures in two records<sup>3</sup> from the Bellary District dated in A. D. 1054 and 1068, and it is possible he was identical with the composer of this copper-plate grant. In collaboration with this panegyrist, the officer named Madhurāntaka-Brahmādhiraṇ is said to have drafted this copper-plate charter finally, and got it engraved by Saṅkaraṇ-Kāḍāḍi *alias* Karaṇākara-Āchāriyaṅ, a *Tachchāchāriyaṅ* of Kuvalāḷam in Kuvalāḷa-nāḍu.

A few imprecatory verses are then quoted, and along with them there is one more verse in the *Mālinī*-metre added here, as an exhortation made by king 'Rājārāja' whose head is ornamented with the lotus-feet of Hara, enjoining all future kings to protect this charity. As this reminds us of the title 'Śivapādaśekhara' borne by the Chōḷa king Rājārāja I, it appears probable that like the supplicatory verse ending with '*yāchatē Rāmabhadraḥ*' this Chōḷa king also got a similar verse composed for use in Chōḷa documents. Or as an alternative, it may be suggested that the verse refers to Vīrarājendra himself, who is given the titles 'Rājādhiraṇ' and 'Rājārāja' in the Tirumukkūḍal inscription,<sup>4</sup> in which case the attribute used in this verse may be understood as indicating simply the king's intense devotion to Hara.<sup>5</sup>

Among the **place-names** mentioned in the record, the village **Chēṛām** in **Puli-nāḍu** may be identified with Chūrāla in the Punganur taluk of the Chittoor District, where the copper-plate set was discovered. **Raṭṭapāḍiḱoṇḍaśōḷa-maṇḍalam**, which took the new name from the time of Rājendradēva who conquered Raṭṭapāḍi, is represented by the tract of country round about Punganur in the Chittoor District, and the adjoining Chintamani taluk of the Mysore State. There was also another sub-division known by the name of Raṭṭapāḍiḱoṇḍaśōḷa-vaḷanāḍu in the Pudukkottai State. The names occurring in the description of boundaries are too vague to be identified now<sup>6</sup>.

#### TEXT.

[For metres of verses 1—81 see above, Vol. XVIII, p. 31.]

#### First Plate.

- 1 Svasti Śiṛiḥ [∗] Yaḥ karttā jagad-ut(d)bhava-sṭhiti-layān-ut(d)bhūtayā ilayā yō vāchām=adhināyakaś-śrayati yaḥ sa-
- 2 rvañāt-aikāśrayā [∗] yat(d)-bhakti-pravaṇair=apāya-vishamas=tūryyō bhav-āmbhōni-dhūr-ddēyād=vas-sa vi-
- 3 bhūtīm=indu-śakal-āpāḍō Bhavānīpatīḥ [||-1 ||]- Māyām=āyāminīm yō vahati jagad-idam rañjayantīm jayantīm jñān-ā-

<sup>1</sup> *S. I. J.*, Vol. IV, No. 529, l. 27.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, l. 29.

<sup>3</sup> *Ant.*, Vol. XXI, p. 232, l. 7.

<sup>4</sup> King Parāntaka also describes himself as 'Smarāri-charaṇāmbuja-śekhara'—(*S. I. J.*, Vol. II, p. 385).

<sup>5</sup> The Tahsildar of Punganur, who was addressed, has not been able to render much help in this matter.

<sup>6</sup> *S. I. J.*, Vol. IX, Nos. 113 and 143.

- 4 jñāna-prasūti(tini) sphuṭa-ruchi-vapushā yōgabhāj=āgabhājā ['] satv-ā-satv-ānukampī sthita<sup>1</sup>-mudita-mahā-tāpa-śū-
- 5 nām=paśūnām Śambhus=śam-bhugna-pāpa-vyatikṛiti bhavatas=sa prapātāt prapātāt |||-2 |||- Chakrē chakrēṇa
- 6 daitya-prakaram=atibalaṁ yas=samastam samastam pātā pātāla-mūl-āhita-Balir=anīśam bhāsurāṇām surāṇām [\*] sa-
- 7 dyas=sa dyatv=agham vō Harir=akhila-jagad-rakṣaṇēna kṣaṇēna svairam svair-amśa-lēśair=iṣa dharanī-
- 8 gatais=sambhavat(d)bhir=bhavat(d)bhi[h] |||-3 |||- Ādau dēvas=sisikṣhām=upanata-samayaḥ pratyavēksh-
- 9 ām=adabhrām=bibhrat(d)=viśv-ādhināthas=samuchita-samay-ārambham<sup>2</sup>=ambhas=sasarjja [\*] tasmin=nikṣipya bijan=nijam=ajara-<sup>3</sup>ba-
- 10 laṁ sa trilōkī-karaṇḍam=brahmāṇḍan=tēna chakrē vyadhita vidhim=api srashṭum=ishṭam vidhēyam |||-4 |||- Tasmā-
- 11 j-jātas=tadānīm sakalam=api jagat sa-prapañchaṁ Viriñcharṇ(chaḥ) kurvan<sup>4</sup> durvvāra-vīryān=ajanayad=aparāṇ Brahman[ḥ]\*] karm-
- 12 ma-nishṭhān[\*] tēshām=ekas=tv=aśēshair=api Vidhi-vibhavair=ggarbhītō nirbhara-śrīr=vvishvag-rōchir-mMarīchis=tribhuvana-
- 13 bhavanam sañchakāśāñchakāra |||-5 |||- Tasmāt(d=) vismēra-patmā(dmā)sana-nayana-chaya-spashṭa-dṛishṭ-ōrjjita-śrīs=śrē-
- 14 yas=sampatti-bhājān=dhuri gaṇita-guṇaḥ Kaśyapa[h] paśyakō=bhūt [\*] anyōny-ōmmardda-nēna śriyam-iha dadhatō
- 15 yat-prasūtās=sur-ādyā nirvyājan-nirjjayanti prachuram=upachitān=amburāśēs=taram-gān |||-6 |||- Tasmāj=jātas=tadā-
- 16 nīm samayakṛit=a(d=a)samas=svaiḥ prabhāvair=udārair=vvīśva-trāṇa-pravīṇais=satataru=atitarān=nirjjayan svān=Vi-
- 17 vasvān [\*] nidrā-mudrā-vibhēdam prathamam=anubhavan=yanmayūkh-ābhimarśād=dhātur=vaktr-āravindais=saha saka-
- 18 la-gurōs=satma(dma)-patma(dma)ñ=chakāśē |||-7 |||- Yasy-ōdasyat(d)bhir-ārād=avatama-sam=ati-vyātatair=amśu-jālair=bhāśva-

*Second Plate ; First Side.*

- 19 t=kārttasvar-āṇḍam prathamam=ablugaḥat kālim=ēv=ābabhāśē [\*] yat(d)-bimbaḥ karṇi-kātvam nivaḥati kirapāḥi kē-<sup>5</sup>
- 20 sarair=āhita-śrīr=ut(d)gāḍhair=ddig-daḥ-aughair=uparachita-ruchō vyōma-parīkēruhasya |||-8 |||- Ētasy=ā-
- 21 bhūt=tanūjō Manur=amaḥa-tanur=bhūbhujām bijam=ādyam yēn=aikāntēna yōgān=muni-bhir=abhihitā māna-
- 22 v=iyam praj=ēti [\*] lōkānām=ēka-vandyaḥ pravīḍhad=atulaṁ śarṇma dharmma-prapañ-chair=bhāsvān bhāsvat-suta-

<sup>1</sup> T.A.S. has *kita* instead of *sthita*. [T.A. Syndicates the readings given in the *Travancore Archaeological Series*, Vol. III, No. 34, as made out from the Kanyākumari inscription.]

<sup>2</sup> T.A.S. has *jagad-ārambham* instead of *samay-ārambham*.

<sup>3</sup> T.A.S. has *ajam=akhilam* instead of *ajara-balam*.

<sup>4</sup> T.A.S. has *kṛitā* instead of *kurvan*.

<sup>5</sup> T.A.S. has *avatamasat* which is obviously a misreading for *avatamasam=at*.

<sup>6</sup> Of the syllable *lē* only the *ē* sign appears in this line, while the letter *l* occurs in the next.

- 23 tvāt pitaram=iha<sup>1</sup> sutam yah<sup>2</sup> prakāśchakāra |||-9 |||- Tasy=Ēkshvākura=abhūd=yaśōbhira-  
amaḥair=ddikshv=ātatai-
- 24 ś=śōbhitas=sūnus=sānushu bhūbhṛitām sura-gaṇair=yyat-kīrttir=ut(d)giyatē [\*] yasy=āmitra-  
narādhirāja-virahā-
- 25 j=jaitram=mahas=sarvvatō durvvāra<sup>3</sup>-prasaram vyajēshṭa balavan=Mitrasya tējaḥ param  
|||-10 |||- Tasy=ābhūt=tana-
- 26 yas=samunnata-nayaḥ prēkshī Vikukshin=nripō<sup>4</sup> rakshām=akshata-vikramas=samakarōt  
kshamāmaṇḍalasy=āsyā yah [\*] a-
- 27 nyōṇya-pravimarddanēna mahatī yā pārtthivair=llabhyatē tām sūtē śśri(śri)yam=aśramam  
kshitibhṛitām yat-pā-
- 28 dayōr=ānatih |||-11 |||- Putras=tasya Purañjayas=samabhavat saṁgrāmam=ājanmu(gmu)-  
shān=jētā bhūmibhujān=jī-
- 29 gīshur=asurān jajñē<sup>5</sup> [sa] mānyas=tataḥ [\*] Jambh[ā\*]rīm vṛishabham vidhāya kakudē  
sthulē-sya yas=samsthita-
- 30 s=tad-dēvair=adhika-pramōda-gaditām prāptaḥ Kakusth-ābhidām |||-12 |||- Prithur=  
babhū[v=ā]tra kulē kul-ādriṇā
- 31 samas=samast-āvanipāla-vandita[h] [\*] vivēda yasmin=nripatau sa-nandadhu(thu)r=na  
vēpadhu[r]=nn=āpi cha yāchituṇ=jana[h]<sup>6</sup> |||-
- 32 13 |||- Amushmin=vamśē=bhūn=mahatī Kuvalāśvō narapatī[r]=Harēr<sup>7</sup>=vviryair=ddhuryy-  
air=ati-nibhṛitam=ut(d)bhāsita-tanu-
- 33 h [\*] sa Dhundhun=daityēndram bahaḥa-sikatā-sindhu-pihitam hitam lōkāy=āsmāi vidad-  
had=avadhūd=ufddha]-
- 34 ta-balaḥ |||-14 |||- Vamśē=sinnn=ut(d)babhūv=āt(d)bhuta-ma[hi]ma-bhara-bhrājitas=  
āmarārē=samśō viśvambbhar-ārtti-prasama-
- 35 nam=anīkam karttum=utsiddha-kīrttiḥ [\*] Māndhātā nāma rājā jana-nayana-mah-ānanda-  
sandōha-dāyī yasy=ādharma-kshayāya
- 36 vyacharad=ati-jayāch=chakram=āchakravā]āt |||-15 |||- Tāsmīn=nripē parama-tējasi śāsāt=  
īmām bhūmīn=chachāra haripā
- 37 Hariṇas=sah=āpi [\*] sarvō mithas=sahajam=apy=ajakāt(d)=virōdhan=dharmnas=tv=adhar-  
mma-virahān-na tathā chakāra |||-

*Second Plate ; Second Side.*

- 38 16 |||- Udayam=iha dadhānas=sat(d)-guṇair=ēdhamānas=satatam=asad-apāyē vṛitdhi(ddhi)-  
maty=ānvavāyē [\*] udajani Mchukundaḥ
- 39 kundaḥ(kunda)-gaurair=yyaśōbhīḥ parinata iva chandraś=śōbhamānō mayūkbaiḥ |||-17 |||-  
Sa trātun=tridivan=trivishṭapa-
- 40 sadān=nāthēna yāthanvishām<sup>8</sup> hantum samprayiyāsāt=āti-tarasā sañchōditah prāñchitah  
[\*] nirnūdras=tad=aharnnīśan=da-
- 41 nūsutān=nighnann=avighnann=nripas=tēshām svarggam=atīva-durggam=akarōd-yuddhō  
hatānām=api |||-18 |||- Asmin=va-

<sup>1</sup> T. 18 has ita which is the correct reading.

<sup>2</sup> T. 18 has yam instead of yah.

<sup>3</sup> The corresponding reading in T. 18 is doubtful, though it has been given as dṛisṭi-āti-praeurar.

<sup>4</sup> Read Vikukshī nripō. T. 18 has Vikukshīmatō.

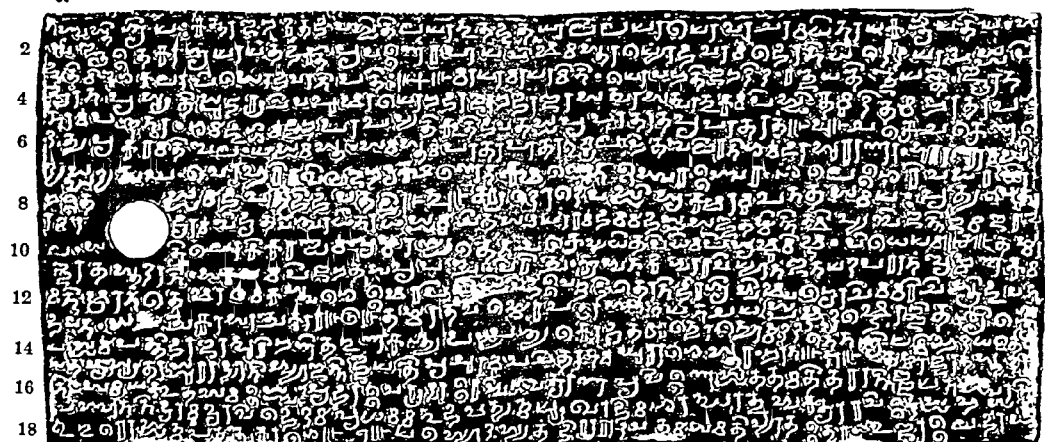
<sup>5</sup> T. 18 has the same reading, but it is corrected into jajñē.

<sup>6</sup> The intended reading of the last pāda of this verse seems to be : nna vēpitun=nn=āpi cha yāchituṇ=janaḥ.

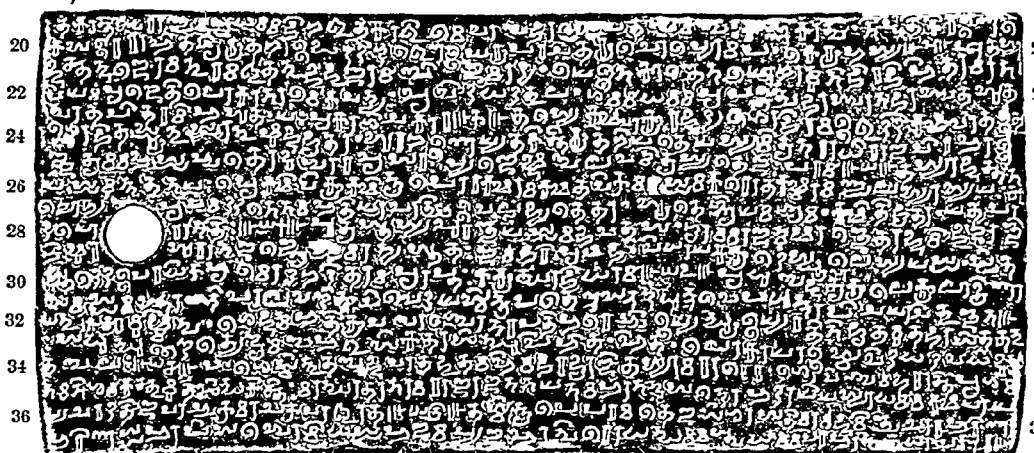
<sup>7</sup> T. 18 has Parit-viryair=ddhuryair which appears to be the correct reading.

<sup>8</sup> Read yūthan=āvishām.

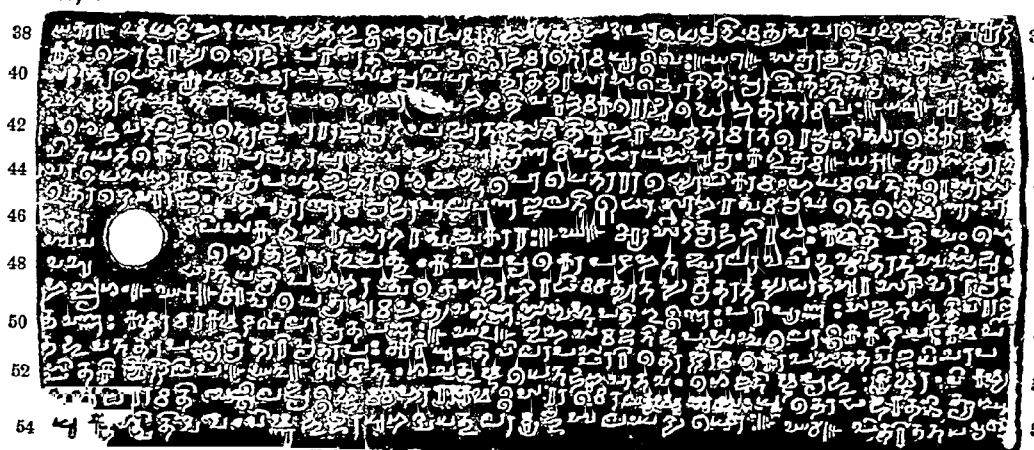
i.



ii.a.



ii.b.



iii,a.

56  
58  
60  
62  
64  
66  
68  
70  
72

iii,b.

74  
76  
78  
80  
82  
84  
86  
88  
90

iv,a.

92  
94  
96  
98  
100  
102  
104  
106  
108

- 42 mśc=भवद=abhibhavan=ōjasā rājabri(vii)ndam labdh-ānandas= samitīshu Hariśchandra-  
nāmā narēndrah [I\*] ditsām=ēkām dadhad=a-
- 43 pi nayan Kauśikīyān-dhanāyām<sup>1</sup> svam vyakrīpāt=tṛṇam=iva tathā yas=sa-putram kaṭatram  
|||-19 |||- Āsīd=atr-ānva-
- 44 vāyē Sagara iti nripas=tarjit-āsēsha-bhūpō yēn=ārādhyō=pi<sup>2</sup> kāmam haya-makha-nikarais<sup>3</sup>  
=trāsi-
- 45 tō Dēvarājah [I\*] yat-putrāṇam prabhāval=lavaṇa-jalanidhau sāgaratvam prapannē śēsh-  
āṇām vāri-
- 46 dhīnām=api sakaḷa-gurus=sāgaratvañ=chakrā |||-20 |||- Āsīd=atra Bhagīrathah kshitipatir=  
vvañśē
- 47 sva-vamś-ot(d)bhavān=uddharttūm Kapila-prakōpa-dahana-jvāl-āvali-bhasmitān [I\*] svas-  
sindhūm
- 48 vasudhān=nayan=Tripathagāñ=chakrē sa Bhāgīrathīm=ma[r\*]tyān=apy=amṛitān vyadhāt  
surasarid-vāri-pravā-
- 49 ha-sprīṣam |||-21 |||- Anvayē=tra sumahaty=avatīrṇas=sarvva-bhūpati-guṇaiḥ paripūr-  
ṇah [I\*] sajjana-stuti-virāji-
- 50 ta-varṇah kshām=arakshad=akhilām=Rita(tu)parṇah |||-22 |||- Iha samajani bhūpas=  
sarvva-lōk-aika-dīpah kshapi-
- 51 ta-bhuvana-tāpas=śātrī<sup>4</sup>-āri-pratāpah [I\*] ari-yuvati-vilāpas=sphārit-ōddāma-kōpas=  
satata-vijayi-chāpa[h\*]-
- 52 sphita-kīrttir=Ddīlīpah |||-23 |||- Asminn=amśa-chatuṣṭayēna bhagavān vamśē=janīṣṭha  
prabhūḥ klišṭām vikshya
- 53 vasundharām=atibalai=braṣṭair<sup>5</sup>=mahā-rākshasaiḥ [I\*] Rāmō Lakshmaṇa-saṁyutō=tha  
Bharataś=Śa[tru]ghna-
- 54 yuktas=tv=iti<sup>6</sup> dvandvam Vishṇubhujā-yuga-dvaya-tulām=ūrjjasvalām yad=yayau |||-  
24 |||- Pitari tanaya-vṛitta-

*Third Plate ; First Side.*

- 55 m bhrātrīshu bhrātrī-vṛittam yuvatishu pati-vṛittam śātravē śa[tru]-vṛittam [I\*] munishu  
nripati-vṛittam bāndhavē bandhu-
- 56 vṛittam sakalam<sup>7</sup>=akhila-nāthas=śikshayāmāsa lōkam |||-25 |||- Na krōdhēna jaghāna Rāk-  
shasa-patīm kāmē-
- 57 na na prēyasīm sa pratyāhṛtavān=mahīsa-charitam kārtsnyēna chakrē param [I\*] nō chēt  
'kin=tapasi sthitam
- 58 sa Malayē śūdrañ=jaghān=āsinā kin v=ānatyaya-kānti-dhṛity-upachitān=tatyāja Sītām  
'punah<sup>8</sup> |||-26 |||- Sētu-
- 59 n=nētūm kapi-balam=asau baddhāvān<sup>9</sup>=naikam=abdhau chakrē vakrētara-guṇa-midhir=  
dharma-sē[tū]n=asēshā-

<sup>1</sup> TAS has the same reading; but it should be corrected into *Kauśikīyārthanāyām*, as has been suggested above, Vol. XVIII, p. 36.

<sup>2</sup> TAS has *āra[bdhē]=pi*.

<sup>3</sup> TAS has *nikarē*.

<sup>4</sup> Read *śātrī-āri* as in TAS.

<sup>5</sup> Read *adhrīṣṭair* as in TAS.

<sup>6</sup> TAS has *yukta[s=suta]*.

<sup>7</sup> The syllable *ka* is engraved above the line.

<sup>8</sup> TAS has *[dru]ta[m]* for *punah*.

<sup>9</sup> TAS has *bandhayan* for *baddhān*.

- 60 n [\*] kētuṁ hētuṁ vibudha-vipadāṁ vyāpadā[n=dā]navīnām Rāmaṁ kūmaṁ kathayati  
janas=sadguṇānān=nidhā-  
61 nam |||-27 |||- Asmin=vamśē=jani vidadayann=ōjasā bhūpa-yūthān<sup>1</sup>=Chōḷō nāma  
kshītipatir=atisphīta-  
62 rājanya-kālāḥ [\*] yasy=āśēśhām=avanim=avatō rājadhānīm=iva svān<sup>2</sup> lil-ōdyānais=tulanam  
=adadhus<sup>3</sup>=sarvva-  
63 taḥ kānanāni :|||-28 |||- Viharan sa Hara-prabhaḥ kadūchin=muni-bṛi(vṛi)nd-ādhyushitēshu  
kānanēshu [\*] anayan<sup>4</sup>  
64 vinay-āśrayō<sup>5</sup> vihāra-pratīlabdh-āvasarūṇi vāsarūṇi |||-29 |||- Kadāchana mṛiga-vraja- pra-  
mathana-pra-  
65 galbh-ādaraś<sup>6</sup>=chachāra vipin-āntarēshv=anati-bbūri-sainyaḥ kshamī [\*] tadā sa mṛiga-  
rūpiṇā jhaṭiti kēna-  
66 chid-rakshasā hṛitō haritam=anvagāt prakṛiti-dakṣiṇō dakṣiṇām |||-30 |||- Mṛigan=tam=  
=anugachchatā prajavi-  
67 nā śanair=vvājīnā prithu-druma-samākulaṁ vipinam=anyad=āsāditam tam<sup>7</sup> [\*] tam=  
anvayur=anārata-pravitata-pra-  
68 yāṇ-ōnmukhā javēna rabhas=ōtpatat-prithu-varūthini-nāyakāḥ |||-31 |||- Tam hatvā raja-  
nicharam  
69 sa tatra bhūpaḥ Kāvērīm=anu vichachāra bhūri-chāraḥ [\*] kshīr-āmbhōnidhi-mathanāt  
surair=avāptam pi-  
70 yūsham bhuvī salila-chchhalād=vahantīm :|||-32 |||- Tatra stā(snā)tvā dīta(t)sur=artthan=  
dva(dvi)jēbhyō n=āpaśyat=tān=vaśya-  
71 chittas=tadānīm [\*] Āryāvarttād=vipra-varyyān=udagrūn<sup>8</sup>=ānīy=ā[syū] vāsayāmāsa<sup>9</sup> tīrē  
: |||-33 |||- Vipinam=a-  
72 khilān=chhitvā pūgais=chakāra vanam=mahat=tad-anu vidadhē dhīras=sāram sa-nāgalat-  
ākulam [\*] upavana-chayai-

*Third Plate ; Second Side.*

- 73 r=anyair=ddhanyaiḥ Kavēra-sutā-taṭa-dvaya-vasumatīm=ēka-chchhāyām=anēka-phalām  
vyadhāt |||-34 |||- A-  
74 mara-sariti snānam bhūyas=tapaś-charaṇaṁ=janā vidadhati taṭē tasyāḥ kṛicchhran=tri-  
viśṭapa-kāmyayā [\*] iha virachitam  
75 snānam ghōran=tapaś=cha surālayād=api śubhatarē tīrē<sup>10</sup>vāsām sthīrikurutē satām |||-35 |||-  
Anvaśāt=tam=anu Rā-  
76 jakōsarī vāsarādhipa iv=āsama-dyutiḥ [\*] Chōḷabhūpa-tanayō nay-ādhiakḥ kshōṇīm=ā-  
jaladhi bādhit-āhita[h]<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> TAS has rāja-byindān=

<sup>2</sup> Read svām as in TAS.

<sup>3</sup> TAS has adadhan which is a wrong form.

<sup>4</sup> Read anayad= as in TAS.

<sup>5</sup> TAS has vibudh-āśrayō instead of vinay-āśrayō.

<sup>6</sup> TAS has prabhu(phu)ll-ādaraś(s)=.

<sup>7</sup> This tam is superfluous.

<sup>8</sup> TAS has a[nēlā]n instead of udagrūn.

<sup>9</sup> TAS has =ādhyā-āsayāmāsa for =asyū vāsayāmāsa.

<sup>10</sup> TAS has v[āśē] instead of tīrē.

<sup>11</sup> TAS has tūpī- instead of bādhit-.

- 77 |||-36 |||- Tat-sutas=tu **Parakēsari** nripō matsari-kṣhūtipa-vīryya-śātanah<sup>1</sup> [\*] sat-sakhaḥ  
kṣhītim=imām=apālayat(d)
- 78 bhartsit-āsura-nikāya<sup>2</sup>-vikramah |||-37 |||- Asmin=vaṁśe **Mṛityujin**=nāma rājā mṛityōr=  
jjētā pātīt-ārāti-va-
- 79 rggaḥ [\*] jajñō yajñair=ājñayā va(cha) prakāman=dēvān=chhatrūn<sup>3</sup>=tōshayan bhṛēsha-  
yamś=cha :|||-38 |||- Asmin=vaṁśe **Vi-**
- 80 **rasēn**-ābhīdhānō jātō nīt-āsēsha-lōk-ābhītāpaḥ<sup>4</sup> [\*] rējē rājā tējasā bhānu-tulyaḥ kalyā-  
81 ṇānām=mandiraṁ sundar-āṁgaḥ |||-39 |||- **Chitrō** nāma kṣhītipatir=abhūt=tatra vaṁśe=  
dhika-śrīr=vvitrast-ā-
- 82 ri-prakara-vināti-vyakta-vichchhinna-kōpaḥ [\*] Vṛittrārātir=jjhaṭīti samarē nirjjitō<sup>5</sup> yasya  
bhānair=mmitrī-
- 83 bhūtas=satatam=abhajat(d)=**Vyāghrakētu**=ddhvajstvām |||-40 |||- Avanim=akhila-pārā-  
vāra-dhī(ti)r-ābhīrām-ōpa-
- 84 ratim=avirata-śrīs=śāsītum=nāsīt-ārīḥ [\*] nija-bhujā-bala-lilā-kṛiṣṭa-rājanya-lakṣmīr=iha  
samajani vaṁśe bhū-
- 85 patīḥ **Pushpakētuḥ** |||-41 |||- Asmin=vaṁśe **Kētumāl**-ābhīdhānō jātō rāj=Ājātasatru-pra-  
86 kśaḥ<sup>6</sup> [\*] hṛitvā sarva-kṣmābhīrām kētu-mālām yēn=āvāptam Kētumāl-ābhīdhānam.  
|||-42 |||- **Samudraji-**
- 87 n=nāma narādhirājō babhūva vaṁśe=tra viśūla-vīryyaḥ [\*] pūrvv-āpar-āmbhōnidhi-  
ni(mi)śraṇēna paṇēna<sup>7</sup> Madrē-
- 88 śa-sutām sa lēbbē :|||-43 |||- Śrīmaty=atra kulē babhūva mahita-śrīḥ **Pañchap**-ākīyō nripō.  
nirvvyāj-āti-
- 89 thi-pūjan-ōrjjita-manā yakṣhān sa pañch=ātithīm [\*] vidhyā(ddhvā) pañcha<sup>8</sup> śirās=sva-  
śōṇitam=asau tair-yāchitas=sa-<sup>9</sup>
- 90 tvārā[ni] kōshpa[n=ta]t sakalān=apāyayad=atas=tat-pālanāt **Pañchap**ah |||-44 |||- Abhavad=  
vibhavair=jjayan=digī-

*Fourth Plate ; First Side.*

- 91 śān=iha vaṁśe nripatis=sitātūśu-kāntaḥ [\*] **Draṁiḍas**<sup>10</sup>=sa Mṛiḍasya samprasādād-ajāyan=  
mṛityum=anatyaya-
- 92 prabhāvaḥ |||-45 |||- Atr=ābhū[d=a<sup>11</sup>]mala-guṇaḥ kulē=tula-śrīs=tējasvī samiti **Manōrath**-  
ābhīdānaḥ [\*] yō hatvā
- 93 jhaṭīti manōrathān=ariṇām bandhūnām=akuruta sat-phalān balēna : |||-46 |||- **Ētasmin**  
**Parunetkālī-**
- 94 prabhītayō vaṁśe dharādhiśvarā bhūyāmsas=tulit-Āmarēśvara-bala-śrī(śrī)-vikramā  
jajñirē [\*] yēshām=ā-ja-
- 95 ladhi kṣhamām samavatām<sup>10</sup> vyāptam yasōbhiś=śubhair=ā-brahmaṇḍa[m=a]khaṇḍa-dēśa-  
samayam viśvañ=jagad=rājatē : |||-47 |||-

<sup>1</sup> *TAS* has *matsa[rīlam=a]nirvāryya-śāsanah*.<sup>2</sup> The corresponding reading in *TAS* is uncertain.<sup>3</sup> Here *n* is superfluous. Read =*chhatrūn*=<sup>4</sup> *TAS* has *lōk-ābhita[ś=cha]*.<sup>5</sup> *TAS* has *tarjjitō*.<sup>6</sup> *TAS* has *jāta-śam[pā-pra]kśaḥ*.<sup>7</sup> *TAS* has *[panyē]na..... śa-sutām [śa]tō[bbah]*.<sup>8</sup> *TAS* has *sādaram*.<sup>9</sup> *TAS* has *nṛimṛiḍas*.<sup>10</sup> *TAS* has *sapatana*-, which is ill-suited in the present context.



- 96 Asmin kulē kula-dharādharma-sannikāśaḥ kā4-ōpamāna-vitat-ōru-yaśaḥ-pratānaḥ [I\*] āsīt kṣhitīśa-tilakaḥ Ka-
- 97 rikāla-nāmā Chōlas=samuddhata<sup>1</sup>-ripu-kṣhitipūla-kālāḥ |||-48 |||- Sa Kāvērīn=dūrīkṛta-sakala-sasyām vidadhatīm
- 98 payaḥ-pūrais=sphārair=avanim=avinīt-ōddhati-haraḥ [I\*] pratiribhūtābhīr=anarapati-śira-[h\*]-śliṣṭa-pitaka-prakīrṇābhīr=mmrit(d)bhīr=nyaru-
- 99 [nad=A]run-āgrēsara-samam(maḥ) : |||-49 |||- Asmin kulē sakala-pārthiva-vandya-pādō jātō=bhijāta-guṇa-sam-
- 100 hati- hrīmḥita-śrīḥ [I\*] ūrjjasval-ōt(d)bhata-nij-āpratima-pratāpas=santāpit-āri-śalabbō Vajabbō mahīśaḥ |||-
- 101 50 |||- Ih=ānvayē=bhūd=Amarēśa-tulyaḥ parāsta-vidvaj-jana-tāpa-śalyaḥ [I\*] samastarājūnaka-bhūri-vallabhaḥ<sup>2</sup>
- 102 kṣamādhināthō Jagadēkamallaḥ |||-51 |||- Vamśc=sminn=ari-rāja-vandita pada-dvandv-āravindaḥ kṣamī rājā Vyālabhayaḥ-
- 103 haraḥ sambhavat sūnōs=samānō ravēḥ [I\*] dōr-ddaṇḍ-āñchita-khaḍga-khaṇḍita-ripōr=yasy=ōrjita-śrī-jushaḥ
- 104 kōp-āgni[r\*]=dvishad-aṅgan-āsru-salīśa=siktaḥ param śāmyati : |||-52 |||- , Anvayē=tra Vijayālaya-nāmā sārvaabhūma<sup>3</sup>
- 105 sakala-kṣhiti-nāthaḥ [I\*] yat-pad-āmburuha-yugmam=ajaseram śekhārīkṛitam=aśēśha- mahīśaḥ |||-53 |||- Nivēśayām[ā]-
- 106 sa sa Chōla-dēśe nivēśit<sup>4</sup>-āśēśha-guṇa-pravṛiddhām [I\*] Kañjāsan-ādyair=amaraiḥ pragītān=Tañchāpurī-nāma pu-
- 107 rīn=narēndraḥ |||-54 |||- Adityavanmā(rmm=ā)bhavad=asya putraḥ Kōḍaṇḍarām-ābhī-tayāḥ<sup>5</sup> prasiddhaḥ [I\*] utplutya matta-dvirad-ēndra-
- 108 /samsthān=jaghāna yaḥ Pallavarājam=ājau : |||-55 |||- Asy=ābhūt=tanayaḥ parākramavatām=ēkādhīpaḥ kṣmā-

*Fourth Plate; Second Side.*

- 109 bhujām vīraśrī-nīlayaḥ Parāntaka iti khyātaḥ kṣamādhīśvaraḥ [I\*] vėl-ōdyāna-vihārībhīr=mmadakaḥair=yyam<sup>6</sup> vā-
- 110 raṇ-ādhiśvaraīr=vvāsyantē mada-sindhubhīḥ pratidīśam pāthāmsi pāthōnidhēḥ |||-56 |||- Ha-
- 111 tv=āsu Pāṇḍyam=akhilēna balēna sākaḥ hrītvā tadīyam=akhilam vasu vīryaśālī [I\*] bhasmīchakāra Ma-
- 112 dhurām yad=adhaḥ-krit-ārīr=llēbhē natas=sa Madhurāntaka-nāmadhēyam |||-57 |||- Yaj=jigāya Vijay-ōpama-
- 113 dyutiḥ Kṛishṇarājam=ajitan=narādhipaiḥ [I\*] bhūri-vīkrama-vivarddhita-dyutir=Vīra-Chōla iti tēna kīrttyatē |||-58 |||- Yat=tī-
- 114 rṇṇair=jjalanidhim=uddhatai[r\*]=bal-aughais=sahyattān samiti jaghāna Simhaśēśān [I\*] tat=sarvva-kṣhitipa-
- 115 ti-vandyaṁāna-pādas=sō=navartthām=abhajata Simhaśāntak-ākhyām |||-59 |||- Dṛiṣṭāntaḥ kō=śya rājnas=sakala-guṇa-

<sup>1</sup> TAS has *samutthita*.

<sup>2</sup> TAS has *rājūnaka-bhūri-bhallaḥ*.

<sup>3</sup> Read *sambabhūva* as in TAS.

<sup>4</sup> TAS has *navīnat āśēśha*.

<sup>5</sup> Read=*ābhīdhayā*.

iv, b

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v, a.

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v, b.

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vi.b.

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vii.a.

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- 116 nidhēs=śaknuyāt kō=sya vaktum bhūya[h\*] ślāghyān guṇ-aughān=upasaṃmita-ripōr=vvikram-  
aik-āspadasya [\*]  
117 yō vit(d)vat(d)-vipra-bhōgyān=anupama-vibhavān=Vīranārāyaṇ-ādyān=atyagryān=agra-  
hārān=vyadhita vidhir=iva sva-  
118 rggam=ast-āri-varggaḥ |||-60 ||- Amushya tanayō=bhavat(d) vibhur= Arindam-ākhyō  
nṛipaḥ kṣhapākara-sama-dyuti[h] kṣhapi-  
119 ta-vairi-pakṣh-ōtkaraḥ [\*] yadiya-bhuja-vikrama-śravaṇa-sambhavat- sādḍha(sādhva)sair=  
nṛipair=avanibhṛit(d)-guhā-griha-ni-  
120 vāsibhi[h] sthīyatē |||-61||- Asakṛid=akṛita rājñas=svairam=ājñā-vidhēyām=vyadhita  
Vidhi-samānas=sam-  
121 padam sajjanānām [\*] atanuta nuta-vīryō vyāpadam śātravāṇam=atulayad=atula-śrīś=  
chandra-kūntim sva-kāntyā : |||-  
122 62 ||- Asya sūnur=abhavat Parāntakas=santata-kṣhapita-vairi-santatiḥ [\*] chintayan=  
yad=udayan sa-sādhvasaḥ  
123 Pāṇḍya-bhūpatir=alaṅghayat(d) girim |||-63 ||- Chakāra kārāsu ripūn=aśēbhūms=tatāra  
bhūrin samar-ām-  
124 burāśin [\*] jahāra tāpam budha-samhatinān=tatāna santāpam=sajjanānām |||-64 ||-  
Akhila-guṇa-  
125 nidhānāt(d)=bhūmipālād=amushmād=udajani naranāthō Rājarāj-ābhidhānaḥ [\*] sa khalu  
ruchira-dēhaḥ kānta-nē-  
126 tr-āravindō Dhanada iti param yad=Rājarājēna tulyaḥ |||-65 ||- Sañjahāra samarē sa pārt-  
thivān=u-

*Fifth Plate ; First Side.*

- 127 jjahāra vipadas=sa bhūtalāt [\*] ājahāra cha makhān=anēkaśō vyājahāra yad=asūnṛitan=  
na tat |||-66 ||-  
128 Saty-āśrāvē sthitararē bata Rājarājē Satyāśrayaḥ kila palāyata manda-buddhiḥ [\*] natyā  
jayanti  
129 sa-bhayā ripavas=tam=ājau na tyājayaty=ayam=asūn=aribhiś=śriyas=taih |||-67 ||- Tasya  
sū-  
130 nur=anayasya śāsītā Pākaśāsana iv=āri-śāsanaḥ [\*] Śambarāri-ruchir-ākṛitir=anṛipās=  
sambabhū-  
131 va Madhurāntak-ābhidhaḥ |||-68 ||- Ajayad=ajita-vīryaś=śūryya-saundaryya-śālī Vijaya  
iva sapa-  
132 nnā(tnā)n Kunda(nta)lānām=adhiśān [\*] aharata sa kirīṭam kṣhetriyāṇām=nihanu[h]  
prasabham=abhihat-ārir=jJāmada-  
133 [gnya]sya vīryyāt |||-69 ||- Jahāra hāran=tuhināmśu-kāntam Śatakratōr=vvikrama-nirjji-  
tāriḥ [\*] vihā-  
134 ra-bhūmin=nija-sainikānām sa ch=ākarōt samyati Mānyakēṭam |||-70 ||- Sva-senādhiśā-  
135 n-apratihata-Kulūt-ōtkalapatiḥ Kalimḡan=Varḡēndrais<sup>1</sup>=saha bahaḥa-vīryyān vidalayan  
[\*] sa  
136 Gaṃgām=ut(d)garjjan=nija-kari-ghaṭā-ghātita<sup>2</sup>-tatān(n)=ghaṭair=jahrē bhūbhṛin-makuṭa-  
nīhitair=uddhri-  
137 ta-jalām |||-71 ||- Ullamghit-āmbudhibhir=uddhata-bāhu-vīryyair-nirddhūta-[vai]ri-nara-  
nātha-bala-prapañchaiḥ [\*]

<sup>1</sup> TAS has *Vimś-ēndraiḥ*, which has been rightly guessed to be meant for *Varḡ-ēndraiḥ*, above, Vol. XVIII, p. 45, n.

<sup>2</sup> TAS has *pātita*.

- 138 saṇyair=ddadāha sa Kaṭāham=adaddha(gdha)m=anyai **Rajendra-Chōla-nripatiḥ** kim=asāddhyam=asya :|||-72 |||- Tasy=ā-
- 139 saṇis=tanayās=trayas=traya iva khyātāḥ kratōr=agnayaḥ<sup>1</sup>s=tēshān=tu prathamah kshitiśa-tilakō Rājādhira-
- 140 jō nripah [\*] yaḥ Kalyāṇapuram=dadāha nripatin=nirjitya Karnnātakān=ādāy=Āhavamalla-vārāpa-ghaṭm Kō-
- 141 llāpurañ=ch=ākshinōt |||-73 |||- Tasmin gatē tridivam=uddhṛta-lōka-sōkas=tasy=ānujaḥ kshitim=imām=aklu-
- 142 lām=arakshat [\*] **Rājendradēva-nripatis**=sa ripūn=asēshān Sēsh-ōpam-ōt(d)bhaṭa-bhujah prajāyam vyanai-
- 143 shīt |||-74 |||- Tasmin=yātē tridivam=anujas=tasya nistējit-ārīḥ prajāyam rājyaṁ vyadhita-vidhivat(d)=Vīrarā-

*Fifth Plate ; Second Side.*

- 144 jēndradēvaḥ [\*] atyut(d)bhūtam samadbika-balō Rājārājendradēvaś=śatru-vrātām vya-jayata javāt(d)-bāhyam=ā-
- 145 bhyantarañ=cha :|||-75 |||- Hatvā Kūṭāla-saṁgamē kshitibhṛtaḥ Karnnāṭa<sup>2</sup>-vaṁś-ōt(d)-bhavān saṇyam yaḥ nabhujām prava-
- 146 rddhayati yas=tair=ddēvabhūyam gataiḥ [\*] yēn=aikēna gojēna Kuntāla-balan=nirhatya ta-ch-chhōṇitaiḥ kṛitv=ānyām sa-
- 147 ritān samudra-paritām<sup>3</sup> santōshitō vāridhiḥ |||-76 |||- Bhrātrībhyām samupēkshitañ=jana-padam vaṁśa-kram-ābhyāga-
- 148 tam krāntān vairi-mahiśvarair=atibalair=vVemgīn(n)=Kali[n]gūn=api [\*] jītvā śatru-param-parām=atibalām bhītvā cha
- 149 durgga(rggā)n<sup>4</sup> bahūn=cha<sup>5</sup> śrīmān-Vallabha-Vallabhah kshitipatiḥ kshēmēṇa tam sō=nva-śūt |||-77 |||- Virachōla-nripatiḥ Kari-
- 150 kālāḥ kālayan kali-balan sakalām saḥ [\*] dharitma-śāsana-samuchchayam=uchcham vyātānōt(d)-Bharatasāra-samētam |||-
- 151 78 |||- Dēvasy=Ādriśutādhīpasya mahatas=Trailōkyasār-ābhīdham śrīmad-Dabhrasabhā-naṭasya makutē māpikka(kya)m=ā-
- 152 rōpitam [\*] manyē vairikul-ādīmasya śaśinaś=Śrīkaṇṭha-chūḍāmaṇēr=bhaṁg-ūrtthan=nija-vaṁśakṛit sa bha-
- 153 gavān bhānus=samārōpitam(taḥ) |||-79 |||- Chōla-Tuṇḍira-Pāṇḍyēshu Gaṁgavāṭi-Kulūta-yōḥ [\*] Vi-
- 154 rarājendra-nāmm=āsau brahmadēyān=akalpayat |||-80 |||- Chatvārimśat=sahasrāṇi brāhma-ṇānān=trayividda(dā)m [\*] atōshayat(d)=bhūmi-dānair=ā(a)sthāpayad=adi(ti)sthiram |||-
- 155 81 |||- Svasti śrī [\*] Sakalabhuvanaśra-
- 156 ya śrī-mēḍinīva[\*]labha Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Parama<sup>6</sup>paṭṭāraka Ravikulā-tilaka Chōlakula-śō-
- 157 khara Pāṇḍyakul-āntaka Ahavamalla-kula-kūla Ahavamallapaṇai aimmaḍi veṇ-kaṇḍa Rāja-śekhara Rājāśra-

<sup>1</sup> Here the *visarga* is redundant. Read *agnayaś=*.

<sup>2</sup> *TAS* has *mappūṭa*.

<sup>3</sup> Read *samudra-paritām* as in *TAS*.

<sup>4</sup> *TAS* has *bhītan*.

<sup>5</sup> Here *cha* is redundant ; read *bahūn*.

<sup>6</sup> Read<sup>6</sup> *bhātāraka*.

- 158 ya Rājārājendra Vira-chōla Karikāla-chōla Rājākēsari-panma śrīmat-Vīrarājendradēva  
Rājākēsari  
159 śrī-Vīrarājendradēvaṅkku yāṇḍu ēlāvadu Śakābḍan-toḷāyirattu-ttonṇūṟṟonṇu  
mē-  
160 r=Saumya-sam[va]tsarattu [\*] Viramēy tuṇaiyāḡavun=tiyāḡamēy=aniyāḡavuñ=cheṅḡōl=  
ōchchi=kkaruñ-  
161 gali kaḡindu Tenṇanai=ttalai-koṇḍu Chēranai=ttirai-koṇḍu Śiṅḡaladēsam 'vaḡip-  
162 paḡuttu veṅḡalatt-Āhavamallanai aimmaḡi ven-kaṇḍu Vēṅḡai-nāḡu mīṭṭu-

*Sixth Plate; First Side.*

- 163 kkoṇḍu tannuḡan-piranda munnavar virada-muḡittu vandu-paṇinda Vijayādittarḡkku<sup>2</sup>  
ma-  
164 ṇḡalam=aruḷi-kkalal=aḡainaḡa manṇarkku=k[Kaḡāra]m=ciṇḡu kuḡutt-aruḷi Sōmīsvaranai  
=k-  
165 Kaṇṇaḡadēsāñ=kaiyviḡa=tturatti=ttann-aḡainaḡa Śaḡukku<sup>3</sup> Vikramāḡittanai eṇḡisai niga-  
166 la-kkaṇḡigai-kaṭṭi Iraṭṭapāḡi ēlarai-ilakkamum=erindu koḡuttaruḷi vijaya-si-  
167 mḡāsanattu Uḡagamuluduḡaiyāḡoḡum vīrirund=aruḷina 'śakravattigaḷ śrī-Vīrarā-  
168 jēndradēvar muraṭ-Chaḡukkiyai Muḡakkārril mudugu-kaṇḍu muniv=ariya Iraṭṭarāja-ku-  
169 la-kālan igal Virarājendran puyañ-koṇḍu podu-nikkiy=āḷṅinra Jayaṅḡoṇ-  
170 ḡaśōla-maṇḡalattu<sup>4</sup> Eyiṇ-kōṭṭattu nagaram Kāñchīpurattu Uḡaiyār Ti-  
171 ruveḡambam=Uḡaiyār kōyilil=ttenpakkattu tiruvōlakka-maṇḡapam Rā-  
172 jarājanil munbil tirukkāvaṇattu elundaruḷi Uttaram-ayana-saṇkrānti nānru  
173 dānañ=cheydaruḷāninru [\*] muḡi-kavitta muḡūrttamē muḡūrttam-āḡav=eḡuttup-pōy  
vaḡiko-  
174 |-vērpaḡai Virarājendrap vaḡa-Kūḡai-saṇḡamattu-ppōr=Āhavamallanaiyūm makkaḷai-  
175 yum puraṇḡaṇḡu koṇḡa Iraṭṭapāḡi-koṇḡaśōla-maṇḡalattu-pPuli-nāṭṭu=  
chChēram=ā-  
176 ṇa śrī-Madurāntaka-śaturvēḡimaṇḡalattu<sup>5</sup> Brāhṇaṇan Ātrēya-gōtrattu  
177 Bahudhānya-sūtrattu<sup>7</sup> Rishikēśava<sup>8</sup>-Bhaṭṭa-Sōmayāśi(ji)yār varḡattu Sō(Śrō)-

*Sixth Plate; Second Side.*

- 178 triya-Kramavittaṇum Mundaya-Kramavittaṇum Pallaya-Kramavittaṇum  
uḷḷiṭṭārkkum  
179 ivarḡaḷ anvayattārkkum dānaṇḡa-kkuḡuttaruḷina Chēṛām=āṇa śrī-Madurāntaka-śa-  
(cha)turvvē-  
180 diṇaṇḡalattukku sīmāntaram |||-pūrvandikku Kuppēriyūm paśchāt Nattuvan-kuru-

<sup>1</sup> Read *adippaduttu*.

<sup>2</sup> Read *Vijayādittarku*.

<sup>3</sup> Read *Śaḡukki*.

<sup>4</sup> Read *chakravartigaḷ*.

<sup>5</sup> Jayangondaśōla-maṇḡalam is similarly described in another record of Virarājendra dated in the 7th year from Perumbēr (*S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 203). For a variant see f. n. 3 on same page.

<sup>6</sup> Read *chaturvēdi*.

<sup>7</sup> Read *Bōdhāyana-sūtrattu*.

<sup>8</sup> Read *Hrishikēśa-Bhaṭṭa*.

- 181 kkaiyum paśchāt=kKottikkaṇuvāyūm Puḷugiyāṛum Śirukaṇuvāyḱku mēṛku  
 182 Arpūndiy-uḷḷē Śēnguprum paśchāt Āndimuḱḱakil Vauvāl-pārai-  
 183 yum adukku mēṛku Puṇarkuruchchiyl Vāḱa-kurukkaiyum adukku mēṛ-  
 184 ku Oḷugu-pāraiym paśchāt Āndiyilūḷḷalai-kKuṇḱarai-pārai-  
 185 yum paśchāt Ūṣhai-kkurukkaiyum adukku vaḱakku alukkal-  
 186 lum adukku vaḱakku Vā[ra]ṭpaḱiyum adukku vaḱakku Tanimuttu-ma-  
 187 [ḱai]yum adukku vaḱakku Mōṭṭāp-kuttaiyum adukku-kkiḷakku  
 188 Trikoṇa-muttu-maḱaiyum Kammāra(ra)-ṣuṇaiyum paśchāt Perumbaḷḷam=u-  
 189 ḷḷāga-kkaḱḱatti-melaiyilē<sup>1</sup> kūḱittu [\*] simāntaram samāpti ||| Viśvair-vviśva-  
 190 mbharādhisair-ṇṇanditair<sup>2</sup>-vvandida(ta)m=idam ['] śāsanam Virarājēndra-  
 Rāja-kēsariva-  
 191 rmmapaḷ ||| [82|||\*] Virarājēndradēvasya vikramasya prakāśanam [\*] Chandrabhū-  
 shaṇa-Bhaṭṭē-

*Seventh Plate ; First Side.*

- 192 na rachitam śuddha-buddhinā ||| [83|||\*] Tiruvāymolindaruḷa i=śāsanāṇ=cheyvit-  
 193 tār Adikāriḱaḷ tiru mēvumpaḱi-viḷaṅga-ttēr-vēndar-aḱi-vaṇaṅga paḷi-nikḱi  
 194 ulag=āṇḱa vīran Vi[ra\*]rājēndran aḷiyā-ttol-Maṇu-neṇiyāl vaḷarkkiṇra  
 195 Śōḷa-maṇḱalattu Kshatri[ya\*]śikāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu-tTirunaraiyūr-nāṭṭu-pParakēśa-  
 196 rinallūr kiḷavaṇ Guṇanidi-Aruḷmoḷiyār=āṇa Mūnavaṇ-Mūvēndavōḷār ||| Tiru-  
 197 mandira-ōlai Jayaṅḱoṇḱaśōḷa-vaḷanāṭṭu=kKurumbūr-nāṭṭu brahmadēyaṇ=Kā-  
 198 yāḱkuḱi Gu(Ku)ṇḱina-gōtrattu Āpastambha(ba)-sūtrattu Tōṇamayan Pāpanāśa-  
 199 ṇ=āṇa Vīraśrīvallaḱha-Brahmādhiraḱjan |||- Nittavinōḱa-vaḷanāṭṭu Vīraśōḷa-va-  
 200 ḷanāṭṭu Śēndamaṅḱalam=uḱaiyān Aruḷmoḷi Rājēndraśōḷan=āṇa Jana-  
 201 nāḱa-Viḷupparaiyaṇ |||- Sāmānyō=yam dharmam=ēta[n\*]=nṛipāṇām<sup>3</sup> kālē kālē  
 202 pāliniyō<sup>4</sup> bhavat(d)bhish(bhīḷ) [\*] tasmād=ētān bhāvināḷ pārṭṭhivēndrān bhūyō bhūyō  
 yācha-  
 203 tē Rāmabhadra[h\*] ||| [84|||\*]- Sukṛitam=idam=ajasraṇ rakshyatē dishu diśān sakala-nṛi-  
 [pi]ti-vandyas=sō=  
 204 yam-ūḱāminō vaḷ ['] Hara-charaṇa-sarōṭṭvamaṣa-chihūṇēna mūrddhā-mu[ka]ḷita-kara-panmō  
 205 vandyatē Rājarājāḷ ||'-[85|||\*] Bahubhūir=vvasudhā dattam<sup>5</sup> rājabbhis=Sagarādibhīḷ [\*]  
 yasya yasya yadā  
 206 bhūmis=tasya tasya tadū phalam ||| [86|||\*] Pariṇatan=adhisayaṇ Madhurāntaka-Brahmā-  
 dhiraḱjan=a-

*Seventh Plate ; Second Side.*

- 207 [tanva] śāsanam=ēva dēśa-madhyē sva-pati-kārya-viniśchyārtṭṭhān buddhiḷ kṛita [Śaśi]-  
 bhūshaṇa-  
 208 paṇḱitēna sārddham<sup>7</sup> ||| [87|||\*] Tiruvāymolind=aruḷa i=śāsanana-eḷuttu vēṭṭi-

<sup>1</sup> It is possible that the expression *Kadatti malaiyilē*, may be the name of a hill, or it may mean 'having traversed (*kadandu*), it terminated (*kūḱittu*) at a hill (*malai*), which may have been a landmark in that locality, without however, having a specific name.

<sup>2</sup> Read =*nanditair*.

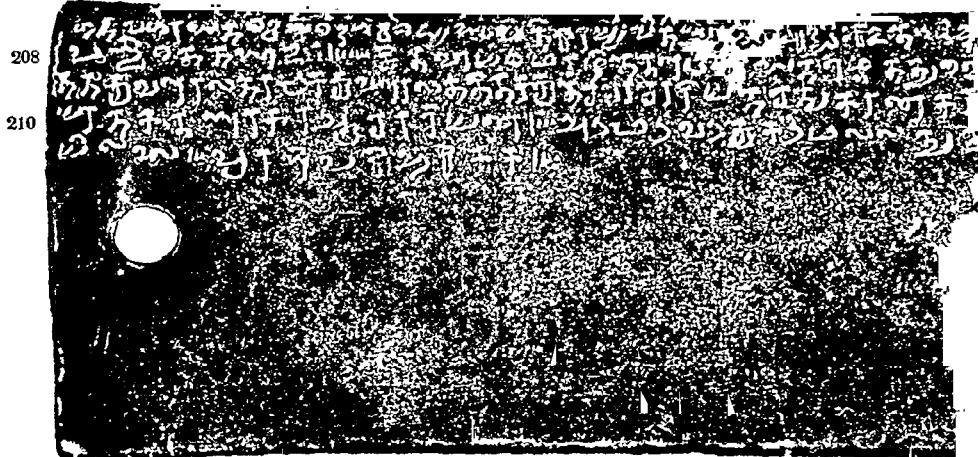
<sup>3</sup> The correct reading is *dharmā-sētur=nṛipāṇām*.

<sup>4</sup> Read *pāliniyō*.

<sup>5</sup> The verse is defective; and the following corrections may be suggested: *dikshv=adhishāh; nripāt; sarvōḷṭa-ma-chihūṇēna mūrddhā; mukulita; padmō; vandatē*. The metre is *Mālinī*. [The intended reading of the first quarter appears to be: *Sukṛitam=idam=ajasraṇ rakshat=ēti kshilīśān*.—B.C.C.]

<sup>6</sup> Read *dattā*.

<sup>7</sup> This verse is also corrupt, but no corrections are suggested.



SEAL OF THE CHARALA PLATES.

SEAL OF THE  
MADRAS MUSEUM PLATES OF UT



From photographs (ABOUT ACTUAL SIZE).





209 nēn Kuvaḷāla-nāṭṭu-kKuvaḷālatt-irukkun=Tachchāchāriyan Śaṅkaraṇ Kāḍāḍi-  
 210 y-āna Karuṇākara-Āchāriyaṇ ||| aṇa-maṇavaṇka [\*] [a\*]ṇamalladu tuṇai-  
 211 yillai ||| Prāṇi pariḷarikka |||

## TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1-155)<sup>1</sup> — Sanskrit verses 1 to 81.

(Ll. 155-158)--Hail ! Prosperity ! *Sakalabhuvanāśraya*, *Śrīmēdinīvallabha*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, the forehead mark of the solar race (*Ravikula-tilka*), the crest-jewel of the Chōḷa family (*Chōḷakula-śekhara*), Death to the Pāṇḍya family (*Pāṇḍyakul-āntaka*), Death to the family of Āhavamalla (*Āhavamallakula-kāla*), the foremost of kings, who saw the back of Āhavamalla five times, *Rājāśraya*, *Rājārājendra*, *Vīra-Chōḷa*, *Karikāla-Chōḷa*, *Rājakēsari-varman* *śrī-Vīrarājēndradēva*—

(Ll. 159-167) In the seventh (*regnal*) year (*corresponding to the*) Śaka year nine hundred and ninety-one (*expired*), and the (*cyelic*) year **Saumya**, of (*this*) Chakravarttiḡaḷ Rājakēsari śrī-Vīrarājēndradēva—who, with heroism as (*his*) help, with liberality as (*his*) only ornament, wielded the sceptre, and dispelled the dark Kali (*-age*), took the head of **Tēṇṇavaṇ** (*i.e.*, the Pāṇḍya king), levied tribute from the **Chēra** (*king*), subdued the **Siṅgaḷa** country, saw the back of **Āhavamalla** five times on the fierce battlefield, recovered **Vēṅgai-nāḍu** and (*thus*) fulfilled the vow of his elder brothers who were born with him, gave the territory to **Vijayāditya** who came and submitted to him, gave **Kaḍāram** after conquest to the (*Kaḍāram*) king who had approached his feet (*i.e.*, submitted to him), routed **Sōmēśvara** so as to abandon the **Kannaḍa** country, invested the **Chāḷukya** **Vikramāditya** with the necklet (*kaṇṭhikai*) so as to shine in the eight directions and bestowed on him the **Iraṭṭapāḍi**-Seven-and-a-half-lakh country, after conquest, and was pleased to be seated on the throne of victory, together with (*his*) consort **Ulagamuḷududaiyāl** :

(Ll. 168-180) while (*this*) warlike **Vīrarājendra**, the god of Death to the family of the **Raṭṭa** king, whose anger abated only after seeing the back of the obstinate **Chalukki** on (*the bank of*) the **Muḍakkāru**, was pleased to be seated in the frontal portion of the audience-hall called **Rājārājan** in the southern portion of the temple of god **Tiruvēgambam-Uḍaiyār** at **Kāñchi-puram**, a *nagaram* in **Eyir-kōṭṭam**, (*a sub-division*) in **Jayaṅgaṇḍaśōḷa-maṇḍalam**, which is ruled over (*by the king*), having been conquered by the strength of his arm and made his exclusive property, and was pleased to offer gifts on the day of **Uttarāyaṇa-saṅkrānti**,

(*he*) gave to the **Brāhman** **Śrōtriya-Kramavittaṇ**, **Mundaya-Kramavittaṇ** and **Pallaya-Kramavittaṇ** and others and their descendants of the *varga* (*lineage*) of **Ṛṣhikēśava** (**Ṛṣhikēśa**)-**Bhaṭṭa-Sōmayājiyār** of the **Ātrēya-gōtra** and **Bahudhānya** (**Baudhāyana**)-*sūtra*, a **Brāhman** (*resident*) of **Chērām** *alias* **Madhurāntaka-chaturvēdimaṅgalam**,

(*the village*) **Chērām** *alias* **śrī-Madhurāntaka-chaturvēdimaṅgalam** in **Puli-nāḍu**, (*a sub-division*) of **Raṭṭapāḍikonḍaśōḷa-maṇḍalam**, which was captured after seeing the back of **Āhavamalla** and his sons in the battle on the bank of the northern **Kūḍal-Saṅgamam**, when (*he*), **Vīrarājendra** of the beautiful spear started out on the auspicious moment in which he was (*himself*) crowned.

<sup>1</sup> These Sanskrit verses have been ably translated by Mr. K. V. Subramanya Ayyar in *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. III, pp. 160 ff. and by Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao in *ante*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 48 ff.

(Ll. 180-189) The boundary (*of this village*) ran to the east (*of*) Kuppēri; then Nattuvanku-jukkai; then Kottikkavuvāy;<sup>1</sup> then Puḷugiyāru and Śēngumru in Arpundi which is to the west of Śīrukavuvāy; then (*the rock called*) Vauvālpārai in Āndimuḍakku; Vaḍakurukkai in Puṇarkuruchchi to the west of it; (*the rock*) Oḷugupārai to the west of it; then Kuṇḍaripārai (*rock*) in Āndi; then Ūshaikkurukkai; to the north of it Mukkallu; to the north of it Vāraṇpaḍi; to the north of it Taṇimuṭṭu-maḍai (*sluice*); to the north of it (*the pond called*) Mōṭṭān-kuṭṭai; to the east of it Trikoṇamuṭṭu-maḍai (*sluice*) and Kammāra-śunai (*spring*); and then passing through and inclusive of Perumballam, it reached the hill. The boundary (*line*) ends (*thus*).

(v. 82) This (*is the*) order of Virarājendra-Rājakēsarivarman, which is honoured by all the happy kings of this earth.

(v. 83) This (*panegyric*) illuminating the prowess of Virarājendradēva, was composed by the pure-minded Chandrabhūṣaṇa-Bhaṭṭa.

(Ll. 192-196) At the order (*of the king*), this grant was caused to be issued by the officer (*Adhikāri*) Guṇanidi-Aruḷmoliyār *alias* Mīnavaṇ-Mūvēndavēḷār, the *kīlavaṇ* of Parakēsarinaḷlūr in Tirunaiyūr-nāḍu, (*a sub-division*) of Kṣatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu, (*a district*) of Śōḷamaṇḍalam, which was prospering in accordance with the eternal and ancient laws of Manu, under Virarājendra, the hero who is resplendent with the goddess of wealth, who is worshipped by the charioted kings and who rules the earth suppressing evil.

(Ll. 197-201) The Tirumandīva-ōlai (*verse*) Tōṇamavaṇ-Pāpanāṣaṇ *alias* Vīraśrīvallabha-Brahmādhirājaṇ of the Kuṇḍina-gōtra and the Āpastamba-sūtra of Kāyākkuḍi, *a brahmadēya* in Kurumbūr-nāḍu, (*a sub-division*) of Jayaṅgoṇḍaśōḷa-vaḷanāḍu, and Aruḷmoli-Rājendraśōḷan *alias* Jananāda-Viḷupparaiyaṇ of Śēndamaṅgalam in Vīraśōḷa-vaḷanāḍu. (*a sub-division*) of Nittavinōda-vaḷanāḍu.

(v. 84) Imprecatory.

(v. 85) "Let this charity be protected by the future kings of all the dominions" thus does king Rājārāja, who is worshipped by all the kings and whose lotus-like hands are cooped (*in prayer*), supplicate with his head marked with the ornament in the shape of the lotus-feet of Hara.

(v. 86) Imprecatory.

(Ll. 206-11) In collaboration with Śaśibhūṣaṇa-Paṇḍita, this excellent charter was completed by Madhurāntaka-Brahmādhirāja, so that the royal gift may be known in this territory.

I, Śaṅkaraṇ-Kāḷāḍi *alias* Karuṇākara-Āchāriyaṇ, the Master-carpenter (*Tachchāchāriyaṇ*) and a resident of Kuvallāam in Kuvallāa-nāḍu, cut (engraved) the letters of this royal charter.

Do not forget charity; there is no support other than charity. Let all sentient beings protect (*this gift*).

## NO. 26.—DATE OF THE PĀNDAVA KINGS OF SOUTHERN KOSALA.

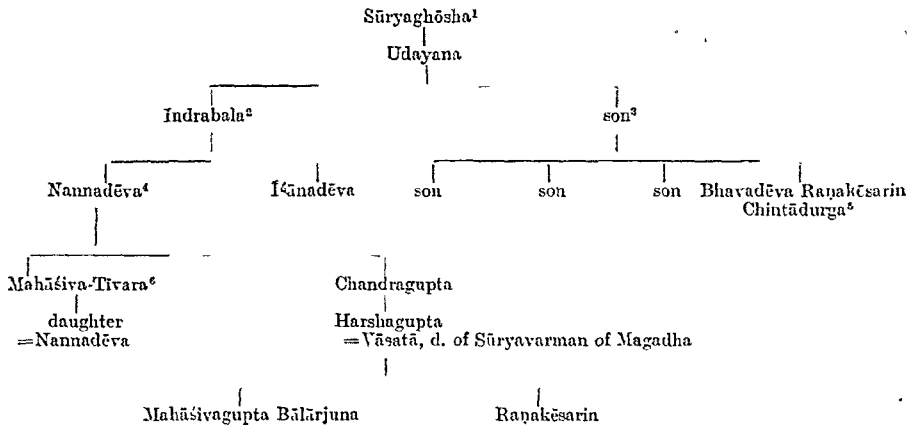
A. GHOSH, M.A., PATNA.

The dynasty of the Pāṇḍavas of the Lunar race, ruling in Southern Kōsala for about a century and a half, is known to us from eight inscriptions on stone and copper-plates.<sup>2</sup> It is

<sup>1</sup> *Kanuvāy* is probably *kanavāy*, 'a ravine between two hills.'

<sup>2</sup> To the list given in D. R. Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, p. 229, add Mallār plates of Mahāśivagupta, above, Vol. XXIII, p. 113.

perhaps desirable for the purpose of the present note to reproduce here the *genealogy* derived from these inscriptions :



The date of these kings is anything but certain. Kielhorn tentatively proposed to place them in the eighth and ninth centuries A.D. on some *a priori* grounds.<sup>7</sup> This date has been responsible for a theory that has gained some popularity, *viz.*, the Chandragupta mentioned in the Sanjān plates of Amōghavarsha<sup>8</sup> as having been defeated by the Rāshtrakūta king Gōvinda III (c. A. D. 793-814) is to be identified with the Pāṇḍava king of that name. It is overlooked that the Sanjān plates deal with the conquests of Gōvinda in a strictly chronological and regional order (more certainly than the Allahābād pillar inscription of Samudragupta). The mention of Chandragupta along with Nāgabhaṭa and the separate recounting of Kōśala make it definite that it is not the Pāṇḍava king who is intended there.<sup>9</sup>

Of late some scholars have tried to establish that Tivaraḍēva, an important king of the Pāṇḍava line, ruled in the first half of the sixth century A.D.<sup>10</sup> The object of this note is to show that such an early dating is not possible on palæographical grounds.

A main contention of the latter set of scholars is that Sūryavarman, the Varman king of Magadha whose daughter Vāsaṭā was married to Harshagupta the nephew of Tivara, was no other than the Maukhari of that name, who, as a prince, rebuilt a temple of Śiva in

<sup>1</sup> It is not definitely known whether he was an ancestor of Udayana.

<sup>2</sup> He is probably referred to under the veil of a metaphor in the Bhūṇḍak inscription, *J.R.A.S.*, 1905, p. 631, n. 4.

<sup>3</sup> There is nothing to show that he ever became king.

<sup>4</sup> I am inclined to think that Nannādhirāja mentioned in the Bhūṇḍak inscription (*loc. cit.*, p. 624) is no other than this Nannadēva, his mention being necessary owing to the fact that he was ruling when his cousin Bhavadēva repaired the monasteries mentioned in the inscription.

<sup>5</sup> He is referred to as *nṛpa* in line 10 of the Bhūṇḍak inscription.

<sup>6</sup> He is probably the elder brother of Chandragupta referred to in line 5 of the Sirpur inscription, above, Vol. XI, p. 190.

<sup>7</sup> Above, Vol. IV, p. 257.

<sup>8</sup> Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 240.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Mirashi, above, Vol. XXII, p. 21, n. 5.

<sup>10</sup> Mirashi, above, Vol. XXII, p. 19; Mirashi and Pandeya, above, Vol. XXIII, p. 113.

A.D. 554.<sup>1</sup> But, as I have said elsewhere,<sup>2</sup> this identification is highly doubtful, for (1) it is by no means certain that the Maukhari Śūryavarman ever came to the throne, as his name is not mentioned in the Aśirgaḍh and Nālandā seals of the Maukharis, and as no coins belonging to him have as yet been found, and (2) whereas the Śūryavarman of the Sirpur inscription is called king of Magadha, the Maukharis of the line of Harivarman were never a characteristically Magadhan dynasty, their headquarters being at Kanauj.

It is now practically certain<sup>3</sup> that the Śarabhapura line, consisting of Prasannamātra, his sons Mahājayarāja and Mānamātra, and Mānamātra's sons Mahāsudēvarāja and Mahāpravararāja, preceded and not followed the Pāṇḍava kings in Southern Kōśala. Professor Mirashi holds that Mahāpravararāja (who issued his Ṭhākurdīyā plates from Śrīpura) ruled in the first half of the sixth century and was ousted by Tivara, whom, as has been said above, he proposes to place in A.D. 530. It is, however, not possible to subscribe to this view: the Khārōḍ inscription of Indrabala and Iśānadēva<sup>4</sup> shows that even before Tivara the Pāṇḍavas were masters of much the same area as had been held by the Śarabhapura kings. The fact that Tivara is the first king of his line who is known to have made Śrīpura his capital does not warrant the belief that the capital of his father and grandfather was situated elsewhere, as no copper-plate (which alone mentions the capital as the place of issue of the charter) belonging to them has as yet been found.

Having seen that there is no sure ground for placing Tivara in the second quarter of the sixth century, we may turn to an examination of the palæographical chart attached hereto.<sup>5</sup> The Ārang plates of Bhīmasēna of unknown lineage are dated in the Gupta year 232=A.D. 601;<sup>6</sup> it is the only dated inscription of the locality and the period with which we are now concerned, and as such affords a convenient standard of comparison. It will be seen that the characters show typical Gupta forms throughout. Comparing this record with the Bhāṇḍak inscription of Nannadēva, which according to Professor Mirashi's chronology must belong to c. A.D. 500, we find that every letter in the latter presents a more developed appearance; in *bh* and *s* there is now a hollow wedge attached to the left corner; looped tripartite *y* has given place to the bipartite form: the right vertical of *ś* projects a bit above the curved top—an important development which led to the ultimate separation of the left and right limbs of the letter, leaving the left limb to develop independently into the Nāgari and proto-Bengali forms (which tendency of separation is already noticeable in the Sirpur inscription of Mahāśivagupta, where the horizontal cross-bar of the letter has turned into a curved inward prolongation of the left member, the right member being thus a separate entity); in *h* the left limb is no longer a vertical straight line but a curve, and the right downward stroke shows a tendency to hang below the base line. The persistent occurrence of late forms in the Bhāṇḍak inscription marks it out as definitely much later than the Ārang plates; *a fortiori* the possibility of its being placed a century prior to the latter cannot be considered. It is also evident from the chart that the letters of the Kōṇḍēḍḍa plates of the Śailōḍbhava Dharmarāja have practically the same forms as those of the Bhāṇḍak inscription.

<sup>1</sup> Hārāhā inscription, above, Vol. XIV, p. 110. This theory was first started by H. C. Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, 4th ed., p. 512 n.

<sup>2</sup> "Two Maukhari Seals from Nālandā", above, Vol. XXIV, p. 283.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. above, Vol. XXII, p. 16.

<sup>4</sup> *P.R.*, A.S.W.C., 1903-04, p. 54.

<sup>5</sup> The letters in the chart have been traced out of the published impressions of the respective inscriptions. They do not claim the preciseness of mechanical reproductions but may be regarded as accurate for all practical purposes.

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol. IX, p. 342.

		HĀRĀHĀ INSCRIPTION OF ĪŚĀNAVARMAN A.D. 554.	ĀRANG PLATES OF BHĪMASĒNA A.D. 601.	KŌṆĒḌĒḌA PLATES OF DHARMARĀJA	BHĀNDAK INSCRIPTION OF NANNĀDHIRĀJA	SIRPUR INSCRIPTION OF MAHĀŚIVAGUPTA
bh	𑂔 𑂔	𑂔 𑂔	𑂔 𑂔	𑂔 𑂔	𑂔 𑂔	𑂔 𑂔
y	𑂔 𑂔	𑂔 𑂔	𑂔 𑂔	𑂔 𑂔	𑂔 𑂔	𑂔 𑂔
ś	𑂔 𑂔	𑂔 𑂔	𑂔 𑂔	𑂔 𑂔	𑂔 𑂔	𑂔 𑂔
ś	𑂔 𑂔	𑂔 𑂔	𑂔 𑂔	𑂔 𑂔	𑂔 𑂔	𑂔 𑂔
h	𑂔 𑂔	𑂔 𑂔	𑂔 𑂔	𑂔 𑂔	𑂔 𑂔	𑂔 𑂔



It will be readily admitted that it is not strictly scientific to compare the Hārāhā inscription with the inscriptions of the Pāṇḍavas owing to the great distance separating them ; but if it were allowed, it could be easily shown that the Hārāhā inscription is distinctly earlier, so that Śūryavarman could not have been a contemporary of Harshagupta.

It is clear, therefore, that the ascription of the Bhāṇḍak inscription to a date earlier than A.D. 650, i.e. at least fifty years after the date of the Ārang plates of Bhīma-sēna, is a palæographical impossibility. Tivara, therefore, may be tentatively placed in the last quarter of the seventh century A.D.

We may now proceed to examine some incidental facts and identifications arising out of these tentative dates.

1. Some scholars have found a reference to Tivara in the Pulōmbūru and Ipūr grants of the Vishṇukunḍin Mādhavarman,<sup>1</sup> which refer to an invasion of the city of Trivara by Mādhavarman.<sup>2</sup> But from the wordings in the inscriptions it is not certain that the expression *Trivara-nagara* should be taken to mean 'the city of King Trivara' and not 'the city called Trivara'. King Tivara of the Lunar race, who is proposed for identification with this Trivara, is not known to have founded a city of his own ;<sup>3</sup> on the other hand, the city of Śrīpura was the capital of Southern Kōsala before, during and after the reign of Tivara. It appears to me that there is much probability in the view<sup>4</sup> that Trivara is a place-name, being a partial Prakritization of *Tripurī*, and giving rise in due course to *Tivār* or *Tewar*, by which name the ancient Tripurī is now known. Even assuming that Trivara in the above inscriptions is the name of some king or prince, there is little likelihood of his being identical with the Pāṇḍava Tivara, in view of the fact that the date of the Pulōmbūru grant is most probably A.D. 594,<sup>5</sup> which is much too early for one who, according to the chronology proposed here, flourished towards the end of the seventh century.

2. The Kōṇḍēḍḍa and Nivīnā plates of the Śailōdbhava king Dharmarāja say that Mādhava, the younger brother of the king, became a rebel ; being defeated at Phāsikā he took shelter with another king Trīvara,<sup>6</sup> but was again defeated along with Trīvara at the foot of the Vindhya. Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, the editor of the Nivīnā plates, proposes to identify this Trīvara with Tivara of Southern Kōsala. Dharmarāja, being the grandson of Mādhava-Sainyabhīta II, the author of the Ganjām plates of A.D. 619,<sup>7</sup> must have flourished in the latter

<sup>1</sup> *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Vol. VI, p. 20 ; above, Vol. XVII, p. 336.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above, Vol. XXII, p. 19.

<sup>3</sup> For this reason the analogy of Pravarapura and Yayātinagara cited by R. S. Panichamukhi (above, Vol. XXIII, p. 90, n. 5.) cannot stand. Nor is it possible to agree with him (*loc. cit.*, p. 91, n. 6) that the superscript *i*-sign in *Trivara* is distinctly long in the Pulōmbūru and Ipūr grants. In the latter, at any rate, it is clearly short.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University*, Vol. XI, p. 63.

<sup>5</sup> R. S. Panichamukhi (*loc. cit.*) tries to prove that the date of the grant is A.D. 621, as 594 is too early to be the forty-eighth year of the king who was defeated in c. 631 by Pulakēśin II or his brother Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana. As Pulakēśin's conquest of Kālīṅga, Kōsala, Pishtapura, Kuṇāla and Kāñchipura, recorded in vv. 26 and 27 of the Aihole inscription (above, Vol. VI, p. 6), were effected in one and the same expedition, and as Vishṇuvardhana was the governor of Vēṅgi from c. 616 to 633 (cf. D. C. Ganguly, *I. H. Q.*, Vol. VIII, p. 442), it seems very likely that the Vishṇukunḍins were ousted by the Chālukyas in c. 615. The fact that the son of the donee of the Pulōmbūru grant of Mādhavarman was the recipient of the same village in the reign of Jayasīṃha, the son of Vishṇuvardhana, (above, Vol. XIX, p. 254), does not prove that Mādhavarman just preceded Jayasīṃha in time ; the two kings might well have been separated by two short reigns of a successor of Mādhavarman and of the Chālukya Vishṇuvardhana. [But Jayasīṃha is definitely known to be the successor of Vishṇuvardhana.—N. L. R.]

<sup>6</sup> Or *Trivara*, as the word is spelt in the Nivīnā grant.

<sup>7</sup> Above, Vol. VI, p. 143.



half of the seventh century, which, according to our chronology, was also the date of Tivara. The identification proposed by Dr. Chakravarti is, therefore, highly probable.

3. Nannarāja, the son-in-law of Tivara, may perhaps be identical with the Rāshtrakūṭa chief of the same name who is known from the Tiwarkhēḍ and Multāi plates to have lived in the first half of the eighth century.<sup>1</sup> It is to be noted that both of them are said to have acquired the *pañcā-mahāśabḍa*.

4. Harshagupta, the nephew of Tivara, seems to find mention in the Dhulīa plates of Karkarāja,<sup>2</sup> which says that the Rāshtrakūṭa Dantidurga won victories over [Kirtivarman] the Karpāṭaka (Chālukya) king, who had defeated, among others, a king named Harsha. As Harshagupta flourished in the first half of the eighth century according to our chronology, it is very likely that he was the senior contemporary of Kirtivarman II, who began his reign in c. A.D. 744.

5. Lastly, it must be admitted that we are not aware of the existence of any Sūryavarman in Magadha in the first half of the eighth century, who could have married his daughter to Harshagupta. Not much is known about the history of Magadha in the seventh and eighth centuries; but we do come across references to some chiefs whose names ended in *varman* and who therefore may be regarded as having formed a Varman dynasty. (The Sirpur inscription says that Sūryavarman was born in the Varman family.)<sup>3</sup> The Korean traveller Hwui Lun, for instance, refers to the contemporary Magadhan king as Dēvavarman.<sup>4</sup> Further, Cunningham points out that in A.D. 692 the king of Eastern India was known in Chinese as Mo-lo-pa-mo or Malavarman.<sup>5</sup> For earlier times we may recall the names of Pūrṇavarman, who, according to Hiuen Tsiang, restored the Bōdhi tree at Bōdh-Gayā,<sup>6</sup> and of the Maukhari *sāmānta-chūḍāmaṇis* Yajñavarman, Śārdūlavarman and Anantavarman, known from the Barāhar-Nāgārjuni cave inscriptions.<sup>7</sup> We may prolong the list by adding the names of Sundaravarman and Kalyāṇavarman mentioned in the *Kaum-dīmahōtsava*, a drama which, it has been shown, cannot be placed earlier than A.D. 700.<sup>8</sup> There is thus an almost continuous record of the existence of Varman rulers in Magadha who were probably usually feudatories, assuming independence under favourable circumstances.

#### NO. 27.—NILAGANGAVARAM INSCRIPTION OF AMBADEVA-MAHARAJA : SAKA 1212.

By R. S. PANCHAMUKHI, M.A., MADRAS:

The subjoined inscription<sup>9</sup> is engraved on a slab set up in Survey No. 307/3 about two miles to the north-west of Nīla-Gaṅgavaram in the Vinukonda Taluk of the Guntur District. The

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XI, p. 279, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 234. On the date of the Tiwarkhēḍ plates, see Bhundarkar's *List*, No. 1082 n.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. VIII, p. 185: *Kāñchīśa-Kīrala-nur-ādhipa-Chōla-Pāṇḍya-Srī-Harsha[-Vajraṭa]-iibhāda-vīdhāna-dakṣhaṃ* [I\*] *Karṇāṭakam va(ba)lam=achi[n\*]ḥyam=ajīyam=anyai[r\*]=bhṛityai[l\*]* *kīyadbbir=api yāh saha-[sā] jīgāya* [I\*] [This verse only refers to the Karpāṭa army, responsible for the defeat of Harsha and others, as being vānquished by Dantidurga. Harsha mentioned here is identified with the Harsha of Kanauj who was defeated by Pulakēśin II. Kirtivarman II is not known to have waged wars against any king of Kōśala or Chōla or Pāṇḍya kings.—N. L. R.]

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. XI, p. 191: *jātaḥ kulē Varmanmanān.*

<sup>4</sup> Beal, *Life of Hiuen Tsiang*, p. xxxvii.

<sup>5</sup> *A.S.R.*, Vol. III, p. 136.

<sup>6</sup> Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II, pp. 118 and 174.

<sup>7</sup> Fleet, *C.I.L.*, Vol. III, pp. 221 f.

<sup>8</sup> K. Chattopadhyaya, "The Date of the Kaumudīmahōtsava," *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XIV, p. 582.

<sup>9</sup> No. 229 of 1933-36 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection; see *An. Rep. on S. I. Epigraphy*, 1936, part II, pp. 69 f.

slab is broken into two fragments both of which contain writing on the front and back sides. They are mutilated in parts and so a few letters are lost in the invocatory and imprecatory verses. The inscription consists of 66 lines and the writing is fairly well preserved. At the top of the slab are carved a couchant bull, the sun and the *linga* with a dagger below them. I edit the inscription below with the kind permission of Rao Bahadur C. R. Krishnamachari, the Superintendent for Epigraphy.

The alphabet is **Telugu-Kannaḍa** of the period to which the record belongs. The hooked vertical stroke at the bottom of the letter *ṛ* to mark the aspiration, deserves notice, see *prauḍhi* (l. 24), *paribridha* (l. 25), *jāl-āralidha* (l. 26), etc. **Orthography** does not call for any special comment except that a consonant before a *rēpha* in the body of a word is usually doubled as in *Bhārgava* (l. 18), *bhānu-arkka* (l. 31), *sarvā* (l. 51) etc., but in *dvādaś-ārḍh-ōparāgē* (l. 33), *sarvān* (l. 38), etc., this practice is not observed. Dental *n* is wrongly substituted for lingual *ṇ* in *suvarṇaṣya* (l. 44) and palatal *ś* for dental *s* in *śaṅkhyā* (l. 31). There are a few mistakes of the engraver as in *Sadar-ādibhiḥ* (l. 40) for *Sagar-ādibhiḥ*, *śatruṇāṇi* *tritō* (l. 42) for *ṇ-āpi* *kritō*. The language is **Sanskrit** (verse) in ll. 1-51 and **Telugu** (prose) in ll. 52-60. Ll. 61-66 also contain a verse in corrupt Sanskrit the sense of which is not quite clear.

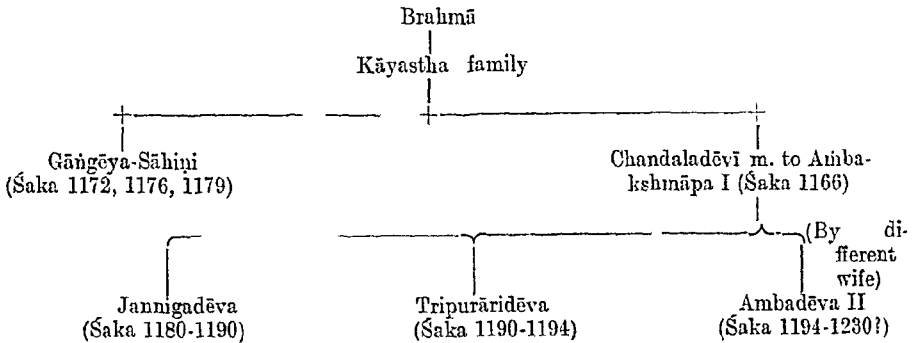
After invocation to the Varāḥ-avatāra of Viṣṇu, the record introduces the *kshatra* clan created by Brahmā and states that there were some heroes in it, who remained undaunted even though the whole *kshatra* race was discouraged by the acts of Bhārgava, i.e., Paraśurāma, and that they were in consequence known as Kāyasthas. In the Tripurāntakam inscription of Ambadēva, the origin of the family-name Kāyastha is explained as born of the body (*kāya*) of Druhiṇa (i.e., Brahmā). In this Kāyastha family was born Gaṅgaya-Sāhiṇi. His sister was Chandaladēvi who bore to Am̐bakshmāpa two sons viz., Janārdhana and Tripurāridēva. The latter's younger brother was Am̐badēva who had captured the royal glory (*sāmbhrā(mrā)jya-lakṣmīm*, l. 29) of Guriṇḍāla-Gaṇādhipa a meteor to the Mālava king. The inscription further states that king Am̐ba granted on the date specified in ll. 31-33, the village Mollakallūru *alias* Śivapura to the temple of god Mahāśvara (ll. 33-35). Then follow five imprecatory verses (ll. 36-38). The record was composed by Nammananandana who was dear to the goddess of speech. The Telugu portion repeats the date and adds the name of the donee as Mallināthayaṅgāru of Remḍrēvu residing at Tripurāntaka-kṣhētra. The gift was probably placed in his charge to be managed on behalf of the temple. At the end is added a verse in Sanskrit which seems to refer to the construction of a flight of steps at the eastern gateway of the temple, by Kumāra-kṣhitibhṛit (i.e., Kumāra Pratāparudra).

The details of date are given in ll. 31-33 and ll. 52-54 as :—Saka year (expressed both in chronogram and numerical figures), *bhānu* (12) and *arkka* (12) i.e., 1212, Vikṛita, Bhādrapada, ba.15, darṣa, Tuesday, solar eclipse (*dvādaś-ārḍh-ōparāgē*). The eclipse probably covered twelve digits (*ardha-kālā*) of the Sun. These details regularly correspond to Tuesday, September 5, A.D. 1290 when the *nakṣatra* was Uttara-Phalgunī.

The inscription is important as it furnishes a specific relationship between Gaṇḍapeṇḍāra Gaṅgaya-Sāhiṇi the Cavalier of Kākatiya Gaṇapati and Gaṇḍapeṇḍāra Am̐badēva which was not known hitherto. As stated above, Gaṅgaya-Sāhiṇi's sister Chandalāmbā or Chandaladēvi was married to Am̐ba-kshmāpa who was the father of Am̐badēva. Since the record states that she bore to Am̐ba two sons, viz., Jannigadēva and his younger brother Tripurāridēva it may be surmised that Am̐badēva was probably born of a different mother. In the Tripurāntakam inscription mentioned above, the pedigree of Am̐badēva is given as follows : In the Kāyastha family was

born Gāṅgēya ; after him came his sister's son<sup>1</sup> Janārdhana (*udabhavat=tad-anu dvibhujō nṛipa[h\*]* *svasur=apatyam=amushya Janārdhana* ll. 8 f.), his younger brother Tripurāridēva and the latter's younger brother Ambadēva 'as Upendra was of Indra'. The names of the sister of Gāṅgēya-Sāhīni and her husband are furnished here for the first time. Rangachari<sup>2</sup> and Sewell<sup>3</sup> have misunderstood the relationship between the several chiefs of the Kāyastha family and have thus given a wrong genealogy.

It may be noted that the Tripurāntakam inscription as well as the present record specify without ambiguity the connection between the four members of the family which put together stands as follows :—



The Kāyasthas were a powerful family of feudatory chiefs who played a prominent part in the politics of the mediæval period in the Telugu country. They started their career as cavaliers (*Turaga-sādhavikas*) under Kākatiya Gaṇapati and styled themselves as *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*, *Maṇḍalika-Brahmarākshasa* and *Gaṇḍapeṇḍāra*. Ambadēva the most powerful chief of the family assumed the epithet Ghaṇḍikōṭa-Manōrathapuravar-ādhiśvara and ruled from his capitals Vallūrupaṭṭaṇa and Ghaṇḍikōṭa the former of which is Vallūru near Cuddapah while the latter is the modern Ghaṇḍikōṭa in the Jammalmaḍugu Taluk of the Cuddapah District. In order to understand the extent of their power and territory, it is necessary to study their records critically, and to facilitate such a study, a classified statement of their principal dated records is given below specifying in each case the name of the overlord under whom the chief ruled :

Date.	Chief.	Overlord.	Provenance.
Śaka 1166 <sup>4</sup>	Ambayyadēva	Gaṇapati	Satrasāla (Palnad Tk., Guntur Dt.).
Śaka 1172 <sup>5</sup>	Gāṅgēya-Sāhīni	Do.	Tripurāntakam hill (Kurnool Dt.).
Śaka 1176-79 <sup>6</sup>	Do.	Do.	Tripurāntakam hill (Kurnool Dt.). Gāṅgavaram (Cuddapah Dt.).

<sup>1</sup> Though the Tripurāntakam inscription contains the specific relationship namely 'sister's son' (*svasur=apatyam*) between Gāṅgēya-Sāhīni and Janārdhana it has been missed by all writers on the Kāyasthas who nevertheless proclaim that the inscriptions do not disclose the connection between them. See also *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1905, Part II, page 63.

<sup>2</sup> *Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*, Vol. II, p. 932, n.

<sup>3</sup> *Historical Inscriptions of Southern India*, p. 359.

<sup>4</sup> No. 314 of 1930-31 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

<sup>5</sup> No. 283 of 1905 of the same collection.

<sup>6</sup> Nos. 231, 176 of 1905 and 233 of 1937-38 of the same collection.

Date.	Chief.	Overlord.	Provenance.
Śaka 1180-82 <sup>1</sup>	Jannigadēva	Ganapati	Pondalūr (Pullampet Tk., Cuddapah Dt.).
Śaka 1186 <sup>2</sup>	Jannigadēva ruling the territory extending from Pānugal to Mārajavādi or Kaivāra.	No mention of the overlord.	Kāreṇpūḍi (Palnad Tk.), Nandalūr (Cuddapah Dt.).
Śaka 1191 <sup>3</sup>	Do.	Rudramahādēvi	Durgi (Palnad Tk.).
Śaka 1192 <sup>4</sup>	Tripurāntaka	Do.	Potlapāḍu (Darsi, Nellore Dt.).
Śaka 1194 <sup>5</sup>	Tripurāri	No mention of the overlord.	Tripurāntakam hill.
Śaka 1194 to 1224 <sup>6</sup>	Āmbadēva	Do.	Tripurāntakam, Attirāla, Pōli, Cuddapah and Kamalapuram Taluks.

From this tabular statement, it is apparent that a certain Āmbayyadēva was the earliest member of the Kāyastha family who governed a portion of the Guntur District round about Satrasāla where his inscription was secured. Gāṅgēya-Sāhīni appears to have simultaneously held service under Ganapati in the Cuddapah District where his records are found. Both of them are given the epithet *Dāmōdara-sainya-diśa-paṭṭa* which is likewise adopted by the two successors, viz., Tripurāridēva and Āmbadēva along with the other epithets which they actually earned by their exploits. Āmbadēva, the younger brother of Tripurāri whose records range in date from Śaka 1194 to 1224, could not have held any administrative authority as early as Śaka 1166 which would otherwise invest him with the governorship of the territory for nearly 60 years which is far from likely. Further, this would lead to the contingency of assigning no period of rule to his elder brothers Janniga and Tripurāri who have, however, issued several records as governors under the Kākatiyas. It is therefore reasonable to think that Āmbadēva of the Satrasāla inscription is an earlier member and different from the homonymous chief the younger brother of Tripurāridēva. The earlier Āmbadēva may be identified with Āmbakshmāpa mentioned in the present record as the father of the three brothers. Since the earliest reference to the defeat of Dāmōdara of the west is found in connection with both Āmbadēva I and Gāṅgēya-Sāhīni, it is likely that both these officers had a share in the event.

Whether Āmbakshmāpa's principality was confined to the Palnad Taluk of the Guntur District or extended as far south as the Cuddapah District where his son's inscriptions are discovered, there are no means to decide. But it is quite probable that Āmbadēva I and Gāṅgēya-Sāhīni governed different parts of the Kākatiya kingdom separately and on the death of the latter

<sup>1</sup> V. Rangachari, *op. cit.*, Guntur 502, and Cuddapah 850.

<sup>2</sup> Nos. 610 of 1907 and 550 of 1909 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection. See Rangachari, *op. cit.*, Cuddapah 824 and Guntur 520.

<sup>3</sup> V. Rangachari, *op. cit.*, Guntur 500 (No. 573 of 1909 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection).

<sup>4</sup> *Nellore Inscriptions*, Vol. I, Darsi 57, 60. The Śaka year 1151 appears to have been wrongly read for 1192 and the cyclic year Pramādi for Pramōdūta which corresponded to 1192. Śaka 1151 does not combine with Pramādi at all.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Darsi 1.

<sup>6</sup> Nos. 168, 173, 174, 242 and 268, of 1905, 406 of 1911, 622 of 1907, 618 of 1907 and 414 of 1911, etc., of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

<sup>7</sup> The identification of Āmbakshmāpa with Āmbadēva made in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1930-31, Part II, para. 18, is not tenable.

apparently without issue, his territory passed to the nearest relative, viz., his brother-in-law Āmbadēva I or more probably the latter's son Janārdhana. This would account for the tracing of Āmbadēva (II)'s genealogy from Gāṅgēya-Sāhiṇi who had, otherwise, no direct lineal connection with him. Thus from Janārdhana's time the territory of the Kāyastha chiefs comprised a large area from Pānuṅgal to Mārajavāḍi or Kaivāra, i.e., from the Nalgonda District (Nizam's Dominions) to the Cuddapah District.<sup>1</sup> From the table given above it is clear that Janniga must have come to power some time after Śaka 1179 as Gāṅgēya-Sāhiṇi's latest inscription is dated in Śaka 1179 and held the governorship till Śaka 1192 which is the earliest date for Tripurāri. Tripurāri was succeeded by his younger brother Āmbadēva II in Śaka 1194, who continued to rule till at least Śaka 1224 in which year his Lēpāka inscription is dated.<sup>2</sup> It is significant that the Kārempūḍi and Nandalūr inscriptions of Jannigadēva bearing the Śaka date 1186 do not refer to the overlord whereas his earlier inscriptions of Śaka 1180-82 introduce him as a feudatory of Gaṇapati. The Durgi and Poṭlapāḍu inscriptions of Śaka 1191 and Śaka 1192 belonging respectively to Janniga and Tripurāri mention Rudramahādēvī as the reigning monarch. But Tripurāri's inscriptions of Śaka 1194 and almost all the records of Āmbadēva II from Śaka 1194 to Śaka 1224 are issued by the chiefs independently without acknowledging the suzerain power. This omission to mention the reigning monarch, if it signifies anything, may be taken to reflect the unsettled political conditions in the country due to weakness at the centre, particularly between Śaka 1182 and 1186 and Śaka 1192 and 1194. This is borne out by a study of the political events that happened at this period in the Telugu country. The most important document that furnishes many political synchronisms for the history of the period is the Tripurāntakam inscription of Āmbadēva-Mahārāja dated in Śaka 1212.<sup>3</sup> It states about Āmbadēva that he (1) acquired the title of *Rāyasahasramalla* after defeating Śrīpati-Gaṇapati; (2) routed Kēśava joined by Sōmidēva and Allugaṅga; (3) vanquished Mallikārjuna who was a hater of Gods and Brāhmins; (4) gave his daughter in marriage to Rājanna son of king [Bō]lāya who had celebrated several sacrifices, together with the Nandanapura country (Nandalur) as dowry; (5) reinstated Manmagandagōpāla at Vikramasinhapura (Nellore) in his kingdom which he had lost; (6) captured the treasures of the Pāṇḍya princes; (7) defeated Dāmōḍara of the west; (8) took the head of Eruva-Mallidēva; (9) was honoured with rich presents by the king of Dēvagiri who was pleased at his valour; (10) destroyed Kāḍavarāya and (11) was helped by his friend king Parākramapāṇḍya with strong cavalry forces. Most of these exploits are confirmed by the contemporary epigraphical and literary evidences as shown in the sequel.

A record from Tāllaproduṭūr<sup>4</sup> belonging to Jagatāpi Gaṅgeyadēvachōlamahārāju, son of Allugaṅga, and bearing Śaka date 1244 describes the chief as *Gaṇḍapendāra-Gāṅgēya-Sāhiṇi-sarvasva-bandikāra*, i.e., 'robber of Gāṅgēya-Sāhiṇi's wealth and as 'one who obtained the (regal) fortune by churning the ocean of Sēruṇa (i.e., Yādava) army, indicating thereby that the Chief had rid himself of the Yādava domination by Śaka 1244. From an inscription<sup>5</sup> at Nilūru in the Gooty Taluk of the Anantapur District dated in Śaka 1137, it is learnt that Jagatāpi Daṇḍidēvachōla-

<sup>1</sup> This area roughly included the modern Cuddapah, Kurnool, Bellary, Anantapur, Nellore and Guntur Districts.

<sup>2</sup> In one of the Lēpāka inscriptions examined and copied by the Telugu Assistant of the Epigraphy Office, Madras, in 1938, Gaṇḍapendāra Tripurāridēva-Mahārāja is introduced as ruling Mulki-nāṇḍu from Vallūripaṭṭaṇa in Śaka 1226, Kr̥d̥hin (A. D. 1304) and making a grant of the village Lēbūka as a *sarvaṃyā-agrahāra* to the temple of Allājanāthadēva. This is a solitary record of Tripurāri belonging to such a late date. If he is identical with the brother of Āmbadēva II, we have to presume that he continued to rule conjointly with Āmbadēva till Śaka 1226.

<sup>3</sup> No. 263 of 1905 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

<sup>4</sup> No. 308 of 1935-36 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

<sup>5</sup> No. 345 of 1920.

mahārāja probably an ancestor of the above chief was a subordinate of Yādava Simhapa. And Gaṅgēya-Sāhīni is stated in a record<sup>1</sup> of Śaka 1176 belonging to the reign of Kākatiya Gaṇapati, to have defeated a certain Rakkasa-Gaṅgarasa who may be the same person as the Rakkasa-Gaṅgarasa of the Jōti inscription<sup>2</sup> (Siddhaut Taluk, Cuddapah District) dated in Śaka 1169. The Telugu poem *Nīrvachanōllāsa-Rāmāyaṇamu* records that Gaṅgēya-Sāhīni who had been deprived of his kingdom by a certain Rakkasa-Gaṅgarasa evidently the above-mentioned chief, took refuge under Manma-Janapāla who restored the lost kingdom to his protégé by vanquishing Rakkasa-Gaṅga. This event must have occurred between Śaka 1169 and Śaka 1176. Allugaṅga who was probably connected with Rakkasa-Gaṅga in some unspecified way, as their names, their territory and the hostilities they both bore against Gaṅgēya-Sāhīni would indicate, must have taken vengeance against his opponent Gaṅgēya-Sāhīni, which was reciprocated by Ambadēva who as stated in his Tripurāntakam inscription, routed Allugaṅga and his allies. Thus for three generations the Kāyasthas ranged themselves against the Jagatāpi-chōḍadvamahārījas who appear to have rebelled against their overlords the Yādavas of Dēvagiri. It is likely that Gaṅgēya-Sāhīni and his relatives were the friends of the Sēvuṇa kings and that they suppressed the rebellion of the latter's subordinates who, however, ultimately became independent by Śaka 1244 when the Yādava power was on the wane. It must probably be with the help of Ambadēva during the governorship of Jannigadēva that Yādava Mahādēva wrested from Kākatiya Gaṇapati the honour of *pañcama-mahāśabda* as recorded in the introduction to *Vratakhayḍa* of Hēmādri<sup>3</sup>. We know that this event took place in about Śaka 1183 during the last days of Gaṇapati<sup>4</sup>. On the death of Gaṇapati the whole country was plunged in utmost disaster and chaos and the internal rebellion and the danger from the neighbouring powers were too much for the queen *Paṭṭōddhati* Rudramahādēvi to cope with in the beginning of her reign. Accordingly several Telugu-Chōḍa chiefs such as Eruva-Manumilidēva, Vijayagaṇḍagōpala and Siddayadēva-Chōḍa-Mahārāja are found issuing their inscriptions independently without referring to their overlord,<sup>5</sup> in Śaka 1189, 1185 and 1189 respectively, i.e., within a few years after her accession to the throne. Soon, however, the Kākatiya queen appears to have consolidated her power and reduced the refractory chiefs to subjection. She must have first subjugated the Kāyastha chief Jannigadēva by about Śaka 1190; for he expresses his loyalty to the reigning monarch in his inscription of Śaka 1191. Thereafter, with the help of the Kāyastha chiefs of whom Ambadēva appears to have taken a prominent part, the turbulent officers were brought down on their knees since, in the Tripurāntakam inscription mentioned above, Ambadēva boasts of having taken, evidently on behalf of the Kākatiya ruler, the head of a certain Eruva-Janumilidēva who must be identical with the Telugu-Chōḍa chief Eruva-Mallidēva. Simultaneously with or shortly after this achievement, the defeat of Allugaṅga, Sōmidēva, Kōśava, Mallikārjuna, etc., ascribed to the chief in his records appears to have happened. Kādavarāja, i.e., Kōpperuṅgiṅgadēva II (A.D. 1243-1279) who had been reduced to subordination by Kākatiya Gaṇapati as can be surmised from his Drākshārāma inscription in which he calls himself the executor of the commands of Gaṇapati-Mahārāja (*Gaṇapati-Mahārājasy-ājñām pravaratayatā*)<sup>6</sup>, must have attempted to throw off his allegiance to the Kākatiya banner on the death of Gaṇapati. In fact he has caused to be engraved a highly pedantic inscription at Tripurāntakam in which he glorifies his past achievements including the numerous rich gifts he had

<sup>1</sup> No. 231 of 1905.

<sup>2</sup> No. 563 of 1915.

<sup>3</sup> *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part ii, p. 273, v. 52.

<sup>4</sup> See above, Vol. XXIII, p. 193.

<sup>5</sup> Nos. 190, 272 and 175 of 1905.

<sup>6</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV. No. 1342 B.

made to the temple of Bhīmēśvara at Drākshārāma, without mentioning the Kākatiya overlord who was reigning at the time.<sup>1</sup> The record is unfortunately not dated. But it must be assigned to a date subsequent to Śaka 1184 in which year Kōpperuñjiṅgadēva figures apparently as a subordinate of a Kākatiya king<sup>2</sup>. The defeat of Kōpperuñjiṅga called here Kāḍavarāya must have been accomplished some time before Śaka 1201 the last year of the chief<sup>3</sup> and after Śaka 1194 when Am̐badēva succeeded to the chiefdom. Am̐badēva's Tripurāntakam inscription of Śaka 1194 does not refer to any of his exploits mentioned above whereas his epigraphs dated Śaka 1207, 1212, 1213, etc., narrate them in detail. Am̐badēva appears to have been puffed up with the signal victory he had gained over his powerful rival Kōpperuñjiṅgadēva, proclaimed himself as a *quasi*-independent chief and to have held that position till the very last year of his rule. It is, however, certain that he did not turn a rebel against the Kākatiyas or attempt to subvert their sovereignty. For a record from Malyāla<sup>4</sup> in the Nandikotkur Taluk of the Kurnool District refers itself to the reign of the Kākatiya king Kumāra Rudra-Mahārāja in Śaka 1212 and 1213, thus marking the extent of the Kākatiya rule in the territory of the Kāyastha chiefs during the same period. Tripurāntakam (Kurnool District) and Nīlagāṅgavaram (Vinukonda Taluk, Guntur District) where Am̐badēva's inscriptions are found, were situated within the Kākatiya dominions. It is therefore possible that though Am̐badēva maintained a semi-independent status like the great Feudatory families of the Dekkan, i.e., the Western Gaṅgas, Bāṇas, etc., under the Rāshtrakūṭas, etc., in the mediæval period, the Kākatiya suzerainty was acknowledged in the territory of the Kāyasthas as shown above. In course of time, however, Am̐badēva's power suffered heavily in consequence of which he appears to have been deprived of his principality, since an Upparapalle inscription<sup>5</sup> of Rudradēva dated Śaka 1[2\*]36, Pramādi, refers to the reduction of Ghaṇḍikōṭa by a subordinate of the king. Another fragmentary inscription<sup>6</sup> in the same place, without date, states that the king appointed Goṅkaya-Reḍḍi, a servant of Juṭṭaya, to the governorship of Khaṇḍikōṭa and Muḷikināṇḍu districts. This shows that Am̐badēva had been subdued under the orders of the king and his territory annexed to the Kākatiya dominions some time before Śaka 1236. In one of the inscriptions<sup>7</sup> at Kanāla, Nandyal Taluk of the Kurnool District, a chief (name completely damaged) is stated to be ruling over Muḷikināṇḍu, Penam̐pāḍi, Pottapināṇḍu, Peḍakallu and Nāntavāḍi under Pratāparudradēva-Mahārāja in Śaka 1230. We know that these *nāḍus* had been subject to the administration of Am̐badēva<sup>8</sup>, but it is not definite whether Am̐badēva continued to rule till Śaka 1230 or had been dispossessed of his territory by that year. But it can be affirmed that he had been either killed in the encounter or dislodged from Ghaṇḍikōṭa before Śaka 1236 as stated above.

#### TEXT.<sup>9</sup>

##### *First Fragment : First Face.*

- 1 Vārāhaṁ vapur=avyād=vō mahī-mu . . . . .
- 2 harēḥ | yasya daṁṣiṣṭr-āgra-viśrāntā mahī . . . . .

<sup>1</sup> No. 197 of 1905, see *Madras Epigraphical Report* for the year, part ii, p. 46.

<sup>2</sup> S. I. I., Vol. IV, No. 1341.

<sup>3</sup> The chief came to power in A.D. 1243 and ruled for 36 years (*Historical Ins. of Southern India*, pp. 162 and 376).

<sup>4</sup> No. 321 of 1937-38. An indirect mention of Kumāra-Kṣatibhṛt in the present record points to the overbearing attitude of Am̐badēva towards the Kākatiya monarch.

<sup>5</sup> No. 328 of 1905.

<sup>6</sup> No. 329 of 1905.

<sup>7</sup> No. 260 of 1935-36.

<sup>8</sup> No. 406 of 1911.

<sup>9</sup> From ink-impression.

3 . . . . . tējas-samunmṛiṣṭa . . . .  
4. . . . . [jīyā] . . . .

*Second Fragment ; First Face.*

5 [ka] tama . . . . .  
6 tāmśur-anārataṁ || . . . . .  
7 yathā-mārgga-pravarṭtakam Vidhir-vviryayikanilaya[m]  
8 kshātram varṇam-ajījanat<sup>1</sup> || Bhārggavād=bhagna-hṛida[yē]  
9 kshatra-lōkē=[py]=avikriyāḥ | śaurya-pāram-gatās=tatra  
10 Kāyasthāḥ kati viśrutāḥ<sup>1</sup> || Tat=ānvavāyē sam[jā]-  
11 ta[h\*] śrīmān Gaṁgaya-Sāhinīḥ [i\*] payōdhāv-iva pa-  
12 ryyāpta-tējū amṛita-didhitiḥ<sup>1</sup> || Sura-sākhina iva  
13 Surabhiḥ Kamal=ēv=āmṛitakarasya kalyāṇī | sarvva-  
14 janinā sahaajā Chāṁdaladēvi babbhūv=āsyā<sup>2</sup> || Am̐ba-  
15 kshāmāpād=asūt=ēyaṁ Chāṁdalāmbū suta-dvayam(yam) [i\*]  
16 Vasudēvād=iv=āśāyaṁ Dēvaki daivatair=api<sup>1</sup> || Pratyartthi-  
17 prithivīpati-mauli-ratna-prabhā-piśaṁgikṛita-pāda-piṭha-  
18 ḥ | Janārdanaḥ kshāmādhīpatir=janānām jā(jyā)yān=abhū-  
19 t ja(j=ja)ṁgama-pā<sup>3</sup> pārijātaḥ<sup>4</sup> || Bāh[ā]-bala-kshurṇṇa(ṇṇa)  
20 vipaksha-lōkas=tasy=ānuja[h\*] śrī-Tripurāridēvaḥ [i]  
21 saum̐daryya-saṁdarśita-Mānmatha-śrīr=vidyā-  
22 vilās-āspadam=āvirāsīt<sup>5</sup> || Āyushmān=Am̐badē-  
23 va-kshītipatir=anujas=tasya prithivīm praśāsti prāchīna-  
24 kshōpi-pāla-praṇihita-samara-prauḍhi-pāriṇa-bāhuḥ |  
25 prahva-pratyartthi-prithivī-paribṛi(vṛi)ḍha-makuṭa-syūta-mā-  
26 ṇi[kya\*]-niryya[j\*]-jvālā-jāl-āvaliḍha-spu(sphu)ṭa-pada-kamala-dvaṁdva-  
27 saṁdarśaniyaḥ<sup>5</sup> || Ayaṁ mahā-bāhur=anika-raṁ-  
28 gē mānya-śrīyō Māḷava-dhūmakētōḥ[i\*] gurvvi-  
29 m Gurim̐dāla-Gaṇādhīpasya sāmbrā(mrā)jya-lakshmi[m\*]  
30 sahasā jahāra<sup>6</sup> ||

*First Fragment ; Second Face.*

31 Śākē bhāṁnv(bhānv)-arkka-śam(śam)khyā-vilasati Vikṛitē vatsa[rē]  
32 Bhādra-māsē darśē Bhaumasya vārē |<sup>7</sup> sukṛidini(sukṛitini ?)  
33 samayē dvādaś-ārdh-ōparāgē [i\*] prādād=Am̐ba-kshi-  
34 tīndraḥ prati(thi)ta-Śivapuram̐ Mollakallūri-nāma-grā[ma]-  
35 m Māhēśvarāya |<sup>7</sup> prakṛita-ma<sup>8</sup> . . . .

*Second Fragment ; Second Face.*

36 . . . . . yaṁ dharmma-  
37 . . . . . pāleniyyō(niyō) bha-

<sup>1</sup> Metre : *Anuṣṭubh*.

<sup>2</sup> This syllable is superfluous.

<sup>3</sup> Metre : *Indravajrā*.

<sup>4</sup> Daṇḍa superfluous.

<sup>5</sup> Metre : *Āryā*.

<sup>6</sup> Metre : *Upajāti*.

<sup>7</sup> Metre : *Sragdharā*.

<sup>8</sup> Metre : *Sragdharā*.



38 . . dbhis=sarvān=ētān bhāvīṇaḥ prārthivēndrā<sup>1</sup> bhūyō  
 39 bhūyō yāchatē Rāmachandrah<sup>2</sup> ||<sup>3</sup> Bahubhi-  
 40 r=vvasudhā dattā rājabhis=Sada(ga)rādibhiḥ | yasya  
 41 yasya yadū bhūmih(mis=)tasya tasya tathā(dā) phala-  
 42 m(lam) ||<sup>4</sup> Satruānpi(n-āpi) tṛitō<sup>5</sup> dharmma[h\*] pālaniyyō(niyō) praya-  
 43 tnataḥ | śatrur=ēva hi śatru[h\*] syād=dharmmaḥ śatru  
 44 r=nna kasya-chit ||<sup>6</sup> Māsham=ēkam suvarnna(nṇa)sya bhūmē-  
 45 r=apy-arddham=aṅgaḥ(aṅgulam |) haran=narakam=āpnōti yā-  
 46 vad=ābhūta-samplavam(vam) ||<sup>7</sup> Yathā chandrama-  
 47 sō vṛiddhir=ahany=ahani jāyatē ||<sup>8</sup> tathā bhū-  
 48 mi-kṛitān dānam sasyē sasyē vivarddhatē ||<sup>9</sup> Āyushma-  
 49 tā Nammananandanēna pratyagravāṇi-hṛidayā-  
 50 mṅamēna | samyak=kṛitān śāsana-varyyam=ē-  
 51 tat=sarvvē=pi śrīṇvaṁtu sah-ādarēṇa ||<sup>10</sup> Svasti śrī-  
 52 Śaka-varshambulu 1212 agu-nēṇṭi Vīkri(kṛi)ti-  
 53 saṁvatsara Bhādrapada bahula 15 Maṅga-  
 54 ḷavārāna sūryya-grahāṇa-kālamuna-  
 55 [m]du svasti śrīmatu Gaṇḍa-peṇḍāra Ambadē-  
 56 va-Mahārājulu śrī-Tripurāntakam-kshē-  
 57 tra-vāsul-aina Remḍrēvula Mallināthaya-  
 58 mṅārīki Mollalakallūru sarvva-bāda(dhā)-pari-  
 59 hāramu ā-chandirka-stā(sthā)yigān-ichchima Si-  
 60 vapuramu [r] maṅgaḷa mahā-śrī śrī śrī | | |  
 61 [D]ēvi yasya tvakiyyam(svakiyam?) Tripura-vijayin[ē]  
 62 chakshur=at(ut)-pāṭya pūjā [m\*] śītva (kṛitvā) rējē tatō=pi [dda]-  
 63 .. taram=amalān Dōchā(a)y-ākhyam prasiddham ||<sup>11</sup>  
 64 pūrvva-dvārē Kumāra-kshītibhṛid=uparitas=ta[t\*]-Pu-  
 65 rārē[h\*] purastād=ramyam sōpāna-mārgam [vuma?]-  
 66 karam=amalān dyuḥ pratijñam vidhāya ||<sup>12</sup>

#### No. 28.—BARGAON TEMPLE INSCRIPTION OF SABARA.

By PROF. V. V. MIRASHI, M.A., NAGPUR.

This inscription is incised on a broken stone slab which is still lying amidst the ruins of a temple to the north of Bargaon, a village situated at a distance of twenty-seven miles north by west of Murwārā, the chief town of the Murwārā *tahsil* of the Jubbulpore District, in the Central Provinces. The inscription does not seem to have been noticed by General Cunningham who visited Bargaon twice, during 1883-84 and 1884-85, and has given a fairly detailed description of the temples and mentioned three other records found there in his *Archæological Survey of India Reports*, Vol XXI, Part I, p. 161 and Part II, pp. 163-64. The present inscription was briefly noticed for the first time by Rai Bahadur Hiralal in his *Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar*,<sup>7</sup> but it has not

<sup>1</sup> Read *pārthivēndrān*.

<sup>2</sup> Metre: *Anushṭubh*.

<sup>3</sup> Metre: *Indravajrā*.

<sup>7</sup> First edition, (1916), pp. 39-40; second edition (1932), p. 43.

<sup>2</sup> Metre: *Śālinī*.

<sup>4</sup> Read *kṛitō*.

<sup>6</sup> Metre: *Bṛagdhārā*.

been edited so far. It is edited here from good estampages supplied by the Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey, Central Circle, Patna.

The inscription is fragmentary. Nothing has of course been lost at the top, the bottom and the proper right side. But an indefinite number of letters have disappeared on the left side owing to the breaking away of the stone. The extant portion of the record is in a state of good preservation. It consists of five lines, of which the last, which begins at a distance of 2' from the proper right end, contains only three *aksharas*. The characters belong to the Nāgarī alphabet. As regards individual letters we may note that *kh* consists of two triangles joined by a horizontal line at the top; *th* shows a vertical stroke on the right; *r* exhibits two forms—one with a loop as in *ṛīdara*, l. 3 and the other without it in *Sabara*, l. 1. Rai Bahadur Hiralal conjecturally referred the characters of this inscription to the 8th or 9th century A. D., but they appear to be somewhat later and may be of the 10th century A. D.

The language is Sanskrit. The record is written in prose throughout. It is written incorrectly and contains some mistakes of *sandhi* (as in *atō arthē* for *atō=rthē* in l. 4) and of gender (as in *śapath-ēdam* for *śapathō=’yam* in the same line). The only orthographical peculiarity that calls for notice is that *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*, see *Śavara* and *Valādhikṛita*, both in l. 1 and *vrahma-stamva* in l. 2.

The record opens with *Om namaḥ* and refers to a commander of the army (*Balādhikṛita*) of Śabara. His name which is partly mutilated appears to be Śiva. The object of the inscription seems to be to record the gift of a cess on the threshing floor together with a granary to some ascetic residing at the temple in the settlement of Brāhmaṇas for the benefit of (the god) Śaṅkara-nārāyaṇa, to whose temple the inscribed stone was apparently affixed. The record ends with the imprecation that whoever would offend against it would incur the sin of the slaughter of a Brāhmaṇa.

The preserved portion of the inscription contains no date, but, as stated above, it can, on paleographic evidence, be referred to the 10th century A.D. The illustrious Śabara mentioned here is perhaps identical with the Śabara, named Śimha, mentioned in a fragmentary stone inscription found at Bhilsā, to which Dr. F. E. Hall has called attention in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XXXI, p. 111, n. 2. The latter inscription states that Vāchaspati of the Kaundinya *gōtra*, who was a minister of the king Kṛishṇa after defeating the lord of Chēdi and slaying a Śabara named Śimha placed the kings of the Rālā-maṇḍala and Rōdapādi on the throne and repaired to the temple of Bhāillasvāmin evidently at Bhilsā where he composed a *stōtra* in praise of the god.<sup>1</sup> From the mention of the lord of Chēdi and the Śabara chief Śimha together in the same line, Dr. Hall conjectured that the latter was the Chedian generalissimo. The Śabara of the present inscription, too, was no doubt subject to the contemporary Chēdi or Kalachuri king, for a much defaced inscription at Bargaon to which General Cunningham has drawn attention<sup>2</sup> refers to a Kalachuri king or kings. But as the present inscription mentions a commander of the forces of this Śabara himself, it seems that he was a feudatory chief and not a mere generalissimo of the Chēdi king. This fragmentary inscription at Bhilsā is also undated, but the date of the king Kṛishṇa, whose minister was Vāchaspati, can be approximately fixed on other evidence. At Maser, a village about twenty-five miles north of Bhilsā, Mr. M. B. Garde, Director of Archaeology,

<sup>1</sup> See 'Chēd-īkām samarē vijitya Śabarām samhṛitya Śimh-āhvayam Rālā-maṇḍala-Rōdapādy-avanipō(pau) bhūmyūn pratishtāpya cha Dēvaṁ drashṭum=ih=āgatō rachitavām(n) stōtram pavitram param śrīmat-Kṛishṇa-nṛp-aika-mantri-pada-bhāk Kaundinya-Vāchaspatiḥ ||' cited by Hall in *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 111, n. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. XXI, p. 165.

Gwalior State, discovered in 1930 a fragmentary inscription in two pieces.<sup>1</sup> It mentions one Narasiṃha of the Śulki (or Chālukya) family, who at the command of Kṛishṇarāja initiated the wives of Kalachuri kings into widowhood. As Kēsari, the son of Narasiṃha, was, according to the inscription, appointed *Tantrādhipa* (Minister for home affairs) by Vākpati-Muṣja (circa A.D. 972 to 995), Kṛishṇarāja can be placed about A. D. 950. This conclusion is corroborated by the date V. 1039 (A. D. 982) of a pilgrim record which Mr. Garde has discovered on a pillar of a dilapidated mediæval temple at Maser. This record states the name of the god installed in the temple as Kṛishṇēśvara.<sup>2</sup> The god was evidently so named after a king named Kṛishṇa who consequently must have flourished before A. D. 982. There is another piece of evidence which corroborates the above-mentioned date for Kṛishṇa. This Kṛishṇa is probably identical with Kṛishṇapa of the Chandēlla family, a son of Yaśōvarman, mentioned in four out of six stone inscriptions<sup>3</sup> at Dudahi, in the Lalitpur District, about 75 miles north by east of Bhilsā. According to both General Cunningham and Dr. Kielhorn this Yaśōvarman is the well-known Chandēlla king of that name, the father of Dhaṅga for whom we have dates ranging from A. D. 954 to A. D. 1002. Kṛishṇapa may, therefore, be referred to the period A.D. 960-85. From the Khajurāho inscription of Dhaṅga, dated V. 1011, we learn that the Chandēlla kingdom in the beginning of his reign extended to Bhāsvat or Bhilsā in the south.<sup>4</sup> It seems, therefore, that Dhaṅga placed his brother Kṛishṇa or Kṛishṇapa in charge of the south-western portion of the Chandēlla kingdom extending at least from Dudahi in the north to Bhilsā in the south.

If the identification of the illustrious Śabara of the present inscription with the Śabara chief slain by Kṛishṇarāja's minister is accepted, the Śabara chief can be referred to the third quarter of the 10th century A.D. The Kalachuri suzerain to whom he owed allegiance was probably Śaṅkaraṅga. The name of the god Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa appears somewhat curious.<sup>5</sup> It seems to suggest that the temple was dedicated to Nārāyaṇa installed by Śaṅkara, who is probably identical with the Kalachuri prince of that name mentioned in the Kāritālāi stone inscription of Lakshmaṇarāja II.<sup>6</sup> It is noteworthy in this connection that he is called a *parama-taiṣṇava* or devout worshipper of Viṣṇu in that record.

#### TEXT.<sup>7</sup>

- 1 सिद्धिः<sup>8</sup> [१\*] श्री नमः [१\*] श्रीश्व(व)रसत्त्वलाघोक्त<sup>9</sup> [शिव]- . . . . .
- 2 भ्यर्थितसमस्तत्र(व)क्षस्त्व(व)स्थानतपोधनसम . . . . .
- 3 श्रीशंकरनारायणार्थि खलभिषा(चा) प्रदत्ता कदरं<sup>10</sup> . . . . .

<sup>1</sup> *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Gwalior State, for 1930-31, p. 10.*

<sup>2</sup> I owe this information to the kindness of Mr. Garde.

<sup>3</sup> These inscriptions were discovered by Cunningham, see his *A. S. R.*, Vol. X, pp. 94-5, plate xxxii, and edited by Kielhorn in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 236-37.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. I, p. 129.

<sup>5</sup> [Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa here apparently refers to an image of Harihara.—Ed.]

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 174 ff. This king must now be called Lakshmaṇarāja II in view of an earlier king of the same name; see above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 255 ff.

<sup>7</sup> From inked estampages.

<sup>8</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>9</sup> Read *Balādhikṛita*.

<sup>10</sup> The *anuvāra* on *ra* is very faint. Some word like *cha* may have been lost after *kṛidarasi*.

4 कं अतो अर्थ<sup>1</sup> यो विभिचरति<sup>2</sup> तस्य शपथेदं<sup>3</sup> ब्र(त्र)ह्महृत्य(न्या)पातके<sup>4</sup> . . .

. . . . .

5 स्य इति<sup>5</sup> [॥\*]

#### TRANSLATION.

(Ll. 1-3) Success! Ōm! Adoration! [Śiva], the *Balādhikṛita* of the illustrious Śabara . . . has given the cess at the threshing floor<sup>6</sup> and a granary for the holy Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa to . . . , the ascetic residing in the temple (*which is the only one*) in the entire settlement of the Brāhmaṇas<sup>7</sup> venerated by . . . . .

(Ll. 4-5) Whoever will deviate from this, for him is this (*our*) imprecation that he shall incur the sin of killing a Brāhmaṇa . . . . .

#### No. 29.—JIRJINGI PLATES OF GANGA INDRAVARMAN: THE YEAR 39.

By R. K. GHOSHAL, M.A., CALCUTTA.

The plates which bear the subjoined inscription were turned up along with pieces of old pottery in course of excavation of an old temple in the village of Jirjingi near Tekkali in the Ganjām District of the Madras Presidency. They were secured by Sir A. P. Patro, Kt., who made them over to Mr. R. Subba Rao of the Andhra Historical Research Society of Rajahmundry. Mr. Rao subsequently published them in the Society's Journal.<sup>8</sup> In view of the great importance justly attached to this record for the early history of the Gaṅga kings of Orissa, and considering its rather inadequate treatment by Mr. Rao, I re-edit the inscription from excellent ink-impressions kindly supplied by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, the Government Epigraphist for India.

These are **three plates** of copper, each measuring  $8\frac{1}{4}$ " by 3". Towards the proper right end of each plate, there is a hole through which passed a **ring**, 3" in diameter, the ends of which, however, remain un-soldered, owing to the fact that the seal which must have been fixed to this ring is missing. The weight of the plates is  $56\frac{1}{2}$  *tolas*, and that of the ring  $12\frac{1}{2}$  *tolas*, making a total of 69 *tolas*. The edges of the plates are slightly raised into rims so as to protect the inscription. The first and the third plates have writing on their inner faces only, while the

<sup>1</sup> Used in the sense of *asminnn=arthē*.

<sup>2</sup> Read *vjabhicharati*.

<sup>3</sup> Read *sapathō=ṣyam*.

<sup>4</sup> The original perhaps contained *pātakēna samyuktō bhavishyati*.

<sup>5</sup> Read *°sy=ēti*.

<sup>6</sup> *Khala-bhikshā*, lit. alms at a threshing floor, was probably a tax in kind which was paid to the state when the corn was threshed. The right to receive the contribution seems to have been transferred to the donee. Whether the cess at one or all the threshing floors in the particular locality was conferred on the donee the record does not make clear. The Kāṛitalāi stone inscription of Lakṣmaṇarāja (II) (above, Vol. II, pp. 174 ff.) refers in line 34 to the donation of four *khala-bhikshās*.

<sup>7</sup> *Brahma-stambha* occurs in verse 14 of the Jabalpur and Khairhā grants of Yaśaḥkarma, (above, Vols. II, p. 4 and XII, p. 212) but there, too, the correct expression evidently is *brahma-stamba* meaning 'a settlement of Brāhmaṇas.' The same verse occurs in the Kumbhī plates of Vijayasimha. Dr. Hall's transcript of it gives the reading *brahma-stambō*. See *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 117.

<sup>8</sup> *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. III, pp. 49 ff. Also noticed in the *An. Rep. on South Indian Epigraphy for 1935-36* (C. P. No. 9).

second one is inscribed on both sides. The plates are in a state of perfect preservation and the engraving is clear throughout. The first and third plates, which are inscribed on one side only, have seven lines of writing apiece, while the second one contains six lines on each of its sides,—thus twenty-six lines in all. The height of the letters is about  $\frac{1}{3}$ " on the average.

The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets and have resemblance to those used in the Gōdāvari plates of Prithivimūla,<sup>1</sup> Gōkāk Plates of Dējja-Mahārāja,<sup>2</sup> the Srungavara-pukōṭa<sup>3</sup> and Siripuram<sup>4</sup> plates of Anantavarman, king of Kalinga.

The script of the Jirjingi plates has further some obvious resemblance to that employed in some of the early inscriptions from Cambodia.

The inscription under discussion furnishes examples of initial *a* in lines 1, 4, 8, 14 and 22 and of initial *ā* in l. 24 as well as of final *m* (ll. 18 and 21) and *t* (l. 25), which are so indicated by their smaller size. The northern form of *l* is employed in -*sakala*- (l. 1) and -*latā*- (l. 8).

The numerical symbols for 1, 9, 20 and 30 are contained in the date in line 25.

The language is Sanskrit. With the exception of two of the customary verses at the end, the whole of the record is in prose.

Among orthographical peculiarities deserving notice are (1) the use of the *jihvāmūliya* in l. 21; (2) the use of the guttural nasal in place of *anusvāra* in -*nistrinśa* (l. 5); (3) the doubling of *dh* and the change of the first *dh* into *d* in -*ānuddhyātas*- (l. 10); (4) the doubling throughout of a consonant after *r*; (5) the occasional doubling of a consonant before *r*, as in *sagōṭṭrāya* (l. 13). In *Taittirīya* (l. 13) the doubling of the first letter is ungrammatical. Both *ḷ* and *v* are indicated by the sign for the latter, exceptions being *saṃ(sa)mbaddha* (l. 11) and *kuṭumbina[s\*=]* (l. 12). The rules of *sandhi* have not been observed in a few cases.

The object of the inscription is to record a grant, which is non-sectarian in character, by Mahārāja Indravarman, Lord of Trikalīṅga, 'a sun in the firmament of the spotless family of the Gaṅgas'. The grant is issued from the city of Dantapura and concerns the village of Jijjika situated in the Vōṅkhara-bhōga, which is given away as an *agrahāra*, in equal shares, to Agnisvāmin, son of Rudrasvāmin, and the former's (i.e., Agnisvāmin's) son Rudrasvāmin, who belonged to the Viṣṇuvṛiddha *gōtra* and the Taittirīya *śākhā*.

The date is given, in figures only, as in the Year 39 on the 21st day of the month of Vaiśākha. The year in all probability refers itself to the Gāṅga era. The present record, therefore, may be considered as the earliest inscription of the Eastern Gāṅga kings discovered so far.<sup>5</sup>

The charter was written by the king's *Sāṅdhivigrahika* Dēvasimhadēva.

There has been lately some discussion over the question of identity and antecedence of Indravarman, Lord of Trikalīṅga, of the present record. Mr. R. Subba Rao identifies<sup>6</sup> the donor

<sup>1</sup> J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVI, pp. 114 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 289 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 56 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 47 ff.

<sup>5</sup> The next oldest inscription of the Eastern Gaṅgas yet available is the Narasingapalli plates of Hastivarman of the Year 79 (see Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 62 ff.). There is much uncertainty about the reading of the date in the stray plate from Tirliṅgi which has been assumed by Mr. S. N. Rajaguru (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. III, pp. 54 ff.) to belong to the Year 28 of the Gāṅga era. Much of this uncertainty will undoubtedly be removed when the remaining plates of the set come to light and clear impressions of them are made available to scholars. It seems therefore premature, just now, to doubt, as has been done by Mr. G. Ramdas (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. III, pp. 82-3), the genuineness of the Tirliṅgi plate on what appears to be very flimsy grounds.

<sup>6</sup> *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. VI, p. 72.

of this grant with *Adhirāja* Indra, who, as recorded in the Gōdāvarī plates of Prithivīmūla, is said to have overthrown in battle one Indrabhaṭṭāraka<sup>1</sup>. This latter potentate has been equated by Dr. J. F. Fleet<sup>2</sup> with the Eastern Chālukya king of the same name who was the younger brother of Jayasimha I and father of Vishṇuvardhana II: while according to Drs. Kielhorn<sup>3</sup> and Jouveau-Dubreuil,<sup>4</sup> Indrabhaṭṭāraka should rather belong to the Vishṇukunḍin dynasty. We along with Mr. Subba Rao<sup>5</sup> are inclined provisionally to subscribe to this latter view.

It seems that the Vishṇukunḍins being hard pressed by the Eastern Chālukya kings pushed further northward from their original home in the Kistnā district<sup>6</sup> of the Madras presidency. Their chief opponents in this direction were the Gaṅga kings of Kālīṅga who had then only recently eked out an independent principality in and about the Ganjām district. The two contending armies seem to have met each other in the heart of the delta of the Gōdāvarī, possibly somewhere near the modern town of Rajahmundry. As has been claimed in the Gōdāvarī plates, victory rested for the time being with the Kālīṅga forces. And it is quite probable that Indravarma returned in triumph to his capital at Dantapura. The victory over the Vishṇukunḍins further prompted him to assume the (then rather anomalous) title of 'Lord of Trikaṭīṅga' (*Trikaliṅgādhipati*), seeing that his hold over the three contiguous districts of Gōdāvarī, Vizagapatam and Ganjām<sup>7</sup> now became practically undisputed. To this victory may also be attributed his description in our inscription as 'the thousand-rayed (*sun*) in the firmament of the spotless family of the Gaṅgas'. Indeed, the might of Indravarma may be said to have dispelled the threatening clouds of a dangerous foreign offensive.

At this point it becomes necessary for us to take into consideration a number of kings whose records should be placed on palæographical grounds in the period A.D. 400-500, roughly indicating the interval between the southern campaign of Samudragupta and the rise of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty. These are Anantavarman of the Srungavarapukōṭa<sup>8</sup> and Siripuram<sup>9</sup> plates, Śaktivarman of the Rāgōlu plates,<sup>10</sup> Umavarman of the Brihatprōshthā<sup>11</sup>, Dhavalapēṭa<sup>12</sup> and Tekkali<sup>13</sup> plates, Chaṇḍavarman of the Kōmarti<sup>14</sup> and Tirithāṇa<sup>15</sup> plates, Ananta-Śaktivarman

<sup>1</sup> *J. B. E. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 119. Dr. G. Jouveau-Dubreuil, however, assumes on the evidence of the Rāmātirtham plates that it was the Vishṇukunḍin monarch who emerged triumphant from this struggle (*Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 91).

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 120.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. IV, p. 195.

<sup>4</sup> *Ancient History of the Deccan*, pp. 76 and 91.

<sup>5</sup> In an earlier study (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. II, p. 159), Mr. Subba Rao held that *Adhirāja* Indra of the Gōdāvarī plates should be identified with Indravarma of the Achyutapuram (above, Vol. III, pp. 128 ff.) and Parlā-Kimeḍi (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 131 ff.) plates. Dr. Fleet, on the other hand, was inclined to identify *Adhirāja* Indra with the Indravarma of the Chiencole plates of the Years 128 and 146 (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 120 ff.).

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol. IV, p. 195.

<sup>7</sup> However, no inscriptions of Indravarma expressly under his own name have turned up yet from either of the districts of Gōdāvarī and Vizagapatam. The Ganjām district on the contrary remained the stronghold of the Eastern Gaṅgas throughout their history, as can be judged from the imposing array of copper-plate inscriptions beginning from the Jirjingi plates onwards.

<sup>8</sup> Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 56 ff.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 47 ff.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, pp. 1 ff.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 4 ff.

<sup>12</sup> *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. X, pp. 143 ff.

<sup>13</sup> *An. Rep. on South Indian Epigraphy (1934-35)*, C. P. No. 13.

<sup>14</sup> Above, Vol. IV, pp. 142 ff.

<sup>15</sup> *An. Rep. on South Indian Epigraphy (1934-35)*, C. P. No. 12.

of the Madras Museum plates, Nanda<sup>1</sup>-Prabhāñjanavarman of the Chicacole plates<sup>2</sup> and Viśākha-varman of the Kōrōshandā plates.<sup>3</sup>

All of these potentates, with the exception of Viśākha-varman,<sup>4</sup> call themselves 'kings of Kalinga' (*Kalingādhipati*). It is probable that these kings rose into prominence in the period following the withdrawal of the arms of Samudragupta from the south.<sup>5</sup> After him the Guptas never actively interested themselves in South Indian politics, thus affording ample opportunity for these chiefs, as they originally were, to raise their heads and assume regal distinctions. Naturally, as some of them were living contemporaneously with others, they fought vehemently among themselves for control of the territory now covered by the districts of Gōdāvarī and Vizagapatam. Their objective, at least that of some of them, was perhaps the Orissa littoral, pushing through the districts of Ganjām and Puri right up to the outskirts of Balasore<sup>6</sup> and beyond that the important port of Tāmraliptī on the Bay of Bengal. This was the period which coincided with the gradual rise to power of the Eastern Gāṅgas under the capable leadership of Indravarman. It is not yet possible, in the absence of more substantial details of historical value, to make out the relation, if there were any, in which all these early 'kings' stood to one another. While some of them like Śaktivarman, Umavarman and Viśākha-varman may have flourished<sup>7</sup> before the time of Indravarman, it is probable that others like Anantavarman and Nanda-

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 24.

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 48 ff. Here we may in passing be permitted to dwell a little on the significance of the prefix 'Nanda' coming before the name of this king. Dr. D. C. Sircar's suggestion (*Journ. Dept. of Letters, Calcutta University*, Vol. XXVI, p. 66, f. n. 2) that it denotes "Prabhāñjanavarman of the Nanda family" seems to be somewhat speculative as it is without a parallel in the early history of Kalinga. A simpler and more reasonable explanation would be that 'Nanda' is here used as an honorific adjective (qualifying Prabhāñjanavarman) in the sense of 'one who pleases everybody'. In fact, another variant of the same word, 'Nandaka', has the significant meaning of 'one who gladdens one's family' (cf. V. S. Apte, *The Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, 2nd ed., Bombay, 1912, p. 535). The names of some of the early Pallava kings like Śiva-Skandavarman, Vijaya-Skandavarman, etc., could be cited (as suggested by Dr. Sircar in *Successors of the Śālavāhanas in Lower Deccan*, pp. 166-67) as parallel instances of such honorific prefixes being in common use in South India from an early time.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 23 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Mr. G. Ramdas, however, advances (above, Vol. XXI, p. 24) two plausible reasons in support of his supposition that Viśākha-varman was a Kalinga king. These are (1) Kōrōśōdaka-Pañchāli, mentioned in the Kōrōshandā plates, "formed a part of the Kalinga Country", and (2) Śrīpura from which the Kōrōshandā plates were issued may be identified with Śrīpuram (Vizagapatam district) which is close to the ancient district of Varāhavarman of Kalinga. Mr. G. V. Srinivasa Rao, on the other hand, suggests (above, Vol. XXIV, p. 49) that Śrīpura of the Kōrōshandā plates may rather be the Śrīpuram, a village near Chicacole, the find-spot of the inscription of another 'king of Kalinga' (*Kalingādhipati*), viz., Anantavarman.

<sup>5</sup> A most convincing and significant evidence of this having been the actual state of things is afforded by the Srungavarapukōta plates of Anantavarman (above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 56 ff.), 'Lord of Kalinga', whose grandfather, Gunavarman, is called 'Lord of Dēvarāṣṭra' (identified with modern Yellamanchili taluk of the Vizagapatam district) and who himself issued his grant from Pishtapura (identified generally with modern Pithāpuram in the Gōdāvarī district). Both of these countries constituted two distinct kingdoms in the time of Samudragupta.

<sup>6</sup> About this time the Balasore district seems to have been in the hands of a group of chiefs, of obscure antecedents and relation, who called themselves (with one exception) *maḥārāja*. Four inscribed copper-plates purporting to belong to their rule have recently been published by the late lamented Mr. N. G. Majumdar (above, Vol. XXII, pp. 197 ff.). Incidentally, there is one more (rather imperfectly studied) inscription belonging to one of these chiefs which escaped the notice of Mr. Majumdar. This latter record I hope shortly to deal with in this journal.

<sup>7</sup> This of course is more in the nature of a conjecture as we have no more a basis than that of the indefinite evidence of palaeography of the records concerned. It seems rather distressing that some of these 'kings' did not think it worthwhile to put on record the names of their fathers.

Prabhañjanavarman lived contemporaneously with Indravarman. It is even possible that the latter was originally a petty chief of no political position, wielding his influence over a small stretch of territory in the Gōdāvarī valley. In course of time he collected a large following, with whose help he set forth to carve out an independent realm for himself. The Ganjām district conveniently abutting on the Orissan frontier and affording avenues for further northward expansion, satisfactorily answered his expectations. And while yet endeavouring to build up the nucleus of a future empire, disquieting news reached him of clashing of steel at his rear in the Gōdāvarī valley. In all haste, Indravarman prepared and launched an offensive, and, ultimately, after what must have been quite a number of fierce engagements, succeeded in maintaining his hold over the Gōdāvarī and Vizagapatam districts, while improving and fortifying his base in the Ganjām district.

Unfortunately, the material at our disposal does not permit us yet to develop in fuller details the reconstruction of the history of the rise of the Eastern Gaṅga power. What we have contented ourselves with doing is to suggest the broad outlines of a story which after all may not be quite out of tune with those hectic days in the history of Kālīṅga. At least, and it appears to lend some force of conviction to our line of argument, it would explain the claim, though somewhat conventionalised in form, of Indravarman in our present record (ll. 4-7) to have subdued in more than one battle many 'chiefs' by his own prowess. It does not seem to be an empty pandering to the vanities of a disillusioned patron by his scribe. No other epithet could describe the feat of this valiant soldier more aptly.

Of the localities mentioned, Dantapura is referred to for the first time in this record. It occurs next in the Purlē plates<sup>1</sup> of Indravarman (year 149). The place had a Buddhist association in that the left canine tooth of the lower jaw of the Buddha is said to have been brought over there by one of the Master's disciples and a *stūpa* built over it. Subsequently, it was taken away to Ceylon. A verse preserved in the *Dīgha Nikāya*, and incorrectly reproduced in the *Mahāvastu*, speaks of Dantapura as the capital of the Kālīṅgas.<sup>2</sup> It is also mentioned as such in the *Mahāgovinda-sūttanta*.<sup>3</sup> The *Jātakas* refer several times<sup>4</sup> to this city, which fact doubtlessly establishes its antiquity. Many suggestions have been advanced in regard to the identification of this ancient city. Sir Alexander Cunningham<sup>5</sup> located it at modern Rajahmundry on the Gōdāvarī. Mr. Ramdas<sup>6</sup> places it in the neighbourhood of Chicacole. Professor Sylvain Lévi identified this Dantapura with the *Paloura* of Ptolemy<sup>7</sup> and was inclined to seek for it somewhere near modern Chicacole.<sup>8</sup> Mr. N. L. Dey, on the other hand, suggested<sup>9</sup> its identification with modern Dāntan on the river Kāsāi in the Midnapur district of Bengal. According to Mr. R. Subba Rao,<sup>10</sup> Dantapura may be looked for in "the ruins of the fort of the same name, situated on the southern bank of the river Varṣadharā, three miles from Chicacole Road Station" of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway. According to another view,<sup>11</sup> "the place must be near

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XIV, pp. 361-62.

<sup>2</sup> *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, pp. 172-73.

<sup>3</sup> *Dīgha Nikāya* (P. T. S.), p. 235.

<sup>4</sup> See now, Ratilal N. Mehta, *Pre-Buddhist India*, Bombay 1939, p. 401, s. v. *Dantapura*.

<sup>5</sup> *Geography of Ancient India* (ed. by S. N. Majumdar-Sastri), pp. 592-3.

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol. XIV, p. 361.

<sup>7</sup> L. Renou, *La Géographie de Ptolémée, L'Inde* (VII, 16), Paris 1925.

<sup>8</sup> P. C. Bagchi, *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India*, pp. 163 ff; especially, p. 171.

<sup>9</sup> *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India*, 2nd ed., p. 53.

<sup>10</sup> *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. VI, p. 73.

<sup>11</sup> *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 137-38.



the Chilkā Lake and the old route from Malud". Pandit Nilakantha Das, finally, believes that "Dantapur is undoubtedly the present Puri of Jagannath".<sup>1</sup>

A like divergence of opinion prevails over the question of connotation of the geographical expression **Trikaliṅga**. According to Mr. R. D. Banerji<sup>2</sup>, **Trikaliṅga** comprised within it the tracts of country anciently known as Kaliṅga, Tōsala and Utkala; while Dr. R. G. Basak believes<sup>3</sup> that it included Ud̥ra (Orissa proper), Kōṅgōda and Kaliṅga. Mr. G. Ramdas lastly holds that **Trikaliṅga** denoted "the highlands intervening between the coast (sic) strip called Kaliṅga and the Dakṣiṇa-Kōsala or the modern Chatisgarh (sic)".<sup>4</sup>

The village of **Jijjika** which was given away, is evidently, as already suggested by Mr. Subba Rao,<sup>5</sup> the same as the modern village of Jirjingi, the find-spot of our record, in the Tekkali Zemindary of the Ganjam district. The **Vōṅkhara-bhōga**, in which the village granted was situated, I am unable to identify.

The date of the record is given as the 21st day of Vaiśākha of the year 39 of the prosperous reign [of the Gaṅgas]. The epoch of this era being still unsettled, it is hazardous to attempt at any sure estimation of its correct age. Failing all other help, we are constrained to fall back on the solitary evidence of the palaeography of the record under discussion. Taking all things into consideration and leaving a reasonable margin on either side, we would refer this record to the period 475-550 A.D.

#### TEXT.<sup>6</sup>

##### First Plate.

- 1 Ōm? Svasti. [[\*] Amara-pura-pratisparddhi-śrī(śrī)mad-Dantapurād=bhagavatas=sakala<sup>8</sup>.bhu-
- 2 vana-tal-ōtpatti-sthiti-pralaya-hētōḥ Paramēśvarasya satata-praṇā-
- 3 m-āvāptah<sup>9</sup>.punya-saṅchaya-prabhāva-nirast-āsēsha-duritō **Gāṅg-āmala-kula-**
- 4 gagana-tala-sahasraraśmih anēka-ebhūturddanta-samara-vijaya-
- 5 vimala-vikōṣa-mistriṅsa<sup>10</sup>.dhārā-samākṛānta-sakala-sāmānta-
- 6 nṛpati-maṇḍal-ādhipatiḥ<sup>11</sup>.makuṭa-nihita-ruchira-padmarāga-
- 7 prabhā-prasēka-parishvaṅga-piṅgāṅgikṛita<sup>12</sup>.charaṇa-yugalaḥ

##### Second Plate; First Side.

- 8 atula-va(ba)la-samuday-āvāpta-vipula-vibhava-sampal-latā-
- 9 maṇḍapa-chechhāyā-viśrānta-suhṛit-sādhuvā(bā)ndhav-ārtthi-janaḥ
- 10 mātā-pitṛi-pād-ānuddhyātas=**Trikaliṅg**-ādhipati-śrī-Mahā-

<sup>1</sup> J. A. H. R. S., Vol. II. p. 23.

<sup>2</sup> History of Orissa, Vol. I, map facing p. 49.

<sup>3</sup> History of North-Eastern India, p. 161.

<sup>4</sup> J. A. H. R. S., Vol. I, pp. 16 ff.; esp. p. 23.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., Vol. III, p. 49.

<sup>6</sup> From ink-impressions kindly supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.

<sup>7</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>8</sup> Note the northern form of l.

<sup>9</sup> Read -āvāpta-.

<sup>10</sup> Read -nistriṅsa.

<sup>11</sup> Read -ādhipati-.

<sup>12</sup> Better read -piṅgaṅgikṛita-.

i.

2 2  
4 4  
6 6

ii, a.

8 8  
10 10  
12 12

ii, b.

14 14  
16 16  
18 18

iii.

20 20  
22 22  
24 24  
26 26



- 11 rāj-Ēndravarmmā |<sup>1</sup> Vōñkhara-bhōga-<sup>2</sup>sambaddha-Jijjika-grāmē  
 12 sarvva-samavētān=kuṭumbina[s\*]=samājñāpayaty=asty=ayam grāmō=  
 13 smābhir=Vishṇuvṛiddha-sagōttrāya Ttai(Tai)ttirīya-savra(bra)lmachārīṇē

*Second Plate ; Second Side.*

- 14 Rudrasvāmi-sūnavē Agnisvāminē tat-tanuṇiāya cha Rudrasvāminē  
 15 sañvivbhajy=ārdhēn=ā-samudr-ādri-śaśi-tārak-ārka-pratishṭham=agrahāraṁ kṛtvā  
 16 sva-puṇy-āyū(yu)r-yyaśō-va(ba)la-varddhan-ārthaj[m\*] mātā-pitrōś=cha puṇy-āvāpta-  
 17 yē |<sup>1</sup> sarvva-kara-parihārai[h\*] |<sup>1</sup> parihṛitya ch=āyam grāmaḥ  
 18 prattah[|\*] tad=ēvaṁ bhavadbhūḥ pūrvv-ōchita-maryyāday=ōpasthēyam [|\*]  
 19 bhavishyataś=cha rājñō vijñāpayāmi | dharmma-krama-vikramā-

*Third Plate.*

- 20 nām=anyatama-yōgād=avāpta-bhūmaṇḍal-ādhirājyair=apimā(p=imān)  
 21 mahīm=anuśāsadbhik kram-āgataṁ dānam(i=ī)ty=anupālaniyam ||  
 22 api cha ślokaḥ bhavataḥ || <sup>3</sup>Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ mvā(vā) yatnūd=raksha  
 23 Yudhishṭhira [|\*] mahi[m\*] mahimatāṁ śrēṣṭha dānūch=chhrēyō=nupālanaṁ-  
 (nam) [|\*]  
 24 Shasṭhīm varsha-sahasraṇi svarggē mōdati bhūmida[h\*] | āchchhētā ch=ānuma-  
 25 ntā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēt [| 2\*] pravarddhamāna-sam 30 9<sup>1</sup> Vaisākha-di  
 20 1 ||  
 26 likhitam=idam mahārājñō<sup>7</sup> sāndhivigrahika-Dēvasiṅgha(sirha)dēvōn=ēti ||

**TRANSLATION.**

(L. 1) Ōm Hail !

From the beautiful (*city of*) **Dantapura**, which vies with **Amarāvati** (the city of gods), the glorious **Mahārāja Indravarman**, Lord of **Trikaliṅga**—who has had all his sins removed by dint of his accumulation of religious merit obtained through his constantly doing obeisance to Śiva who is the cause of creation, preservation and destruction of the entire world ; who is a sun in the firmament of the spotless family of the **Gaṅgas** ; who has his pair of feet made tawny-coloured by their contact with the lustre of brilliant rubies infixed to the crowns of all the *sāmanta-nripatis* and *maṇḍalādhīpatis*<sup>4</sup> whom he had subdued by his stainless and unsheathed sword while winning many a battle of four-tusked<sup>5</sup> (*elephants*) ; who has his friends, the virtuous, relatives

<sup>1</sup> The stop seems to have been indicated by a single dot. This is however superfluous.

<sup>2</sup> Read -sambaddha-.

<sup>3</sup> Metre *Anushtubh* ; and in the following verse.

<sup>4</sup> Mr. R. Subba Rao first read the date as 309. Subsequently, however, he corrected his mistake in a slip attached opposite the title-page of the same number of the journal in which his article appeared (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. III, Part I). Cf. also in this connection a note by Dr. D. C. Sircar (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. VII, pp. 229 ff.) also *An. Rep. on S. Ind. Epi.* for 1934-35, Part II, p. 55.

<sup>5</sup> Read *mahārājasya*.

<sup>6</sup> I have preferred to leave these two titles untranslated accepting the strictures passed by Dr. J. F. Fleet (*J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 114, n. 2) on the common practice of rendering such technical expressions into (meaningless) English.

<sup>7</sup> *Chaturdanta* signifies, traditionally, the far-famed mount of Indra, viz., Airāvata. [See above, Vol. XXII, p. 178. n. 4.—Ed.]

and supplicants enjoying comfort under the shade of an arbour, as it were, of his enormous wealth obtained by his unequalled might and exertion; who is devoted to the feet of his parents—issues (the following) order to all the assembled householders of the village of Jijjika belonging to the **Vōṅkhara-bhōga**<sup>1</sup> :—

(L. 12) “ We have granted this village, in two equal shares,—after making it an *agrahāra* which is to last as long as the ocean, the mountain, the moon, the stars and the sun, and freeing it from all impositions, for the increase of Our own religious merit, life, fame and strength as well as for the acquisition of religious merit of Our parents—to **Agnisvāmin**, son of Rudrasvāmin and to his (*Agnisvāmin*’s) son **Rudrasvāmin**, who belong to the Vishṇuvṛiddha *gōtra* and are religious students of the Taittirīya *śākhā*.

“ Therefore, you should abide by this (*order*) according to usages obtaining heretofore.

“ I also exhort the future kings :—‘ Even having obtained possession of the entire world by means of right, inheritance, or conquest, while ruling on this earth, they should always preserve this gift.’

“ And there are also two verses :

(Verse 1)—O Yudhisṭhira ! Most excellent among the possessors of land ! diligently preserve (*a gift of*) land given by yourself or given by somebody else. Maintenance (*of a donation*) is more meritorious than donation (*itself*).

(Verse 2)—A donor of land enjoys himself in heaven for sixty thousand years. A confiscator (*thereof*) and one who consents (*to the confiscation*) remain in hell for the same number of years.”

(L. 25) The increasing Year 30 9 ; the day 20 1 of (*the month of*) Vaiśākha.

(L. 26) This has been written by the king’s *Sāndhivigrahika*<sup>2</sup> **Dēvasīmhadēva**..

<sup>1</sup> For a note on *bhōga*, see above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 59 and 64.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. A. C. Burnell quotes (*Elements of South Indian Palaeography*, 1st ed., Mangalore, 1874, pp. 64-66) passages from old texts like the *Yājñavalkya Dharmaśāstra*, the *Mātāṅgīyā*, the *Smṛitichandrikā*, etc., to show that common usage required that the *Sāndhivigrahika*, among other officials of the same rank, should be entrusted with the task of drafting a royal grant (*rājaśāsana*).

## No. 30.—POONA PLATES OF CHALUKYA VINAYADITYA ; SAKA 612.

By MADHO SARUP VATS, M.A.

This grant, consisting of three copper-plates each measuring  $9\frac{3}{4} \times 4$  in. and held together by a big ring, was purchased by me in 1936 at Poona as Superintendent of the Western Circle. To the ring, which is  $3\frac{3}{4}$  in. in diameter, is affixed a projecting seal, somewhat oval ( $1\frac{1}{4} \times 1\frac{1}{8}$  in.), of which the countersunk surface is relieved with the figure of the boar (incarnation of Vishnu) as is usually found on grants of the Western Chalukyas of Badāmi. The seal is however without any legend. The weight of the three plates together with the ring and the seal is about 3 lbs. and 14 oz.

The first and the third plates, as is usual with such grants, are inscribed on the inner face only and the second or the middle one on both. The inscription, which I have edited from the original plates, is in an excellent state of preservation and consists of 35 lines of writing, i.e., nine on each face except the last one which has only eight lines. The orthography is generally regular, though in a few places the rules of *sandhi* are not observed, e.g., in *Vishṇōḥ Vārāham* (l. 1), °*smābhīḥ dvādaś*° (l. 23). It is wrongly observed in *bālinḍu* (l. 18). A consonant followed or preceded by *r* is generally doubled as in *kshōbhīt-ārṇṇava* (l. 1), *varṭtamānē* (l. 24), *paurṇṇamāsyām* (l. 25), etc., and in *sagṭtrāṇām* (l. 2), *putrāṇām* (l. 3), *pavitrikṛita-gātrasya* (l. 6), *mātra* (l. 11), etc.

Except the grantee, the property granted and the date, the present record agrees very closely with the published grants of the Chalukya sovereign Vinayāditya.<sup>1</sup> It opens with the stereotyped description of the Chalukya family in which Pulakēśin I, Kīrtivarman, Satyāśraya (Pulakēśin II), Vikramāditya and Vinayāditya Satyāśraya ruled as direct descendants. When Vinayāditya was encamped at the village Mañchōha,<sup>2</sup> which is probably no other than Manchhar in the Poona district on the road to Nāsik, he issued the grant at the request of his queen on the full moon day of Vaiśākha, Śaka year 612 expired, corresponding to his 10th<sup>3</sup> regnal year in favour of two Brāhmaṇas named Durgasārman and Raviśārman of the Kāśyapa gōtra<sup>4</sup>. This date corresponds to Friday, 29th April 690 A.D. The property granted consisted of a field measuring 50 *nivartanas* of land in the village of Tōravē, presumably the same as the modern village Torveh in the Bījāpur District. The record closes with the name of its writer Śrī-Rāmapuṇyavallabha, the high minister of peace and war who is mentioned in all other grants of the king.

As several inscriptions of dates earlier and later than that of the present grant have already been found, this record adds very little to our knowledge of the history of the Chalukya family.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Togarchēḍu plates of Śāka 611 (*J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 242-44) and Sorab grant of Śāka 614 (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 146-52).

<sup>2</sup> [See p. 291, n. 1 below.—Ed.]

<sup>3</sup> The difficulty of reconciling the dates given in Śāka Samvat with the regnal years of Vinayāditya has already been referred to by J. F. Fleet in editing the Sorab copper-plate grant of this king, cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 148-49.

<sup>4</sup> [The gift was made *kanyā-dharm-ārthan* which I take in the sense of *kanyā-dāna-dharm-ārthan*, i.e., 'for the merit accruing from the gift of a girl (in marriage)'. Apparently the girls were given in marriage to the two Brahmin donces by the queen. The 'gift of a girl' to a learned Brahmin entails great merit and according to Dharmaśāstras this should be accompanied by grant of lands among other gifts. See Hēmadri, *Chaturvarga-chintāmāṇi*, *Dānakhaṇḍa*, Pt. II (ed. S. A. Deekshita, Benares), pp. 649-50.—Ed.]

## TEXT.

## First plate.

- 1 स्वस्ति [॥<sup>१</sup>] जयत्याविष्कृतं विष्णीः वाराहं<sup>१</sup> क्षोभितार्णवं(वम्) [॥<sup>२</sup>] दक्षिणीनतदंष्ट्रा-  
ग्रविश्रान्तभु-
- 2 वनं वयुः [॥<sup>३</sup>] श्रीमतां सकलभुवनसंस्तूयमानमानव्यसगीच्छाणां ह्यारितीपु-
- 3 क्षाणां सप्तलोकमाहर्भिक्षसप्ताहभिरभिवर्द्धितानां कार्तिकेयपरिरक्षणप्राप्तकल्या-
- 4 णपरम्पराणां भगवन्नारायणप्रसादसमासादितवराहलाञ्छनेक्षणक्षणव-
- 5 शीकृताशेषमहीभृतां चलुक्यानां कुलमलङ्कारिणोरश्वमेधावभ्युत्थानप-
- 6 विल्लीकृतगात्रस्य श्रीपुलकेशिवल्लभमहाराजस्य सूनुः पराक्रमाक्रान्त-
- 7 वनवाद्यादिपरमपतिमण्डलप्रणिवद्धविशुद्धकीर्तिः कीर्तिर्वर्धयिषीविवल्लभम-
- 8 हाराजस्तस्यात्मजसमरसंस्तुतसकलीत्तराप्रथेश्वरश्रीहर्षवर्द्धनप-
- 9 राजयोपलब्धपरमेश्वरापरनामधेयस्तत्याश्रयश्रीपृथिवीवल्लभम-

## Second Plate ; First Side.

- 10 हाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरस्तत्रियसुतस्य विभक्तमादित्यपरमेश्वरभ-
- 11 टारकस्य भतिसहायसाहसमाचसमधिगतनिजवंशसमुचितचि-
- 12 तराज्यविभवस्य विविधरसितसितसमरमुखगतरीपुनरपतिविजयस-
- 13 सुपलब्धकीर्तिपताकावभासितदिगन्तरस्य हिमकरकरविमलकुलप-
- 14 रिभवविलयहेतुपल्लवपतिपराजयानन्तरपरिगृहीतकाञ्चीपुर-
- 15 स्य प्रभावकुलिशदलितचोक्रपाण्डुरकरकधरणीधरत्रयमानमान-
- 16 शृंगस्य अनन्यसमवनतकाञ्चीपतिमणिमकुटकुटकिरणसलिला-
- 17 भिपिक्तचरणकमलस्य त्रिसमुद्रमञ्जरिर्त्तिभुवनमण्डलाधीश्वरस्य सू-
- 18 नुः पितुराज्ञया वालि(ले)न्दुशेखरस्यैव सेनानीर्द्वैत्यवलमतिसमुद्धतं

<sup>१</sup> Read Vishṇu-rārahman.

2 4 6 8

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100

ii, a.

10 12 14 16 18

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100



ii.b.

Handwritten text in a script, likely Tamil, on a palm leaf. The text is arranged in a single column, with a large circular hole visible near the bottom center. The script is dense and appears to be a form of classical or religious writing.

20

22

24

26

20

22

24

26

iii.

Handwritten text in a script, likely Tamil, on a palm leaf. The text is arranged in a single column, with a large circular hole visible near the bottom center. The script is dense and appears to be a form of classical or religious writing.

28

30

32

34

28

30

32

34

*Second Plate ; Second Side.*

- 19 चैराज्यपञ्चवबलमवष्टभ्य समस्तविषयप्रशमनादिहिततन्मनीनु-  
 20 रञ्जनः अत्यन्तवत्सलत्वाद्युधिष्ठिर इव श्रीरामत्वाहासुदेव इव नृपाङ्कुश-  
 21 त्वा(त्वा)त्परशुराम इव राजाश्रयत्वाद्भरत इव विनयादित्यसत्याश्रयश्रीपृथि-  
 22 वीवल्लभमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरभट्टारकस्सर्वानिवमान्नापयति वि-  
 23 दितमस्तु वीष्माभिः द्वादशीत्तरपट्ट(टश)तेषु शकवर्षेष्वतीतेषु प्रव-  
 24 ह्यमानविजयराज्यसंवत्सरे दशमे वर्त्तमाने 'मञ्जोद्गममधिवसति विज-  
 25 यस्कन्धावारे वैशाखपौर्णमास्यां महादेवीविज्ञापनया कन्याधर्मायै  
 26 काश्यपसगीक्षस्य(त्राभ्यां) दुर्गा(गर्ग)शर्मरविशर्मभ्यां राजमानेन तोरवेग्रामे पञ्चाश-  
 27 त्रिवर्त्तनपरिमाणं पश्चिमदिग्भागे सर्वभोगा(ग)परिहारो दत्त[\*]

*Third Plate.*

- 28 तदागामिभिरस्मदंश्चैरन्यैश्च राजभिरायुरैश्वर्यादीनां विलसित-  
 29 मचिरांशु[चं]चलमवगच्छद्भिराचन्द्रार्कधरार्खवस्थितिसमवाहं  
 30 यशश्चिषुभिः[.] स्वदत्तिनिर्विशेषं परिपालनीयमुक्तं च भगवता वे-  
 31 दव्यासेन व्यासेन [\*] बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिर्भ्यस्य<sup>१</sup> य-  
 32 स्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) [II\*] स्वन्दातुं सुमहच्छक्यं दुः-  
 33 खमन्यस्य पालनं(नम्) [\*] दानं वा पालनं वेति दानाच्छेयीनुपालनं(नम्) [II\*]  
 स्वदत्तां प-  
 34 रदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुन्धरां(राम्) [\*] षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि विष्टायां जायते  
 क्रिमिः [II\*]  
 35 महासान्धिविग्रहिकश्रीरामपुण्यवत्समेन लिखितमिदं शासनं [I]

<sup>१</sup> [I read *Mañchul-grāmam* =.—Ed.]<sup>२</sup> Read = *Sagar-ādibhiḥ/yasya*.

## No. 31.—ANJANERI PLATES OF GURJARA JAYABHATA III; K. 461.

By MADHO SARUP VATS, M.A., AND D. B. DISKALKAR, M.A.

This grant consists of two plates which are held together by two copper-rings, one of which has an oval seal containing the letters *śrī-Jayabhāṭa* embossed below a peculiar symbol resembling a flying *Garuḍa*. They were found with a Marāṭhā family surnamed Shid of Anjaneri village in the Nāsik District along with two copper-plate grants of Prithivichandra Bhōgasakti, dealt with above<sup>1</sup>, and measure  $12\frac{7}{8}'' \times 9\frac{3}{4}''$ . The first plate contains 18 lines of writing and the second 21.

The characters belong to the southern variety and closely resemble those of the Nausāri<sup>2</sup> and Kāvī<sup>3</sup> plates of Jayabhāṭa III and IV issued in the years 456 and 486 respectively. With the exception of the attestation in the last line, its paleography is similar to that of the Chalukya and Rāshtrakūṭa grants of the seventh century A.D. found in Gujarāt. The characters in the attestation are cursive and differ from the rest of the inscription. Often a dot has been used in the record to denote a mark of punctuation.

The record is dated the 11th day of the dark half of Āśvina, Tulā-saṅkrānti, (Kaṭachūri) Samvat 461 corresponding to A.D. 709-10<sup>4</sup> and was issued from Bharukachchha (Broach). The introductory portion, containing the description of the family of Jayabhāṭa, agrees with that given in the two grants mentioned above. The genealogy starts with Dadda (II) who was born in the lineage of Mahārāja Karna and who protected the lord of Valabhī who was defeated by Harshadēva (identified with Dharasēna IV who suffered defeat at the hands of Harshavardhana of Kanauj). His son was Jayabhāṭa (II) and his son Dadda (III)-Bāhusahāya. The latter's son was Jayabhāṭa (III), the donor, who was a great devotee of Mahēśvara and had obtained the five great sounds (*samadhigata-pañcha-mahāśabda*).

The beneficiary in the present grant was a Brāhmaṇa named Nārāyaṇa son of Vasusvāmin of Dābhilya gōtra and Chhandōga-Kauthuma śākhā and a resident of Brahmapurī.

The property granted consisted of three pieces of land totalling 60 *nivartanas* in and around the village Tauranaka<sup>5</sup> situated in the Nāndīpura *Vishaya*: the first measuring 52 *nivartanas*, the second 5 *nivartanas* and the third 3 *nivartanas*.

The importance of this grant lies in the fact that it extends the date of Jayabhāṭa III from the year 456 of the Nausāri plates to the year 461.

The grant mentions certain places situated in the Nāndīpura *vishaya* which has already been identified with Nandod situated on the Karjan river in the Rajapipla State. The places mentioned are the villages of Tauranaka, Jayapura, Vidvēraka and Bhūtishohī<sup>6</sup> and the river Karillini. Tauranaka,<sup>5</sup> in and around which were situated the three plots of land granted, seems to be the modern Toran (also called Toranmal) on the Karjan river which seems to be the river Karillini of our grant situated about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles north of Nandod. It is possible that Jayapura is the same as modern Jitpur, 6 miles east of Nandod and about 8 miles south-east of Toran or Tauranaka of the grant. Bhūtishohī<sup>6</sup> and Vidvēraka, however, cannot be identified but should not be far away

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 225 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 70 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. V, pp. 113 ff. Professor Mirashi has since proved that this grant is referable to Jayabhāṭa IV, cf. above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 176 ff.

<sup>4</sup> [The date would correspond to Tuesday, 23rd September A.D. 710, when the sun seems to have entered the Tulā-rāśi.—Ed.]

<sup>5</sup> [See below p. 294, n. 2.—Ed.]

<sup>6</sup> [This is apparently identical with the modern village of Bhuchhād, about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles south-west of Toran the western bank of the Karjan.—Ed.]

from the neighbourhood of Nandod.<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to note that the present topography of the place agrees fairly closely with the description given in the grant.

### TEXT.

#### First Plate.

- 1 ॐ<sup>२</sup> स्वस्ति [॥\*] श्रीभस्वकच्छात् सततलक्ष्मीनिवासभूते ढण्णासन्तापहारिणि दिननाथ-  
विस्तारितानुभावे द्विजकुलोपजीव्यमानविभवशा-
- 2 लिनि महति महाराजकर्णान्वये कमलाकर इव राजहङ्गुः(हंसः) प्रबलकलिकाल-  
विलसिताकुलितविमलस्वभावी<sup>३</sup> गम्भीरी-
- 3 दारचरितविस्त्रापितसकललोकपालमानसः परमेश्वरश्रीहर्षदेवाभिभूतवलभीपतिपरिचाणीपजा-  
तभ्रमद-
- 4 दभ्रशुभ्राभ्रविभ्रमयशोवितानः श्रीदहस्तस्य सूनुरशङ्कितागतप्रणयिजनोपभुक्तविभवसंचयीप-  
चीयमानम-
- 5 नोनिर्वृतिरनेककण्टकवङ्गः(वंश)संदीहदाहदुर्ललितप्रतापानलो निशितनिस्त्रिङ्गः(स्त्रिंश)धारादा-  
रितारातिकरिकुम्भमुक्ताफलच्छ-
- 6 लोहसितसितयशोङ्गु(श्रीशु)कावगुणितदिग्बधूदनसरसिजः श्रीजयभट्टस्तस्यात्मजी महामुनिम-  
नुप्रणीतप्रवचनाधिग-
- 7 मविवेकखधर्मानुष्ठानप्रवणि(णी) वर्णाश्रमव्यवस्थीन्मूलितसकलकलिकालावलेपः प्रणयिजनम-  
नोरथविषयव्यतीतविभव-
- 8 संपादनापनीताशेषशेष<sup>४</sup>पार्थिवदानाभिमानो मदविवशांकुशातिवर्तिकुपितकरिनिवारणप्रथित-  
गुरुगजाधिरी-
- 9 हणप्रभावी विपत्रपातपतितनरपतिशताभ्युद्धरणनिखिललोकाविश्रुतपरोपकारकरणव्यसनः प्राच्य-  
प्रतीच्याधि-
- 10 राजविजृम्भितमहासंग्रामनरपतिसहस्रपरिवारितानेकगजघटाविघटनप्रकटितभुजवीर्यविख्यातवा-  
हुसहाया-

<sup>1</sup> [There is a Virampura about a mile to the west of Jetpur or Jitpur which may be the Brahmapuri, the place of residence of the donee.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>3</sup> Should be -vilasit-ānākulita-.

<sup>4</sup> Śēsha has been repeated.

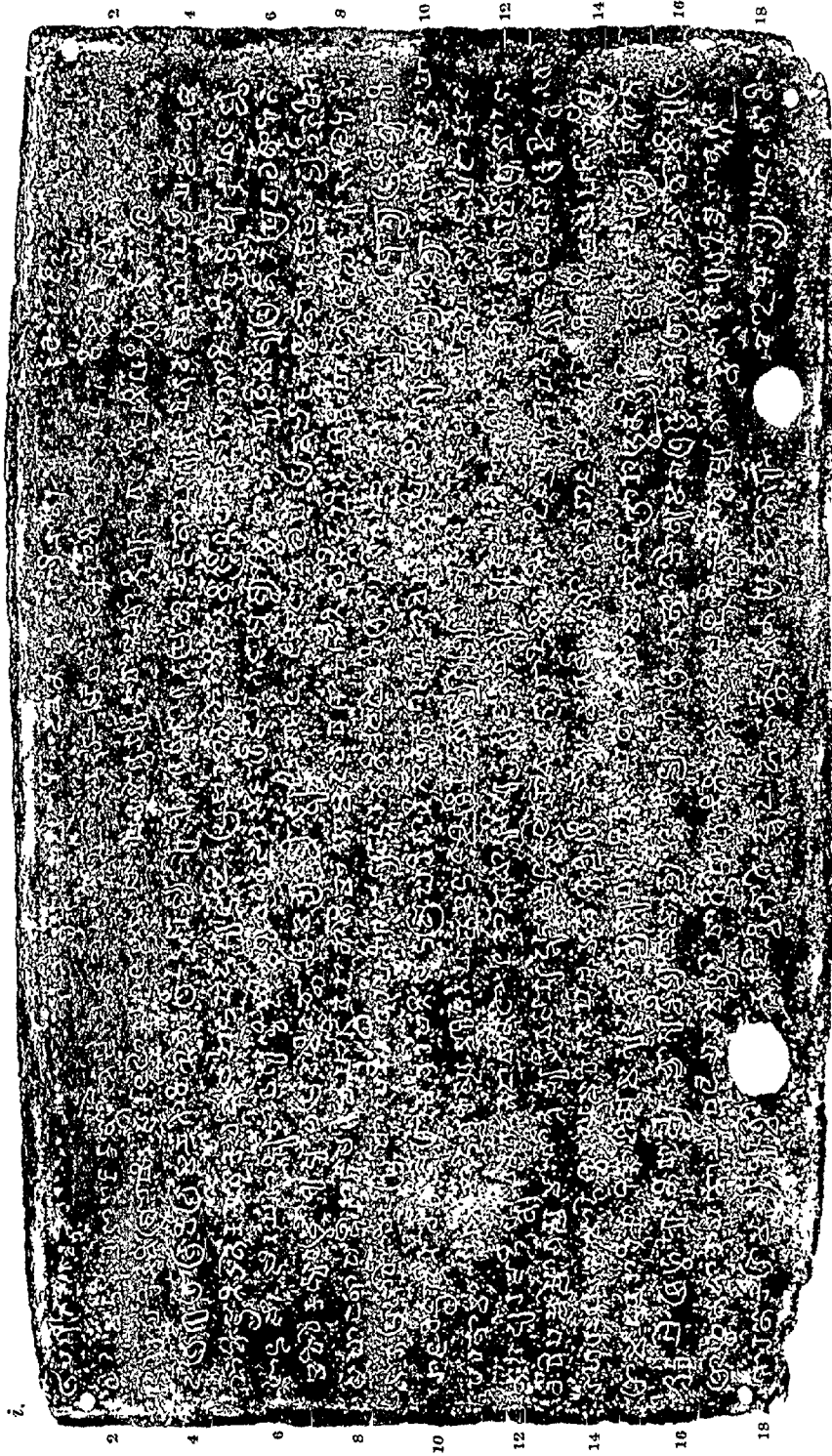
- 11 परमासा ।<sup>1</sup> परममाहेश्वरस्समधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्दश्चीदहस्तस्य सूतुरनेकसमरसंघटघनघटित-  
गजघटापाट-
- 12 नपटुरसहिष्णुवनगहनदावानलो दीनानाथातुरसुहृत्स्वजनवन्धुकुमुदाकरकौमुदीनिशाकरो भागी-  
रथीप्रवाह इ-
- 13 व विपन्नोभक्षमः शान्तनुरिव समुद्भूतकलकलारावमहा[वा]हिनीपतिरादिवराह इव  
स्वभुजवलपराक्रमीदृत-
- 14 राधरः परममाहेश्वरस्समधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्दश्चीजयभट[कुशली] ।<sup>1</sup> सर्वानेव राजसा-  
मन्तभोगिकविषयपतिराङ्ग-
- 15 ग्राम[स\*]हत्तराधिकारिकादीन्समनुदर्शयत्यस्तु वस्त्रंविदितं यथा मया मातापित्रोरामन-  
यैहिकामुष्मिकपुण्यशोभि-
- 16 वृद्धये ।<sup>1</sup> ब्रह्मपुरीनिवासेतच्चातुर्विध्यसामान्यडाभित्यसमीचछ[च्छ]न्दोगकौशुमसब्रह्मचारिप्रा-  
ह्मणवसुस्वामिपुत्र-
- 17 ब्राह्मण[ना]रायणाय ।<sup>1</sup> बलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रातिथिपञ्चमहायज्ञादि[क्रि]योत्सर्पणार्थं ।<sup>1</sup>  
नान्दीपुरविषयान्तर्गत-
- 18 तौरणकग्रामस्य<sup>2</sup> पूर्वोत्तरदिग्विभागे ।<sup>1</sup> हापञ्चाशन्निवर्त्तनप्रमाणं भूखण्डं यस्या-  
घाटनानि ।

Second Plate.

- 19 पूर्वतः जयपुरग्रामयायी पन्या हस्तिनिवागर्त्तासंलग्नः(ग्नं) सरी(रः) [।\*] दक्षिणतः  
[क्लि(के)]दमीवृक्षीपलक्षितमैरान्तरि-
- 20 तं कुटुम्बिदीपसत्त्वकौटुम्बचेत्रं मैरान्तस्स(स)सुस्थितो दक्षिणामिमुखो वहस्य । तथा  
अपरतः तौरणकग्राम-<sup>2</sup>
- 21 मात् विहरेकग्रामयायी पन्या तथा चेन्नमदिरार्थिनी अभिन्नार वृक्षः तथा  
धम्माणगर्त्तागामो वहस्य । उत्तरतः धम्माणखण्डा ।
- 22 एवमे[त\*]चतुराघाटनीपलक्षितं भूखण्डं [।\*] तथास्यैव ग्रामस्य दक्षिणदिग्विभागे  
कच्छे पंचन्नि(नि)वर्त्तनप्रमाणं भूखण्डं । यस्याघाटनानि । पू-

<sup>1</sup> Mark of punctuation unnecessary.

<sup>2</sup> [The plate reads *Tōrapaka*.—Ed.]



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- 23 र्वतः वरदकर्म्यादान्तरितकुटुम्बिरेवसत्कौटुम्बचेनं । दक्षिणतः करिस्मिनी नदी ।  
अपरतः लगुस्तूपलक्षितवरदकर्म्या-
- 24 दान्तरितकुटुम्बिवीजधर्मसत्कौटुम्बचेनं । उत्तरतः ब्राह्मणदामीदरसत्कब्रह्मदेयचेनं ।  
राजकीयचरिका च । यदेवं चतुराघाट-
- 25 नोपलक्षितं भूखण्डं । तथासैव भूखण्डस्य दक्षिणदिग्विभागे कच्छे । कच्छिका-  
प्रतिवद्धनिवर्तनत्रयप्रमाणं भूखण्डं यस्याघाटनानि
- 26 पूर्वतः करिस्मिनी नदी । दक्षिणतोसै(तस्मै)व करिस्मिनी नदी अपरतः भूतिषीहीग्राम-  
गामीसीमासन्धिः [1'] उत्तरतो(तः) कौस्तुभोपलक्षित-
- 27 करिस्मिनीनदीवितटी । एवमेतच्चतुश्चतुराघाटनोपलक्षितभूखण्डत्रयावस्थितं षष्टिनिवर्तनप्रमाणं  
चेनं । सोपरिकरं । सम्भूत-
- 28 पा(वा)तप्रत्यायं । सधान्यहिरण्यादेयं । सदशापराधं सीत्यद्यमानविष्टिकं । सर्वराज-  
कीयानामहस्तप्रक्षेपणीय । पूर्वप्रत्त-
- 29 देवब्रह्मदायरहितं । भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेनाचन्द्रार्कासंवस्थि(च्छि)तिसरित्यर्च्यतसमकालीनं । पुत्र-  
पौत्रान्वयक्रमोपभोग्यं । गृहस्थाव-
- 30 रतटाकसहितमद्याश्वयुजवहुले(लै)कादश्यां तुलासंक्रान्ते रवावुदकातिसर्गेण प्रतिपा-  
दितं । यतोऽस्तीचितया ब्रह्मदायस्थित्या भुं-
- 31 जतः कृपतः कर्षयतः प्रतिदिशतो वा न कैश्चिद्भ्यासेधे वर्त्तितव्यमागामिभद्रनृपति-  
भिरस्मदंश्चैरन्यैश्चायमस्मदायोनुमन्तव्यः
- 32 पालयितव्यश्च । यश्चाज्ञानतिमिरपटलावृतमतिराच्छिन्धादाच्छिद्यमानकं वानुमीदेत स  
पञ्चभिर्महापातकैस्सोप-
- 33 पातकैस्संयुक्तः[1'] स्यादित्युक्तं च भगवा(वता) वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन । षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि  
स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः [1'] आच्छेत्ता वानुमन्ता च ता-
- 34 न्येव नरके वसन् ॥ विन्ध्याटवीष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः [1'] कृष्णाहयो हि  
जायन्ते भूमिदायं हरन्ति ये ॥ बहुभिर्बुधैः सुधा भुक्ता
- 35 राजमिस्सगरादिभिः [1\*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिः(मिस्स)स्य तस्य तदा फलं-  
(लम्) ॥ अग्नेरपत्यं प्रथमं सुवर्णं भूर्जैःपावै सूर्यसुताश्च गावः [1\*]



- 36 लोक्क(क)त्रयं तेन भवेत्तु दत्तं ।<sup>1</sup> यः काच(ञ्च)नं गां च महीं च दद्यात् ॥  
यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैः दा(न्द्रेर्दा)नानि धर्माह्वयशस्कराणि । नि-
- 37 भुङ्क्तमात्यप्रतिमानि तानि ।<sup>1</sup> की नाम साधुः पुनराददौत [[\*]] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां  
वा यद्वाद्रच युधिष्ठिर ।<sup>1</sup> महीं महिस्तां श्रेष्ठ दाना-
- 38 च्छ्रेयोनुपालनमिति<sup>2</sup> ॥ लिखितमिति बलाधिकृतदुर्गभट्सूनुना बलाधिकृतसहभटेनेति ॥  
बलाधिकृतबावुल्ल-
- 39 दूतकं ॥ सं ४०० ६० १ आश्वयुज व १० १ निवडम् ॥ स्वहस्तो मम  
श्रीजयभटस्य ॥

## TRANSLATION.

(L. 1.) Ōm. Hail! From the illustrious Bharukachchha :—

(Ll. 1-15) [Common to Gurjara grants. See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 79-80.]

(Ll. 15-30) Today on the 11th day of the dark fortnight of the month of Āśvayuja while the sun was in the Tulā Saṅkrānti, I have given with libation of water to the Brāhmaṇa Nārāyaṇa, son of the Brāhmaṇa Vasusvāmin, resident of Brahmapurī, of the Chāturvidya community and Dābhilya gōtra, a student of Chhandōga-Kaushuma (śākha) for the performance of the five mahāyajñas, viz., *bali, charu, vaiśvadeva, agnihōtra* and *atithi*, a piece of land measuring 52 *nivartanas* in the north-east of the village Tauranaka<sup>3</sup> included in the Nāndīpura *rishaya*, bounded on the east by the path leading to Jayapura village and the pond adjoining the Hastinikā streamlet, on the south by the proprietary field belonging to the householder Dīpa, which is comprised in the marsh indicated by the Chhēdamī tree, and also by the streamlet rising from the fringe of the marsh and flowing southwards; in the west by the path leading from the village Tauranaka to the village Vidvēraka, and the Amīra (?) tree as well as the streamlet flowing into the Dhammāna stream; and in the north by the Dhammāna stream—this piece of land thus bounded on all the four sides; and a plot of land measuring five *nivartanas* in the marshy tract to the south of the same village (Tauranaka) bounded on the east by the proprietary field of the householder Rōvalla included within the limits of Baradaka; on the south by the Karillini river; on the west by the proprietary field belonging to the householder Vijadharna comprised within the limits of Baradaka marked by Laggustu (?), and on the north by the donated land belonging to the Brāhmaṇa Dāmōdara and by the royal pasture land—the land thus bounded on all four sides; and (lastly) another plot of land measuring 3 *nivartanas* in the marshy area alongside the embankment and situated to the south of this plot of land, bounded on the east and south by the Karillini river; on the west by the boundary line leading to the village Bhūtishōhi; and on the north by the *ritāfi* (?) of the Karillini river marked by the Kaulla tree—these plots of land with the boundaries detailed above and measuring in all sixty *nivartanas* together with the *uparikara, bhūta, vāta, pratyāja*, etc.

(Ll. 27-38) [Are common with the published Gurjara grants, especially the Nausūri plates. See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 80-81.]

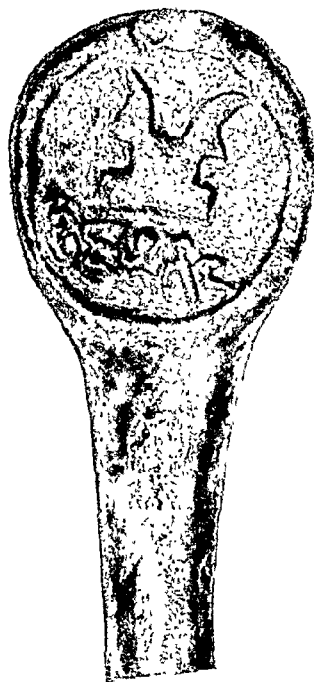
(Ll. 38-39) Written by the army chief Sahabhāṭa son of the army chief Durgabhāṭa. The army chief Bāvulla (acted as) the *Dūtaka*. Recorded in the year 461, 11th day of the dark fortnight of Āśvayuja. This is the sign manual of myself—the illustrious Jayabhāṭa.

<sup>1</sup> Danda unnecessary.

<sup>2</sup> Read *ch=chrityō=nupālanam* || *iti*.

<sup>3</sup> [See above, p. 294, n. 2.—Ed.]

From a photograph.





## No. 32—THE PUNJAI INSCRIPTION OF KRISHNADEVARAYA.

BY PROF. K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI, MADRAS.

This epigraph (No. 184 of 1925 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection) is a copy of an order issued by king *Kṛishṇadēvarāya* of Vijayanagara while he was camping on the banks of the river *Kṛishṇavēṇī* some time after his conquest of the *Kaliṅga* country. So far copies of this order have been found engraved in twenty different places in the *Chōlamanḍalam* which formed part of the Vijayanagara empire and to which the order relates. These places are : *Śēndamaṅgalam*,<sup>1</sup> *Tīrthanagari*,<sup>2</sup> *Elavānāsūr*,<sup>3</sup> *Neyvaṇai*<sup>4</sup> (S. Arcot District), *Tiruviśālūr*,<sup>5</sup> *Tirukkaṇḍisvaram*,<sup>6</sup> *Perumuḷai*,<sup>7</sup> *Korukkai*,<sup>8</sup> *Tirunagiri*,<sup>9</sup> *Paraśālūr*,<sup>10</sup> *Puñjai*,<sup>11</sup> *Ākkūr*,<sup>12</sup> *Tillaiyāḍi*,<sup>13</sup> *Tirukkaḍaiyūr*,<sup>14</sup> *Śendalai*,<sup>15</sup> *Iluppappaṭṭu*,<sup>16</sup> *Talaiṇāyar*,<sup>17</sup> *Tirumangalakkuḍi*<sup>18</sup> (Tanjore District), *Tiruppalātturai*,<sup>19</sup> and *Kaṇṇanūr*<sup>20</sup> (Trichinopoly District). Though they are all copies of the same royal order, certain variations are found in them not only in the details of the order but also in their record of the achievements of the king.

The inscription is edited with the aid of the impressions and transcripts of all its copies kindly placed at my disposal by Mr. C. R. Krishnamachari, Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras. Mr. T. V. Mahalingam, M.A., rendered much invaluable assistance in collating the numerous copies and preparing the text and translation of the record, in the verification of the geographical data, and in many other ways.

The script of all the copies is in mixed Grantha and Tamil, and Sanskrit words are often transliterated into Tamil. The language is Tamil; there are however two Sanskrit verses, one at the beginning and the other at the end. The engraving of the inscription appears to have been the work of persons of mediocre ability, and hence many mistakes are found in each copy. The defective nature of these inscriptions is, for instance, in striking contrast with the excellence of workmanship found in the *Chōla* inscriptions from the same area. Of the twenty copies of the epigraph only four are complete, those found at *Paraśālūr*, *Puñjai*, *Ākkūr* and *Tillaiyāḍi*; and the chief variations among these have been noticed in the footnotes to the text.

The inscription opens with an invocation to *Gaṇapati* and *Śiva*, and records the date and the purpose of the royal order together with the titles of the king; it then gives an account of the conquests of *Kṛishṇadēvarāya* in the eastern country till the date of the record, and states that the king while he was halting on the banks of the *Kṛishṇavēṇī* in Śaka 1439 (A.D. 1517), remitted 10,000 *varāhan* (gold pieces) in favour of the *Śiva* and *Vishṇu* temples in the *Chōlamanḍalam*. The remission comprised the dues called *jōḍi* and *araṣupēru*; other copies mention in addition, one or more of the following : *śūlavari*, *nilavali* and *marrum pala piṇavarigaḷum*.<sup>21</sup>

There is a like difference among the copies in the number and names of the temples enumerated as the beneficiaries of the remission, only a few (like the one that is being edited) mentioning almost all the places. Generally each of the copies mentions the place where it is found and a few

<sup>1</sup> No. 74 of 1903 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.<sup>2</sup> No. 125 of 1904.<sup>3</sup> No. 142 of 1906.<sup>4</sup> No. 381 of 1908.<sup>5</sup> No. 355 of 1907.<sup>6</sup> No. 80 of 1911.<sup>7</sup> No. 210 of 1917.<sup>8</sup> No. 235 of 1917.<sup>9</sup> No. 406 of 1918.<sup>10</sup> No. 167 of 1925.<sup>11</sup> No. 184 of 1925.<sup>12</sup> No. 226 of 1925.<sup>13</sup> No. 235 of 1925.<sup>14</sup> No. 251 of 1925.<sup>15</sup> No. 214 of 1926.<sup>16</sup> No. 137 of 1927.<sup>17</sup> No. 157 of 1927.<sup>18</sup> No. 223 of 1927.<sup>19</sup> No. 238 of 1903.<sup>20</sup> No. 511 of 1905.<sup>21</sup> See n. 4, p. 305 below.

others. Hence to draw a list of all the places in favour of which the remission was made, a comparative study of all the copies is essential. Here the four complete copies have been closely compared for being edited while the others have been referred to wherever necessary. The full list obtained is given further down.

The inscription is of more than ordinary interest to the student of Vijayanagara history. Firstly, it gives a detailed list of the conquests of Krishṇadēvarāya in the Telugu country up to the date of the record though it does not state the dates of the different campaigns and conquests. Secondly, on account of the use made of this record by H. Krishna Sastri, it has a bearing on the identification of "Catuir" of Nuniz, a difficult problem for which no satisfactory solution has been offered so far. Lastly it gives us some idea of a few of the taxes and the revenue administration in the empire.

The campaigns of Krishṇadēvarāya against the Gajapati ruler of Orissa and his confederates which are briefly mentioned in this record have been dealt with in detail by H. Krishna Sastri in the light of other inscriptions of the reign and the evidence drawn from contemporary literature, and there is no need, therefore, to consider them at any length here. There is, however, one point on which the opinion tentatively expressed by Krishna Sastri seems to be open to further consideration. This relates to the expedition against Catuir mentioned by Nuniz and the location of that place. Some inscriptions of Krishṇadēvarāya's reign, like the one now edited, trace the course of the king's northern campaign up to Siṃhāchalam and Pottunūru, where he planted a pillar of victory. Telugu works of the reign seem to extend the range of the campaign. "From the *Pārijātāpaharaṇamu* and other Telugu works, however," says Krishna Sastri, "we learn that Krishṇarāya did not stop with the setting up of the pillar of victory at Pottunūru, but went further north, even into the interior of the Gajapati's dominions, devastated the country of Odḍādi and burnt his capital town of Kāṭaka (i.e., Cuttack) thus forcing the Gajapati to make peace by offering the hand of one of his daughters". He then points out that we have no epigraphical evidence enabling us to decide if this raid into Odḍādi took place in continuation of the campaign commemorated by the pillar of victory at Pottunūru or occurred later as part of another campaign, and proceeds: "This much, at any rate, becomes certain from the Siṃhāchalam records, viz., that Krishṇarāya was at Siṃhādri at the beginning of Śaka 1438, and that in Śaka 1441, he made over to the temple at Siṃhāchalam certain villages which were granted to him by the Gajapati king. Whether these latter were the voluntary gifts of the Gajapati ruler on behalf of his ally Krishṇarāya or were wrung from him by a regular raid on his capital are points which cannot be decided at present. Nevertheless there appears to be a clue to some historical event—not yet discovered—in the conquest of Catuir which is mentioned by Nuniz next, perhaps, in chronological order, after making peace with the king of Orya. The name Catuir cannot be traced either in epigraphical records or in Telugu literature. Nor is Nuniz himself very clear in his statements about this place and the expedition against it. He says that Catuir is situated on the Charmūdel side and that it is surrounded by a river which at the time of Krishṇarāya's capture was in flood. Besides, the account does not state against whom the attack was directed; nor does it disclose any proper names that could lead to the identification of Catuir. Sewell thinks that there is in this a possible reference to Vellore. But as Telugu literature has so far been found to confirm the facts related in lithic records or registered by Nuniz, it may not be altogether improbable to suppose that the 'Catuir' of Nuniz is identical with Kāṭaka (Cuttack) mentioned in Telugu literature, and that Krishṇarāya, according to the latter authority, must have finally compelled

<sup>1</sup> *Annual Report, A. S. I., 1908-9, pp. 176-82.*

the Gajapati king to flee and burnt his capital before accepting from him the terms of peace and the hand of his daughter in marriage. . . . . Very likely Nuniz took 'Catuir' to be situated in a country different from that of the Gajapati's and thought that the peace with Gajapati was concluded before Krishnarāya started against Catuir".

It is true Nuniz's account of Krishnarāya's expedition against Catuir is vague and leaves many things doubtful; but if any one fact emerges clearly from his account, it is that Catuir was not in Orissa. For he begins his account of this expedition with the categorical statement: 'After Crisnarao had made peace, and had married the daughter of the king of Orya, and had restored to him his wife and land beyond the river, as has been mentioned above, he made ready a large army and prepared to attack Catuir', and he also says: 'after the king returned from Orya he never went again thither'.<sup>1</sup> These statements show clearly that Nuniz was clear that the expedition against Catuir had nothing whatever to do with the Orissa campaign. And it is not easy to accept the identity of Catuir with Kataka.

Phonetically more plausible is the suggestion of Dr. N. Venkataramanayya that Catuir should be sought in Kayattār in the Tinnevely District. The Pāṇḍyan ruler of Kayattār was, he thinks, besieged at Kāyal by Krishnadēvarāya, and Nuniz's account of the siege of one of the principal cities where the lord of Catuir was has reference to this. He points out that Krishnarāya is said to have conquered Ceylon in an inscription at Pirānmalai, and that some time between A.D. 1514 and A.D. 1522 the ruler of Quilon must have lost control of the eastern part of the Tinnevely District including the sea-coast, and Krishnarāya's expedition must have brought this about.<sup>2</sup> But apart from the inconclusive character of the evidence cited which does not seem quite to sustain the conclusion reached, one serious objection to this reconstruction lies in Nuniz's statement that the land of Catuir 'is on the Charmādel side'. The term Coromandel coast is generally applied to the coast between say Point Calimere and the Kishnā river, and even if it be loosely extended a little more to the south, it is extremely doubtful if it could be made to cover the whole of the Eastern coast down to Cape Comorin, and if, further, a town so far inland as Kayattār which is at least 25 miles from the sea as the crow flies and much more by the road from Kāyal, can be said to be on the Coromandel side by an author who is using the expression from the standpoint of Vijayanagar.

The suggestion made by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar that Catuir must be taken to be a variant of Kāḍavar<sup>3</sup> ignores the direct statement of Nuniz that Catuir is a geographical name—'Catuir, which is the land of a lord who had been in revolt for fifty years'. It is perhaps unnecessary to follow the further stages of the argument built upon such a slender hypothesis.

Now in the contemporary Dutch records of the beginning of the seventeenth century, there is frequent mention of a place called Katoer. This is described as a fortress within a mile of Pulicat. I draw my information not directly from the Dutch records to which I have no access, but from the excellent summaries of them provided by N. McLeod in his *De Oost-Indische Compagnie als Zeemogendheid in Azie* (2 vols., 1927). We first hear of the place in 1610 under the

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<sup>1</sup> *Annual Report, A. S. I., 1903-9, pp. 176-82.*

the Gajapati king to flee and burnt his capital before accepting from him the terms of peace and the hand of his daughter in marriage. . . . Very likely Nuniz took 'Catur' to be situated in a country different from that of the Gajapati's and thought that the peace with Gajapati was concluded before Krishnarāya started against Catur."

It is true Nuniz's account of Krishnarāya's expedition against Catur is vague and leaves many things doubtful; but if any one fact emerges clearly from his account, it is that Catur was not in Orissa. For he begins his account of this expedition with the categorical statement: 'After Crisnarao had made peace, and had married the daughter of the king of Orya, and had restored to him his wife and land beyond the river, as has been mentioned above, he made ready a large army and prepared to attack Catur', and he also says: 'after the king returned from Orya he never went again thither'.<sup>1</sup> These statements show clearly that Nuniz was clear that the expedition against Catur had nothing whatever to do with the Orissa campaign. And it is not easy to accept the identity of Catur with Kataka.

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The suggestion made by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar that Catur must be taken to be a variant of Kāḍavar<sup>3</sup> ignores the direct statement of Nuniz that Catur is a geographical name—'Catur, which is the land of a lord who had been in revolt for fifty years'. It is perhaps unnecessary to follow the further stages of the argument built upon such a slender hypothesis.

Now in the contemporary Dutch records of the beginning of the seventeenth century, there is frequent mention of a place called Katoer. This is described as a fortress within a mile of Pulicat. I draw my information not directly from the Dutch records to which I have no access, but from the excellent summaries of them provided by N. McLeod in his *De Oost-Indische Compagnie als Zeemogendheid in Azie* (2 vols., 1927). We first hear of the place in 1610 under the

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name Anai-Kāṭṭūr on the river of Pulicat granted to the Dutch for purposes of trade by Obberāja, a captain of the Vellore army, i.e., of the kingdom of Vijayanagar.<sup>1</sup> Again we find Singama-Naik entrenched in the same place at a distance of  $\frac{1}{4}$  mile from Geldria (the Dutch fort at Pulicat) on the 11th August 1625.<sup>2</sup> Passing over unimportant references to the place<sup>3</sup> we may note that in the civil war that was raging in 1632, Śrīraṅga, a nephew of the ruling king Veṅkaṭa II, sent an army of 3,000 men against the fort of Kāṭṭūr (within sight of Geldria) which was then in the hands of Timarāja, the chief of the rebellion.<sup>4</sup> We seem to have then in Kāṭṭūr ('Katoer' of the Dutch records) a fortified place located on a river and 'on the Coromandel side' which by its name, situation and historical associations seems to answer very well to Nuniz's Catuir. A reference to the survey map sheet No. 66 C/SW (D-2) (scale 1 inch=2 miles) will show that Kāṭṭūr is situated in the midst of swampy and difficult country and besides the river already mentioned, there is also a tank and other waterways, all likely to be flooded easily in the rainy season.

It may be noted that Nuniz counts Paleacate among the countries paying tribute to Vijayanagara under Dēvarāya II, that is, some time about 1440 A.D., and Sewell, after rightly identifying this place as Pulicat, near Madras, adds a note saying: 'This was an important province of Vijayanagar in later years'.<sup>5</sup> It seems probable that 'the lord who had been in revolt for fifty years' and in whose land Catuir lay, was the lord of this province. The words of Nuniz as rendered by Sewell are: Crisnarao "prepared to attack Catuir, which is the land of a lord who had been in revolt for fifty years; this land is on the Charmāodel side. And he went against it, and laid siege to one of the principal cities where the lord of the land was; and it is called..... and is surrounded with water".<sup>6</sup> The last sentence and the blank in it do seem to create a difficulty; but the categorical statement at the beginning that the king prepared to attack Catuir may well be taken to mean that this was the 'principal city' in his land where the rebel lord was at the time of Kṛishṇarāya's war.

Referring to the grant now being edited, Kṛishṇa Sastri has observed: 'The choice of the bank of the river Kṛishṇā for making a grant in favour of the temples of Chōḷa-maṇḍala in the south, cannot be reasonably explained except by supposing that Kṛishṇarāya was about this time, viz., the end of Śaka 1439, again on his march for a second time to the Kālīṅga country against 'Catuir', which, as noted above, is very probably Cuttack'.<sup>7</sup> Two considerations may be urged against this view. First, there is the categorical statement of Nuniz cited already, that after Kṛishṇarāya returned from the expedition to Orissa which resulted in his marriage with the Gajapati's daughter, he did not go back to Orissa. Secondly, there is a definite statement in an inscription<sup>8</sup> dated Śaka 1438 that Kṛishṇarāya had already accomplished the conquest of the Kālīṅga country as far north as Kataka, which sufficiently accounts for the literary evidence cited by Kṛishṇa Sastri without the necessity for postulating another Orissa campaign in Śaka 1439.

We do not know the particular reason for which Bezvada was chosen as the scene of this comprehensive grant to the numerous temples of the Tamiḷ country. But we know that in the preceding year (Dhātṛi),<sup>9</sup> the monarch had attended the *mahāmakham* festival in Kumbhakōṇam.

<sup>1</sup> McLeod, i, p. 96.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, i, p. 473.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, i, pp. 487 and 492; ii, pp. 171, 179.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, p. 13.

<sup>5</sup> *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 302.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 321.

<sup>7</sup> *Annual Report, A. S. I.*, 1908-9, p. 182.

<sup>8</sup> No. 824 of 1922. See also pp. 177-81 of *Tirupaṭ Devasthanam Epigraphical Report*, by Sadhu Subrahmanya Sastri, who accepts the identity of Catuir with Cuttack.

<sup>9</sup> No. 493 of 1907, the Śaka date 1440 must be wrong.

and utilised the occasion for making an extensive tour to the various shrines in the south. The most detailed account of this tour is furnished by the *Rāyavāchakamu*.<sup>1</sup> Evidently, after his return to home country, he wanted to commemorate in some striking manner the pilgrimage he had just concluded. The administrative consultations necessary before the monarch's idea could be implemented must have taken some months as in all probability the local officers in charge of the different parts of the Tamil land had to be consulted. When the final decision had been taken, the monarch must have chosen a suitable place and occasion for making the actual proclamation of his decision. The time chosen was Makara-saṅkrānti of the Īsvara year, and the visit to the Kṛṣṇā river and the shrines of Anantaśāyin of Uṇḍavilli and Mallikārjuna of Bezwada on such an occasion is easily understood. The date of the record corresponds to 28th December, A.D. 1517.

It is possible that Kṛṣṇarāya's presence at Bezwada was connected with one of the numerous campaigns of the reign fought against the Sultān of Golconda, Kuli Kutb Shāh. Late in his life the Sultān boasted of having reduced the infidels of Telingana from the borders of Warangal to Masulipatam and Rājahmundry, having taken between sixty and seventy forts by force of arms.<sup>2</sup> The anonymous historian who has recorded this fact also mentions a war directed by Kṛṣṇadēvarāya himself after the capture of Dēvarakonda by Kuli Kutb Shāh.<sup>3</sup> The date of the particular campaign cannot be determined with precision, and the anonymous historian does not give any date. But once more, it is possible that this campaign is identical with that mentioned by Nuniz as having occurred after Kṛṣṇarāya's capture of Catuir, and having been directed against a Muslim captain most probably of the army of Kuli Kutb Shāh of Golconda.<sup>4</sup> If these suggestions are accepted, the presence of Kṛṣṇarāya at Bezwada receives a simple and natural explanation as being connected with the regular course of the military campaigns of the reign.

The taxes that were remitted in favour of the Śiva and Viṣṇu temples of the Chōḷamaṇḍalam were *Jōḍi*, *Sūlavari*, *Nilavali* (*Nilavari*), *Araṣupēru*, and other taxes (*piṇavari*).<sup>5</sup> These taxes were due to the king (palace) from the temples themselves (l. 30). All these taxes are not mentioned in all the copies of the inscription. It is difficult to specify the exact nature of all of them, but the following suggestions may be made : *Jōḍi* is explained by Wilson as a favourable quit rent on *inām* lands.<sup>6</sup> It is also the name of a tenure under which a person reclaims a certain portion of waste land, settles on it, and pays half or quarter of the gross value of the produce to the Government.<sup>7</sup> In the Vijayanagar epigraphs it is found used generally in the former sense, and was in many respects similar to the *mānyakāṇike* which the holders of *inām* lands like Brāhmins and Fakirs paid to the State.<sup>8</sup> Thus *Jōḍi* was a small quit rent, paid by the temples, on their *inām* lands. The rate is unknown.

*Sūlavari* is more difficult to explain. One of the meanings given under the word *Sūlam* in the *Tamil Lexicon* is : ' Brand-mark on cattle, usually trident-shaped '. No authority is cited in the *Lexicon*, but the meaning suits the context of our inscription very well and seems to show that

<sup>1</sup> *Sources of Vijayanagar History*. (Madras University Historical Series, I), pp. 125-9.

<sup>2</sup> Briggs : *Firishla* (Cambray & Co., 1910), iii, pp. 352-3.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 355-6. I owe this reference to Dr. N. Venkataṛamanayya.

<sup>4</sup> *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 322.

<sup>5</sup> No. 288 of 1903.

<sup>6</sup> H. H. Wilson : *Glossary of Judicial and Revenue terms*, p. 214, col. 1.

<sup>7</sup> Nāṇasinga Rao : *A Kīsamwār Glossary of Kanarese Words*, p. 91, cited by Saletore, *Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagar Empire*, ii, p. 440.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Dr. N. Venkataṛamanayya : *Studies in the History of the Third Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, pp. 229-30.

the *Sūlavari* was perhaps a small tax or fee paid on the cattle belonging to the temples, each head of cattle being branded at the time of registration in the nearest public office.

*Nalavali* seems to be only a variant of the usual *Nīlavāri* land tax, levied on lands which were not *inānis*, but held in ordinary tenure by the temples concerned.

*Araśūpēru* is another difficult term. Wilson<sup>1</sup> notes that *Araśu* means 'privileges allowed for watching', and *Araśukkārān*<sup>2</sup>—a person holding certain privileges for performing police duty'. *Pēru* is an abstract noun from Tamil *pēruḍāl*, 'to get', and means 'receipts'. *Araśupēru* then may be taken to stand for the fee collected by the State for the performance of police duties and the maintenance of security. This was perhaps different from the wages of the village watchmen. It must have been a levy by the central government for our inscription contains the specific statement that all the dues remitted by this grant were due to the palace, i. e. to the king—*araṇmanaiḱku iṭuttuvāruḱiḱa* (l. 30); or *araṇmanai kaṇakkil paḍindu vaṛuḱiḱa* (No. 288 of 1903).

The proclamation was not given effect to even so late as in 1521 which is mentioned in an epigraph dated Śaka 1443, Vikrama, Mithuṇa, ba. Tṛitīyā, Friday, Tiruvōṇam.<sup>3</sup> It states that one Kariya Māṇikya Bhaṭṭar Apatśālāyar waited on Kṛiṣṇadēvarāya at Vijayanagara and got ratification of the order of the remission of *Jōḱi* and *Sūlavari* on certain villages which had been remitted already in favour of the temple at Tirukkādaiyūr, but was not given effect to till then.<sup>4</sup>

The Śendamāngalam copy of the epigraph describes the boundaries of the Chōlamandālam, the Śiva and Viṣṇu temples in which were benefited by the remission.<sup>5</sup> Chōlamandālam comprised the region south of the Gādilam, west of the sea, north of the Vellāru (south) and east of the wall at Kōṭṭaiḱkarai.<sup>6</sup> This copy also says that the beneficiaries of the grant were in the heart of the Chōla country.

According to the epigraph the region was divided into three districts or *śimais*. They are the Iraṇḍārupparṛu Bhuvanēkaṇṭiran (Bhuvanagiri)paṭṭana-chchīrmai, Tañjāvūrpattana-chchīrmai and Tiruchchināppalli-chīrmai. In the Vijayanagara days a *śimai* was a smaller division than a *rājya*, and its exact relation to the more ancient *kōṭṭam* or *nāḍu* is difficult to find, though it seems probable that the *śimai* was a larger division than the *nāḍu* or *kōṭṭam*. The Bhuvanagiri-paṭṭana-chchīrmai covered the northern part of the Chōlamandālam, with its headquarters at Bhuvanagiri, a big village on the northern bank of the Vellāru (north) in the Chidambaram taluk. There is to be found at the place even in the present day a fort in a fairly good condition. It appears to derive its name from Bhuvanaikavīra, a title borne by two Pāṇḍyan kings, Māravarman Kulāśekhara I and Māḱavarman Vikrama Pāṇḍya,<sup>7</sup> who were contemporaries in the latter part of the thirteenth century A.D. The region is called in the epigraph as Iraṇḍārupparṛu Bhuvanaikavīrapaṭṭana, perhaps on account of the fact that it was bounded by two rivers, the Gādilam and the Vellāru. Tañjāvūrpattana-chchīrmai is probably all the territory covered by the present Tanjore and had its headquarters at Tañjāvūr. To the west of this was the Tiruchchirāppalli-chīrmai with its headquarters at Trichinopoly.

While almost all the copies mention the above three divisions, a few mention some others. They are Rāśāsura-chchīrmai, mentioned before Tañjāvūr-chīrmai,<sup>8</sup> Viramadakku-chchīrmai

<sup>1</sup> Glossary, p. 31, col. 1.

<sup>2</sup> No. 246 of 1925.

<sup>3</sup> No. 74 of 1903.

<sup>4</sup> There is a verse in Tamil which gives practically the same traditional boundaries substituting for Gādilam the Northern Vellār which enters the sea near Porto Novo. See *The Cōlas*, i, p. 22.

<sup>5</sup> *The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, pp 186, 189-90.

<sup>6</sup> No. 511 of 1905; Nos. 226 and 235 of 1925.

and Perambūr-chirmai and Kulittanānai-chirmai, mentioned after Tiruchchirāpalli-chirmai.<sup>1</sup> It is difficult to identify all of them. Perambūr-chirmai is perhaps the territory covered by parts of the Perambalūr taluk, and the Kulittanānai-chirmai that covered by the modern Kulittalai taluk both of the Trichinopoly District.

We have a list of a large number of places in favour of which the remission was made; and arranged by taluks they are the following :—

Kāpātāmpullūr . . . . .	Chidambaram taluk.	S. Arcot District.
Mannārkōyil . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Nāraiyūr (Tirunāraiyūr) . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tiruchchonnapuram (now Tiruchchinnapuram) . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tirumuttam (now Śrīmushgam) . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Udaiyārkōyil . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tirumānikkulī . . . . .	Cuddalore taluk.	Ditto.
Tiruppādiṇṇipuliyūr . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tiruttinanagar . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tiruvantirapuram . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tyāgavalli . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Śendavanmangalam . . . . .	Tindivanam taluk.	Ditto.
Iraivānāśūr . . . . .	Tirukkōyilūr taluk.	Ditto.
Tirunāmanallūr (Tirunāvallūr) . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tirunarunkondai (now Tirunirāṅkonai) . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tittakudi . . . . .	Vidhāchalam taluk.	Ditto.
Pennāgadam . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Kuruchchi . . . . .	Kumbakonam taluk.	Tanjore District.
Pandanallūr . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Śirukudi . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Sūryadēvanāyanārkōyil . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tirukkōdikā (now Tirukkōdikāval) . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tirundutēvankudi (Tiruttēvankudi) . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tirumangalakudi . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tiruppanandāl . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tiruveḷḷiyangudi . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tiruvēnagar (now Uppiliyappankōyil) . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tiruvīsālūr . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Vaigal . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Agalangan . . . . .	Māyavaram taluk.	Ditto.
Akkūr . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Ilangāraakkudi . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Iuppappattu . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Irāśūrāmopālayam (now Irājasūryanpēttai) . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Korukkai . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Kurālam . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Paluvūr . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Pariyalūr (Tiruppariyālūr) . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Perumulai . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Talaichchaṅgādu . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Talamāyan . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tillaiyādi . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tirukkadaiyūr . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tirunanipalli . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tiruvālundūr . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tiruvāḷiputtūr (Tiruvānputtūr) . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.

Tirukkoṇḍisvaram	Nannilam taluk.	Tanjore District.
Tirumaruga]	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tirumēchchūr	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tiruppattūr	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tiruppugalūr	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tiruvāñchiyam (now Śrīvāñchiyam)	Ditto.	Ditto.
Virkūḍi	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tēvūr	Negapatam taluk.	Ditto.
Nallūr	Pāpanāsam taluk.	Ditto.
Āchchāpuram	Shiyālī taluk.	Ditto.
Śrāmaavinṇagar	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tāḍanaikōyil	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tirukkuraiyaḷūr	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tīrthanagari	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tirunagari	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tirunāṅgūr	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tiruppuṅgūr	Ditto.	Ditto.
Chandralēkai (Sendalai)	Tanjore taluk.	Ditto.
Taiñchāvūr	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tirumalipāḍi	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tiruppuṇturatti	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tiruvaiyāru	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tirukkāṭṭupalli	Ditto.	Ditto.
Vallam	Ditto.	Ditto.
Kaṇṇanūr	Musiri taluk.	Trichinopoly District.
Āṇḍārkōyil	Trichinopoly taluk.	Ditto.
Tiruppalātturai	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tiruchchirāpalli	Ditto.	Ditto.
Gaṅgaikoṇḍachōlapuram (Gaṅgaikoṇḍam)	Uḍaiyārpālayam taluk.	Ditto.
Paḷuvūr	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tillaiyālirittam	(not identifiable.)	

## TEXT.

- 1 Śubham=astu<sup>1</sup> | śri-Gaṇāti<sup>2</sup>-patayē namah | Namas=tuṅga-[śi]-  
 2 raś-chumpi<sup>3</sup>-ta<sup>4</sup>-chēntiṛa<sup>5</sup>-chāmara-[chōravē\*] trailōkya-nakar<sup>6</sup>-ā[ra\*]mpa<sup>7</sup>-mula<sup>8</sup>  
 3 stampāya<sup>9</sup> Sāmpuvē<sup>10</sup>[|\*]. Śubham=astu | Svasti Śrī Vijayāt-  
 4 bhuta<sup>11</sup>. Śāli[vāha\*]na-śa [ka\*]-varusham 1439<sup>12</sup> mōl-chchel-  
 5 lāni[nra] lśvara samiva[tsa\*]rattu Pushya<sup>13</sup> śpaya<sup>14</sup> Paurṇamaināl(nāl)<sup>15</sup> śrī[ma]-  
 6 n-mahārājādhirāja rājaparamēśvara bariya(ari)rāya-vibhāṭa<sup>16</sup> bhā-

<sup>1</sup> Nos. 167, 226 and 235 of 1925 omit this.

<sup>2</sup> Read *Gaṇādhi*.

<sup>3</sup> Read *-chumbi*.

<sup>4</sup> Here *ta* is superfluous; it is, however, found in Nos. 167 and 226 of 1925 also.

<sup>5</sup> Read *chandra*. In Nos. 167 and 226 of 1925 it is *chantra*.

<sup>6</sup> Read *-nagar*.

<sup>7</sup> Read *\*mbha*.

<sup>8</sup> Read *-mūla*.

<sup>9</sup> Read *sambhāya*.

<sup>10</sup> Read *Sambhavē*. In No. 226 of 1925 it is *\*bhuvē*.

<sup>11</sup> The same reading is found in Nos. 167 and 226 of 1925; in No. 225 of 1925 it is *\*bhutaya*. The usual form is *Vijayābhūdaya*.

<sup>12</sup> Śaka 1409 in No. 235 of 1917, a mistake for Śaka 1439.

<sup>13</sup> No. 74 of 1903 and No. 80 of 1911 give *Māgha*.

<sup>14</sup> Probably stands for *śuddha*; clearly given in Nos. 226 and 235 of 1925. In No. 214 of 1926 the reading is *Pushyamāsattu pūrvapakṣhattu*.

<sup>15</sup> *Paurṇami nāl* in No. 226 of 1925, and *nāl* in No. 235 of 1925. *Paurṇamiyinmāl* in No. 235 of 1917, and *\*yilē* in No. 214 of 1926.

<sup>16</sup> In No. 167 of 1925 it is *ariyarāya-vibhāṭa*, while in Nos. 226 and 235 of 1925 it is *vibhāṭan*.

- 7 shaikku-ttappuva-rāyar<sup>1</sup>-gaṇḍa<sup>2</sup> Yavaṇarāśa<sup>3</sup>-sthāpanāchāriya<sup>4</sup> Pratā-  
 8 parudra-Geja<sup>5</sup>pati-saptāṅga-harana śrī-Virapradāpa<sup>6</sup> śrī-Vira-Krishṇadēvarāya-ma-  
 9 hārāyar Sōlamanḍalattu Viṣṇusthānam<sup>7</sup> Śivasthānam mudalāna  
 10 dēvasthānaṅgalukku śōḍi araṣupēru<sup>8</sup> śaravam<sup>9</sup>[ā]nyam-āga viṭṭa taṇ-  
 11 ma<sup>10</sup>-sātana irāyasam śrī(nā)<sup>11</sup>mmum Vijayannagara<sup>12</sup>-ppaṭṭanattil<sup>13</sup> irundu pūruva<sup>14</sup>  
 12 dikku viṣai[ya\*]-yātrai āga purappatṭu Udayagiri-ttarkamum śādicchehu<sup>15</sup> Tirumalai  
 13 Irāguttama<sup>16</sup>-rāyanaiyum piḍittu koṇḍu Viṇikkōṇḍai<sup>17</sup> Nāgar-  
 14 rehinakōṇḍai<sup>18</sup> Vellamukōṇḍa<sup>19</sup> Koṇḍaviḍu Koṇ[ḍa\*]ppalli<sup>20</sup> Irāśa-  
 15 mavēntipapuram<sup>21</sup> mudalāgiya du[rga]ṅgaḷuṇ-gaṭṭikkōṇḍu<sup>22</sup> Pratāparutti[ra\*] Geśa-  
 pati<sup>23</sup>  
 16 kumāran Virabhadrasēṇaṇ<sup>24</sup> Geśapati<sup>25</sup> Pratānapūpati<sup>26</sup> Prakalātaṇ<sup>27</sup> Śirachchantiraṇ<sup>28</sup>  
 Malluk-Kān<sup>29</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Reading is *tappurāya* in No. 235 of 1925.

<sup>2</sup> The reading is *rāyaragaṇḍa* in Nos. 167, 226 and 235 of 1925.

<sup>3</sup> The reading is *rūjya* in Nos. 74 of 1903, 125 of 1904 and 80 of 1911.

<sup>4</sup> In a few other copies *Kṛṣṇarāya* takes two more titles. In Nos. 235 of 1917 and 214 of 1926 is found the title *mūvarāyaraṅgaṇ*; in No. 511 of 1905 are found the titles *muvvarāyaraṅgaṇḍa* and *aṣṭadikkurāya-manō-bhayaṅkara*, while in Nos. 74 and 238 of 1903, 80 of 1911, 210 of 1917, 167, 226 and 235 of 1925 are found the titles *aṣṭadikkurāya-manō-bhayaṅkara* and *mūvarāyaraṅgaṇḍa*.

<sup>5</sup> Read *Gaja*.

<sup>6</sup> Same in Nos. 167, 226 and 235 of 1925; read *pratāpa*.

<sup>7</sup> Viṣṇu temples alone are mentioned in No. 381 of 1908.

<sup>8</sup> In No. 238 of 1903 the taxes are said to be *jōḍiḷaḷ śūlavari nilavai araṣupēru maṭṭam pala piṇa-varigaḷum*. No. 511 of 1905 reads: *śōḍi śūlavari araṣupēru piṇavari uṇḍāna yellām*. In No. 355 of 1907 only *jōḍi* and *śūlavari* are legible. No. 235 of 1917 mentions *śōḍiḷaḷ*, *nilavai* and *araṣupēru* while No. 214 of 1926 has *śōḍi*, *śūlavari* and *araṣupēru*.

<sup>9</sup> Read *sarva*.

<sup>10</sup> No. 74 of 1903 reads: *viṭṭupālittu aruḷina dharmma-śācāna rāyasam*; 125 of 1904 *sarvamānyam-āga-ppā-litta dharmma*, 511 of 1905 as *āga tiru uḷamparpiṇa tanma*, 80 of 1911 *viḍachechittēṣi pālitta dharmma*. In Nos. 226 and 235 of 1925 we have the word *dharmma-sādhana-rāyasam* in Grantha.

<sup>11</sup> No. 226 of 1925 reads *nāmmum*.

<sup>12</sup> The letter *ṇ* is superfluous.

<sup>13</sup> *Pattanattil* in No. 226 of 1925 and *pattanatt-irundu* in No. 235 of 1925.

<sup>14</sup> Read *pūruva*.

<sup>15</sup> The reading is *yātraiyāga kiltēṣi Udayagiri-durggamum sādhitu* in No. 74 of 1903.

<sup>16</sup> No *ma* in 167 of 1925.

<sup>17</sup> The reading is *Vinikōṇḍa* in Nos. 167 and 235 of 1925.

<sup>18</sup> Read *Nāgarjunakōṇḍai*; *koṇḍa* in Nos. 167, 226 and 235 of 1925.

<sup>19</sup> *Vellamkōṇḍa* in No. 167 of 1925 where *Vella* is repeated but the subsequent words are missing.

<sup>20</sup> *Tōṇḍappalli* in No. 235 of 1917.

<sup>21</sup> Read: *maḥēndrapuram*.

<sup>22</sup> *Sādhitu vāṅgikkōṇḍu* in No. 74 of 1903; *vāṅgikkōṇḍu* in Nos. 511 of 1905 and 80 of 1911 and [*sādhi*] *tu=kkāṭṭi-kkōṇḍu* in No. 167 of 1925.

<sup>23</sup> Read *Gajapati*.

<sup>24</sup> Perhaps stands for *śēṇaṇaiyum* as in No. 511 of 1905: *jaṇaṇ* in No. 226 of 1925 and *jaṇaṇa* in No. 235 of 1925.

<sup>25</sup> Read *Gajapati*.

<sup>26</sup> Read *pradhānabhūpati*.

<sup>27</sup> *Prakalātan* in Nos. 167, 226 and 235 of 1925.

<sup>28</sup> Read *Śirāśchandraṇ* as in No. 235 of 1925.

<sup>29</sup> *Kānan* in Nos. 167, 226 and 235 of 1925, while in No. 235 of 1917 it ends with *Karnan*, and in No. 511 of 1905 with *Kānu*.

- 17 Uttandakāṇa<sup>1</sup> mudalāna pāttira<sup>2</sup>-śāmantargaḷaiyum śivikkīramamāga<sup>3</sup>-ppidittukkoṇ-  
 18-ḍu Prataṣaruttira Geṣa(Gaja)patiyaiyum muṛayakkutti<sup>4</sup> Śiṅgāttirikku<sup>5</sup> eḷundāruḷi  
 Poṭṭaṇṇūril  
 19 jayastampa(bha)mum niri(ru)tti<sup>6</sup> Śōlamanḍalam<sup>7</sup> dēvastānam<sup>8</sup> Tiruchchirāpalli<sup>9</sup>  
 Śāntalaga<sup>10</sup> Tirukkā-  
 20 ṭṭupalli Tirunagira<sup>11</sup> Tirunāṅgūr Tṭi\*]ravelundūr<sup>12</sup> Tēvūr Tiruveṇṇagar<sup>13</sup> Agalaṅgaṇ  
 21 Tiruvantirapuram<sup>14</sup> Tirumāṇikuḷi<sup>15</sup> Tirupattūr<sup>16</sup> Vaiygal Tirumuṭṭam Tiruppādiripuli-  
 22 yūr Tiruttiṇainagar Iṛaiṇāśūr<sup>17</sup> Śēndavanmaṅgalam Tirunāvallūr Tīṭṭaikudi<sup>18</sup>  
 Tirunā-  
 23 raiyūr<sup>19</sup> Kāṇāṭṭampullūr<sup>20</sup> Tiyaḡavalli<sup>21</sup> Śrāmeviṇṇagar Tiruveḷḷiyaṅguḍi Pan-  
 24 daṇanallūr<sup>22</sup> Talaicheṇṇāḡḍu<sup>23</sup> - Kuṛuchchi<sup>24</sup> - Tiruppuṅgūr - Korukkai<sup>25</sup> Talaiṇāya[kaj]n<sup>26</sup>  
 25 Tirumaṅgalakkuḍi Tiruviśālūr Tirutēvaṅkuḍi<sup>26</sup>. Sūriyadēvanayāṇarkōyil<sup>27</sup> Ti-

<sup>1</sup> Read *Uddanda*.

<sup>2</sup> Read *pātra*.

<sup>3</sup> Read *jivagrāhamāga*, *jivagrahaṇamāga* in Nos. 226 and 235 of 1925.

<sup>4</sup> In No. 511 of 1905 it is *muṛiyaveṭṭi*.

<sup>5</sup> i. e. *Siṅhādririku* as in No. 226 of 1925.

<sup>6</sup> The reading is *pōḍuvittu* in Nos. 74 of 1903 and 80 of 1911, and *śhāpittu* in No. 125 of 1904.

<sup>7</sup> *Śōlamanḍala-naduvil* in No. 74 of 1903.

<sup>8</sup> In No. 125 of 1904 the word *Tiruttiṇainagar* follows the word *dēvastānam*.

<sup>9</sup> No. 511 of 1905 has the following :—*Tiruchchillāp[alli]-chchimai vaḡagarai Irājarāja-vaḡanāṭṭu Maḡanāṭṭu Pāchchikkūṛṭṭu kīl Pūḷāru-kKaṇṇaṇṇūr nāyaṇār Pōśalīṭṭaramudaiya-nāyaṇār kūyil kōḍi śūḷavari piṇṇavari araḷu-pēru utpadavum Tirumaḷapādi Vallam Taṇjāvūr Tirupṇundurutti Tiruvaigāru Tiruvaḷundūr Irāḷurāmapāḷayam Tiruvāṇṇiyam Tiruppugalūr Paḷuvūr Paṇḍananallūr Tiruppaṇaiṇḍāl Tirunagari Tirunāṅgūr Taḡāḷankōyil Śiḡāḷi mudalāna Irāṇḍūrupaṇṇu-śīrmai, etc.* No. 238 of 1903 has *Tiruchchirāpalli uśvadi teṇkarai Irāḡagambhīra-vaḡanāḍu Tirupparāṭṭurai mudalāḡiya Śōlamanḍalattu irāṇḍu... ppaṇṇu-śīrmai-āna Kirippaḷḷaṇṭṭu .śīrmai Rada-suvattu śīrmai Taṇjāvūr śīrmai pattu mudalāna Viśhṇusthānam Śivasthānam, etc.*

<sup>10</sup> Read *Chandralēkai*.

<sup>11</sup> No. 167 of 1925 reads *Tirunagari* clearly.

<sup>12</sup> Followed by *Tiruppariyālūr* in No. 125 of 1904.

<sup>13</sup> No. 355 of 1907 reads *Rāśēṇtiraviṇṇagar*.

<sup>14</sup> *Tiruvayintirapuram* in Nos. 125 of 1904 and 226 of 1925.

<sup>15</sup> *Tirumāṇikuḍi* in Nos. 235 of 1917 and 226 and 235 of 1925. In No. 125 of 1904 this precedes *Tiruvantirapuram*.

<sup>16</sup> *Tirupugalūr* in Nos. 210 and 235 of 1917, 226 and 235 of 1925.

<sup>17</sup> Before this two other places are found in No. 125 of 1904, viz., *Korukkai*, *Tiyaḡavalli*.

<sup>18</sup> Before *Tīṭṭaikudi* we have : *Tiruna[ru]ḡoṇḡai* and *Tirukkōḡḡā* in No. 125 of 1904; in No. 226 of 1925 it is *Tīṭṭaikudi*. After *Tīṭṭaikudi* we have *Pennāḡaḡam* in No. 125 of 1904.

<sup>19</sup> *Tirunārayūr* in No. 226 of 1925.

<sup>20</sup> *Udaiyārkōyil*, *Mannārkōyil* and *Tiruchṇṇapuram* before *Kāṇāṭṭumullūr* in No. 125 of 1904; *Kāṇāṭṭumullūr* in Nos. 210 of 1907 and 226 of 1925. *Kāṇāṭṭupullūr* in No. 235 of 1925.

<sup>21</sup> Mentioned earlier in No. 125 of 1904.

<sup>22</sup> *Kāṇāṭṭumullūr* is followed by *Pandaṇanallūr*, *Achchāpuram* and *Kuṛuchchi* in No. 125 of 1904.

<sup>23</sup> Mentioned after *Tiruveḷḷiyaṅguḍi* in No. 125 of 1904.

<sup>24</sup> *Kuṛichchi* in Nos. 167 of 1925, 226 and 235 of 1925.

<sup>25</sup> *Talaiṇāyakam* in No. 125 of 1904, *Talaiṇāyakam* in No. 235 of 1917, *Talaiṇāyūr* in No. 226 of 1925 and *Talaiṇāyāṇ* in 235 of 1925.

<sup>26</sup> *Tiruvudiraṅkuḍi* in Nos. 355 of 1907, 226 and 235 of 1925.

<sup>27</sup> *Sūriyāḡyāṇ-kōyil* in No. 355 of 1907; *Sūriyadēvanayāṇār* in No. 235 of 1917 and *Sūriyanayinār* in No. 235 of 1925.

- 26 rukkōdikā Kurālām Śirukuḍi<sup>1</sup> Tirukkuraiyālūr Viṟkuḍi 'Aechhāpuram<sup>2</sup> Tiruvāliput-  
 27 tūr<sup>3</sup> Nallūr Āṇḍārkoṇḍai<sup>4</sup> Tirumēchchūr<sup>5</sup> Tirunaṇipallī<sup>6</sup>  
 28 mudalāgiya Chōḷamaṇḍalattu yiraṇḍāṟruppaṟru Buvanēkaviraṇṇāpāṭṭaṇa-śirmai<sup>7</sup>  
 29 Tañjāvūrpaṭṭaṇa-chchīṇ(r)mai<sup>8</sup> Tiruchchirāpalli-chīṇ(r)mai- uṭ[pa\*]ṭṭa<sup>9</sup> Śivatānam<sup>10</sup> Vish-  
 30 ṭṭinatānam<sup>11</sup> mudalāgiya dēvattāṇaṅgaḷil<sup>12</sup> pūruva-mudalāgiya<sup>13</sup> varaimaṇaikkū<sup>14</sup> iṟut-  
 31 tu-varugiṟa<sup>15</sup> śōḍi<sup>16</sup> araśupēṟu<sup>17</sup> patināyira varāgaṇ inda varāgaṇ patināyiramum  
 an-  
 32 danda dēvatānamkaḷukkum<sup>18</sup> makara-śaṅkīṟānti puṇṇiya-kālattilē Kiviṭṭiṇavēṇi<sup>19</sup>  
 33 tirattilē Uṇḍavilli<sup>20</sup> Aṇantaśāyi śaṇṇatiyum<sup>21</sup> Geśavāḍai<sup>22</sup> Mallukāchchinadēvar<sup>23</sup>  
 śaṇ-  
 34 ṇāṭiyilum<sup>24</sup> āga-ttārāpūruvamāga<sup>25</sup> choḥaṟuvamāṇiyammāga viṭṭu tanma-śāḍaṇa  
 yirāyatamum<sup>26</sup>  
 35 pēlittōm yinda yirāyida<sup>27</sup> pīramānattilē ellā-ttēvattāṇaṅgaḷilum<sup>28</sup>  
 36 śilā-śādanamum<sup>29</sup> paṇṇi ellā-ttēvattāṇaṅgaḷukkum<sup>30</sup> pūśai<sup>31</sup> punaṟkāram<sup>32</sup> aṅga-  
 raṅga<sup>33</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Śirukuḍi in No. 210 of 1917.

<sup>2</sup> This is followed by another Viṟkuḍi in Nos. 210 of 1917, 226 and 235 of 1925.

<sup>3</sup> Tiruvāliputtūr in No. 210 of 1917; Tiruvāliputtūr in No. 226 of 1925.

<sup>4</sup> Gaṅgaikoṇḍaśōḷapuram in No. 125 of 1904.

<sup>5</sup> Tirumiyāchchūr in No. 125 of 1904. The list stops with this in it and No. 355 of 1907.

<sup>6</sup> This place is not mentioned in the other copies. But No. 210 of 1917 adds Perumūḷai; No. 167 of 1925 Paṟiyālūr, No. 226 of 1925 Ākkūr; and 235 of 1925 Tillaiyāḷivittam and Iḷaṅgārikuḍi. 74 of 1903 has: śōḷamaṇḍala naḍuvil maṇḍalam Śēndaranmaṇḍalam uḍaiyār Avattukkāttaruḷiyanayiyār tirunāmattukkāṇi Kīḷaimāganūr Mēlaimāganūr Naḷṇarāḷma-mīśuragaṇḍaḱallūr Kamban marum uḷpaṭṭa dēva-sṭhānangaḷ Iṟaiḍānaraiśūr uḷpaṭṭa Śivasthānam Vishṇusthānangaḷilē pūrvam mudalāga araimaṇaikkū iṟuttuvāruḷiṟa jōḍi poṇ paḍināyiramum.

<sup>7</sup> Bhonagipañjanachchīrmai in No. 226 of 1925; Pongiripañjanachchīrmai in No. 235 of 1925.

<sup>8</sup> Rā[sa\*]rā[sā\*]ṭura-śirmai mentioned before Tañjāvūr in No. 226 of 1925; mudalāgiya after it in Nos. 22 and 235 of 1925.

<sup>9</sup> Chīrmai utpāda in No. 235 of 1925.

<sup>10</sup> Read 'sṭhānam.

<sup>11</sup> Read: Viṣṇusthānam; Viṣṭunuttānam in No. 235 of 1925.

<sup>12</sup> Read: dēvasthānangaḷil.

<sup>13</sup> Read: pūrvam mudalāgiya. Pūruva mudalāga in Nos. 226 and 235 of 1925.

<sup>14</sup> Read: araimaṇaikkū as in No. 235 of 1925.

<sup>15</sup> araimaṇai [kaṇa]kkil paḍindu varugiṟa in No. 288 of 1903.

<sup>16</sup> Nos. 167, 226 and 235 of 1925 mention only this tax.

<sup>17</sup> Paśuperumai is found in No. 355 of 1907.

<sup>18</sup> Read: dēvasthānangaḷukku; m is superfluous; dēvasthānangaḷil kaḷittu in No. 80 of 1911.

<sup>19</sup> Read: Kṛishṇavēṇi; Kīruṭṭānavēṇi in No. 235 of 1925.

<sup>20</sup> Uṇḍai in No. 235 of 1925.

<sup>21</sup> Should be 'ṭiyilum.

<sup>22</sup> Geśavāḍai in No. 226 of 1925; Deśavāḍai in No. 235 of 1925.

<sup>23</sup> Read: Mallikāṟjunadēvar; Mallukāṟjunadēvar in No. 226 of 1925, and Mallukāchchinadēvar in No. 235 of 1925.

<sup>24</sup> Reading is sannadhiyilum in No. 226 of 1925.

<sup>25</sup> Reading is dhārāpūrvakamāga in No. 226 of 1925.

<sup>26</sup> Read: dharmasādhana rāyasamum as in No. 226 of 1925.

<sup>27</sup> Read: rāyasa.

<sup>28</sup> Read: dēvasthānangaḷilum.

<sup>29</sup> Read: śāḍhanamum.

<sup>30</sup> Read: dēvasthānangaḷukkum; dēvastā in No. 226 of 1925; dēvasthānangaḷilum in No. 167 of 1925.

<sup>31</sup> Read: pūjai.

<sup>32</sup> Reading is punakāraṅgaḷu[m] in No. 167 of 1925.

<sup>33</sup> This precedes pūjai in No. 167 of 1925.



- 37 vaiy(vai)bōgam tiruppaṇigalum ā-chandirāttiyātāyuvāga<sup>1</sup> śānaṇ[ga]māga<sup>2</sup> naḍattik-  
konḍu<sup>3</sup> su-  
38 ga<sup>4</sup>ttilē yirukkavum [[\*] yinta tanmattukku<sup>5</sup> yiṇā<sup>6</sup>doruttar aytam<sup>7</sup> paṇṇavarga!<sup>8</sup>  
taṅga!  
39 taṅga!<sup>9</sup> m[ā\*]tā-pitāvaiyuz. kō-pparāmaṇaraiyum<sup>10</sup> Vāruṇāsiyilē<sup>11</sup> koṇra pāvattilē<sup>12</sup>  
pō-  
40 ga-kkaḍavarga|āgavum 6. Svadattāt(d)=dviguṇaṁ puṇyaṁ paradatt ānupālanam | para-  
41 datt-āpahārēṇa svadatta[m\*] [ni]shphalaṁ bhavēt<sup>13</sup> ||

## TRANSLATION.

Let there be prosperity. Obeisance to the blessed Gaṇādhipati. Salutation to Śīva who is beautiful with the moon kissing his lofty head like the *chāmara* and who is the main pillar (the cause) of the creation of the city of the three worlds. Be it well! Hail! Prosperity! This is the royal order issued on the day of the full moon in the bright half of the month of Pushya of the year Īśvara which was current after the expiry of the prosperous and victorious year Śālivāhana-Śaka 1439, by the glorious *Mahārājādhirāja, Rājaparamēśvara*, the conqueror of hostile kings, the destroyer of those kings who break their word, the establisher of the kingdom of the Yavanas, the confiscator of the kingdom<sup>14</sup> of the Gajapati king Pratāpa-Rudra, the glorious Vira-Krishṇadēvarāya-Mahārāja, conveying the charitable edict to remit *jōḍi* and *araṇupēṇu* as *sarvamānya* to the Śīva, Viṣṇu and other temples in the Chōḷa country. We (the king) started from Vijayanagara to the eastern region on a tour of conquest, took the fort of Udayagiri, captured Tirumalai Rāhuttarāya, took Vinikondai, Nāgūṛjunakonḍai, Vellamukonḍa, Konḍaviḍu, Koṇḍapalli, Rājamahēndrapuram, and other forts, captured Virabhadrasēna Gajapati, son of Pratāparudra Gajapati, Pradhānabhūpati, Prahlātan, Śirachchandran, Mallu Khān, Uddanḍa Khān, and other feudatories as prisoners, and defeated and killed Pratāpa-Rudra Gajapati. We then went to Simhādri and set up a pillar of victory at Poṭṭanūru. On the auspicious day of the Makara-saṅkrānti on the banks of the river Krishṇavēṇi and in the presence of Anantaśāyin of Uṇḍavilli and Mallikārjunaḍēvar of Gajavāḍai, We issued with libation of water a royal order evidencing a *sarvamānya* grant to the respective Śīva and Viṣṇu temples of 10,000 *varāḥans* being the contributions of *jōḍi* and *sūlavarai* payable by them. The temples were those viz., of Tiruchelurāppalli, Santalagai, Tirukkāṭṭuppalli, Tirunagari, Tirunāṅgūr, Tiruvaḷundūr Tēvūr, Tiruveṇṇagar, Aḷaḷaṅgan, Tiruvantirapuram, Tirumāṇikuli, Tirupattūr, Vaigal, Tirumuttam, Tiruppādiripuliyūr, Tiruttinainagar, Iṇṇivānāśur, Śēndavanmaṅgalam, Tirunāvallūr, Tittaikudi, Tirunāraiyyūr, Kāṇṭṭampullūr, Tiyāgavalli, Śīrāmaṇnagar, Tiruveḷḷiyaṅguḍi, Panda-

<sup>1</sup> Read : ā-chandr-āditya-sthāyuvāga ; in No. 226 of 1925 it is ā-chandr-ārka-sthāyuvāga.

<sup>2</sup> Should be sū-gamāga as in No. 226 of 1925.

<sup>3</sup> The reading is nadattukkonḍu in 235 of 1925.

<sup>4</sup> No. 226 of 1926 has sukhattilē.

<sup>5</sup> The reading is dharmattukku in No. 226 of 1925.

<sup>6</sup> The syllable yi is superfluous.

<sup>7</sup> Should be aytam as in No. 235 of 1925.

<sup>8</sup> The reading is paṇṇina pērga! in No. 235 of 1925.

<sup>9</sup> Followed by another taṅga! in Nos. 226 and 235 of 1925.

<sup>10</sup> Read : gō-brāhmaṇaraiyum.

<sup>11</sup> Vārapatiśi in No. 226 of 1925.

<sup>12</sup> The reading is dōshattilē in No. 226 of 1925.

<sup>13</sup> Followed by the words śubham=astu and śrī. Tiruṇālśa in No. 226 of 1925, and śrī. Tiruṇālśa only in Nos. 125 of 1904 and 235 of 1925.

<sup>14</sup> *Saptāṅga* rājya=utthi atī—Kāmandaka.

ṇanallūr, Talaiṇchhaṅgāḍu, Kuṛucheli, Tiruppuṅgūr, Koṛukkai, Talaiṇāyakan<sup>1</sup>, Tirumaṅgalakkuḍi, Tiruviśālūr, Tirutēvaṅkuḍi, Sūryadēvanāyaṇārkoṣṭil, Tirukkōḍikā, Kuṛṭālam, Śirukuḍi, Tirukkuraiyaḷūr, Viṛkuḍi, Āchchāpuram, Tiruvāliputtūr, Nallūr, Āṇḍārkoṣṭil, Gaṅgaikoṇḍam, Tirumēchchūr, Tirunaṇipalli and other places in the Chōḷamaṇḍala which consisted of the Irāṇḍārpupparṭu Bhuvanaikaviraṭṭāna-chīrmai, Taṇjāvūṛṭṭāna-chchīrmai and Tiruchchirāppalli-chīrmai. According to this royal order which is to be engraved in stone in all the temples, the worship, festivities, celebrations and repairs shall be executed properly and without shortcomings in all the temples as long as the sun and moon endure. He who acts against this charity shall incur the sin of having killed his mother, father, cows and Brahmins at Vārāṇasī.

The protection of another's gift is twice as meritorious as making one's own. By the robbing of another's gift, one's own gift becomes devoid of merit.

No. 33—JUBBULPORE STONE INSCRIPTION OF VIMALASIṂHA : THE [KALACHURI]  
YEAR 926.

By PROF. V. V. MIRASHI, M.A., NĀGPUR.

The stone bearing this inscription was found at Jubbulpore, the headquarters of a district of the same name in the Central Provinces and is now preserved in the Nāgpur Museum. The record has been referred to several times, *e.g.*, by Dr. F. E. Hall in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. VI, p. 533, by Dr. F. Kielhorn in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVIII, p. 210, n. 2, and again in this journal Vol. V, Appendix I, p. 60, n. 4, and by Rai Bahadur Hiralal in his *Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar*, (second ed.), p. 42, but owing presumably to its very bad preservation none has so far attempted a transcript or even an abstract of its contents.<sup>2</sup> A careful and patient examination of the original has enabled me to prepare the subjoined transcript and while I have not been able to decipher or restore the complete text, I hope I have been able to make out almost all that can be deciphered in the present condition of the original.

The writing covers a space 2' 7" broad and 1' 8½" high. The average size of letters is '5". The surface of the stone, which was originally made none too smooth, has been further damaged by exposure to weather, and several letters in the middle as well as on the right hand side of the first fourteen lines and some more in the middle of lines 19-24 have become illegible. The characters are Nāgarī. The letters were beautifully written and carefully executed. It will suffice to draw attention to the proper sign of *b* as an independent letter in *bibhrat*, l. 25 and in its superscript form in *°r-brabhūva*, l. 9, and also to the form of the initial *i* in *iti*, l. 12, of the initial *ṛi* in *ṛichām*, l. 15, and of *ś*, the left member of which resembles the English figure 8, as in *Śivāya*, l. 1. The language is Sanskrit and except for the obeisance to Śiva in the beginning of the first line and the date in the last, the inscription is in verse throughout. The verses are not numbered, but they appear to be fifty in all. The orthography does not present anything calling for special notice except that *v* and *b* as well as *ś* and *s* are confounded in some places.

The object of the inscription is to record the construction of a temple of the moon-crested god (Śiva) by Vimalaśiṁha, the religious preceptor of the king Jayasīṁha of the Kalachuri dynasty of Tripurī. The god was named Kīrtiśvara after Vimalaśiṁha's *guru* Kīrtiśiṁha. The

<sup>1</sup> For various forms of this name see n. 25, p. 306 above.

<sup>2</sup> Hiralal remarks in his *Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar* (Second ed.), p. 42, that 'this is a pretty big record but is so much defaced to yield any useful information.'

inscription also records that the king Jayasimha endowed the temple with three villages on the occasion of a solar eclipse. It is dated in words as well as in numerical figures in the year 926, without any specification of the month, fortnight, *tithi* or week-day. This date must, of course, be referred to the Kalachuri era. It corresponds, for the expired Kalachuri year 926, to A.D. 1174-75. In this year there was only one solar eclipse,<sup>1</sup> viz., that which occurred on the *amāvāsya* of the *pūrṇimānta* Pausa, on Tuesday, the 26th November A.D. 1174. This is, therefore, probably the date of Jayasimha's grant if it was made in the same Kalachuri year in which the record was put up. It does not admit of verification, but it falls in the reign of Jayasimha, who, we know, was ruling at least from K. 918<sup>2</sup> to K. 928<sup>3</sup>.

After three *maṅgala-śloka*s in praise of Śiva, we are told that the god revealed the Śaiva doctrine for the realization of the self by the worlds. Some Śaiva teachers were named in lines 4-7, but the names of Vimalaśiva<sup>4</sup> and Vastuśiva<sup>5</sup> only are now completely legible. In line 8 we read the name of Puruṣaśiva who is described as the cause of Yaśaḥkarna's prosperity. Next is mentioned Śaktiśiva in connection with Gayakarna. His disciple was Kirtiśiva<sup>6</sup> who is said to have contributed to the prosperity of the king Narasimha. Five verses (22-26) are devoted to his glorification. The next eighteen verses refer to Vimalaśiva. He belonged to the *gōtra* of Viśvāmitra and was the son of Madhusūdana and Umā. Having paid off his debt to gods and others by performing religious rites at Prabhāsa, Gōkarna, Gayā, and other *tīrthas*, he was initiated in the Śaiva doctrine by Kirtiśiva. He was very handsome, learned and liberal and exercised great vigilance in looking after all affairs of the king. The earth, being adorned with gardens, tanks, charitable houses, temples and dwellings for Brāhmaṇas constructed by him, is said to have vied with heaven in splendour. The king Jayasimha devoutly bowed to him. We are next told that Vimalaśiva built a temple of Śiva under the name Kirtiśvara for the glory and religious merit of his spiritual preceptor Kirtiśiva. The king Jayasimha endowed it with three villages on the occasion of a solar eclipse. One of these villages which was named Tēkabhara, was situated in the *viśaya* (district) of Navapattalā and the other two named Kaṇḍaravāḍa and Vaḍōha in Samudrapāṭa which was apparently another district.

The importance of the present inscription lies in the information it furnishes about the spiritual preceptors of the Kalachuri kings of Tripuri from Yaśaḥkarna downwards. It may, how-

<sup>1</sup> I take *ratch pariani* in line 26 to mean 'on the occasion of a solar eclipse'. *Parian* also means a *saṅkrānti*, but in that case the particular *saṅkrānti* would have been specified.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XXI, p. 95.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 18.

<sup>4</sup> This Vimalaśiva is probably different from the Śaiva ascetic who put up the present inscription.

<sup>5</sup> I examined the name of this ascetic carefully to see if he could be identified with Vāmaśambhu mentioned in the Mallāpuram inscription (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. IV, pp. 147 ff) in view of the suggestion recently made that the latter was the spiritual teacher of Karna and represents Vāmadēva on whose feet several Kalachuri kings from Karna downwards are described as meditating. (See *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 96 ff). A Śaiva Āchārya named Vāmaraḥ is also mentioned as living in Benares in the Sārṇāth inscription of Mahāpala, dated V. 1083. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 140. The Śaiva ascetic mentioned in the beginning of line 6 in the present record may have been a contemporary of Karna; for the next legible name is that of Puruṣaśiva who was the *guru* of Karna's son Yaśaḥkarna. But the second *akṣara* of the aforementioned name does not at all appear like *ma*. Besides the *guru* of this Śaiva pontiff was apparently Vimalaśiva, mentioned in verse 8, while the *guru* and the *paramaguru* of Vāmaśambhu were Somaśambhu and Sadbhāvaśambhu respectively. I have shown elsewhere that Vāmadēva was a Kalachuri king and not a Śaiva ascetic. See *A Volume of Eastern and Indian Studies*, pp. 152 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Śaktiśiva and Kirtiśiva may be identical with Śaktiśambhu and his disciple Kirtiśambhu respectively mentioned in the Mallāpuram inscription.

ever, be noted in this connection that the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal plates of Gōvinda-chandra<sup>1</sup> mention the Śaiva Āchārya Rudraśiva, not Puruṣaśiva, as the *Rājaguru* of Yaśaḥ-karṇa. Perhaps Yaśaḥkarṇa had two *Rājagurus* in succession. The name of Vimalaśiva, the *guru* of Jayasinha, occurs in his Jubbulpore Kōtwālī plates also.<sup>2</sup>

The present *prāśasti* was composed by the poet Śaśidhara, who was a Brāhmaṇa of the Maunya\* *gṛha*. He composed also the Bhērā-Ghāt inscription of Alhaṇadēvi, while his elder brother Prithivīdhara, was the author of the Tēwar inscription of Gayakarna. The present record was incised on the stone by Nāmadēva, the son of Mahīdhara. His father was the engraver of the aforementioned stone inscriptions of Gayakarna and Alhaṇadēvi.

As for the localities mentioned in the present record, *Tēkabhāra* may be identical with *Tikhārī*, 5 miles south by west of Jubbulpore. The *viśaya* (district) of *Navapattalā*\* in which it was situated may have comprised the territory round the modern *Nayākhērā* which lies about 8 miles west of *Tikhārī*. *Samudrapāṭa* is probably *Samand Pipāriā*, 4 miles south of Jubbulpore. There are several villages named *Kūnda* or *Kūndān* near Jubbulpore, one of which may represent the ancient *Kaṇḍaravāḍa*. No place exactly corresponding to *Vaḍōha* can, however, be traced in the Jubbulpore District.

TEXT.<sup>5</sup>

[Metres : Vv. 1, 18, 28, 35, 36, 38, 41, and 44 *Sārdūlavikrīḍita* ; vv. 2 (1) and 6 *Upēndravajrā* ; vv. 3, 4, 7, 9, 11-15, 20-22, 24, 27, 29-32, 37, 42, 43, 45, 48, and 49 *Anushtubh* ; v. 5 *Vāmśastha* ; vv. 8, and 47 *Upagūṭi* ; vv. 10 and 46 *Indravajrā* ; vv. 16 and 26 *Apacchchhandasṭaka* ; vv. 17, 25 and 33 *Upajāti* ; v. 19 *Viyōginī* ; v. 23 *Vasantatilālā* ; v. 34 *Prahrashīṇī* ; v. 39 *Mālīnī* ; v. 40 *Sragdharā* ; v. 50 *Āryā*.]

१ सिद्धिः<sup>६</sup> [१\*] ओं नमः शिवाय ॥ उन्मीलत्वामलं वलम्बि(स्वि)तरति वन्द्यहिजेन्द्रस्थितिर्नि।—

दोषा [म]हितप्रकाशवसन्तिः [कारणदूषणैर्नतिः] । सव्यग्वर्जित[संश्रिता]हित-  
कृतिः [अशर्व ?]देहोदतिर्भवत्वा पुण्यसदात्मजः

2 शुभकृतिर्विध्वस्तदैत्योद्धतिः ॥[१॥\*] वृषप्रतिष्ठः अतिवारिजश्री ॐ — ॐ — — ॐ

॥[२॥\*]

3 न्यं पश्यन्ति, तं नुमः ॥[३॥\*] जगतामात्मसं॥सि॥द्वै शिवः शैवमर्वाण्ययत् । ॐ

[illegible]

<sup>1</sup> *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 123 ff.

\* Above, Vol. XXI, p. 95. Vimalasiva is also mentioned in the recently discovered Rewāl plates of K. 963, above, Vol. XXV, pp. 1-ff.

\* This is also the spelling of the name in the Bhērā-Ghāt stone inscription of Alhanadēvi, but the *Gōtra-pravarambandhaladamba* spells it as *Mauna*.

\* There is a larger village named Nayāgaon in the former Narsinghpur (now Hoshangābād) District, but it is too far from Jubbulpore, being situated about 45 miles south by west of it. Besides, no places corresponding to Tekabhara, Samudrapātaka, etc., can be traced in the vicinity of it.

<sup>5</sup> From the original stone and inked estampages.

\* Expressed by a symbol. This word is clearly written in the beginning of the unpublished British Museum plate of Karna.

- 4 सखलितानुभूतयः ॥[५॥\*] तदन्वये शिष्यपरम्परायाः क्रमाच्च वंशः] ८ ८ — ८  
— — | ८ — ८ — ८ ८ — ८ — — ८ — — ८ ८ —  
८ — — ॥[६॥\*] ८ ८ ८ ८ ८ — — ८ दिशो चक्र ८ — ८  
८ | ८ ८ ८ ८ ८ — — ८ ८ ८ ८ ८ ८ — ८
- 5 श. ॥[७॥\*] शिष्यं विमलशिवाभिधमाध्यासौ पदे स्वीये । . . . . .  
. . . . .<sup>1</sup> ॥[८॥\*] ८ ८ ८ ८ ८ — — ८ ८ ८ ८ ८ ८  
— ८ ८ । यत्कीर्त्तिर्व[क्षमा ?] — ८ ८ ८ ८ ८ ८ ८ — ८ ८ ॥[९॥\*]  
— — ८ —
- 6 वास्तुशिवाभिधानः त्रेयःप्रकर्षम्परमादधानः । यद्येदिपानां वि[पद्ये] ८ — — —  
— ८ — — ८ ८ — ८ — — ॥[१०॥\*] ८ ८ ८ ८ ८ — — ८  
८ ८ ८ ८ ८ — ८ ८ । ८ ८ ८ ८ ८ ८ — — ८ ८ ८ ८ ८ ८  
— ८ ८ ॥[११॥\*] ८ ८ ८ ८ शिवः शिष्यः [पुरुषार्थाय] सम्प-
- 7 दम् । गुणानां च धनानां च परोपकृतये पर(रा)म् ॥[१२॥\*] शासनं ८ ८  
— — ८ ८ ८ ८ ८ ८ — ८ ८ । ८ ८ ८ ८ ८ ८ — — ८ ८ ८  
८ ८ ८ — ८ ८ ८ ॥[१३॥\*] ८ ८ ८ ८ ८ — — ८ ८ ८ ८ ८ ८  
८ — ८ ८ । ८ ८ ८ ८ ८ ८ — — ८ ८ ८
- 8 गुणगणानिव ॥[१४॥] प्रीतिः पात्रे रतिस्त्रीर्थे स्थितिः पथि मते सताम् । भक्ति-  
र्भवभवत्तस्य समस्य ८ ८ — ८ ८ ८ ॥[१५॥\*] . . . . .  
. . . . . [भिन्नः] पुरुषशिवः पुरुषोत्त-
- 9 मोक्ष शिष्यः ॥[१६॥\*] यस्माद्यशःकर्णनराधिपस्य प्रादुर्ब्व(र्ब्व)भूवाभ्युदयप्रगल्भा ।  
धर्मार्थकामेषु तथा ससृष्टिर्यथा गिरां पत्युस्मत्त्वभर्तुः ॥[१७॥\*] [शक्ती] श्री-  
गयकर्णदेवनृपतेः — — ८ — — ८ — — — ८ ८ — ८ — ८  
८ ८ — — — ८ — त्रन्विताः ।
- 10 शिष्यः शक्तिशिवोस्य कीर्त्तिपटलैः प्रज्ञाप्रकर्षैरिवाकार्पोद्दिग्वलयं तथातिविशदं विद्या-  
समुद्रं यथा ॥[१८॥\*] गयकर्णनृपप्रताप — ८ ८ — हेरिनराधिपे व(व)लात् ।  
८ ८ — ८ ८ — ८ — ८ ८ — — ८ ८ — ८ — ८  
— ॥[१९॥\*] सुमनोगण[ने]क-

<sup>1</sup> About 18 alsharas are gone here.<sup>2</sup> About 30 alsharas are lost here.

- 11 स्य सुमनोभूषणत्रियः । गीयते चरितं यस्य सद्भिः कल्पतरोरिव ॥[२०॥\*]  
सत्कीर्त्तिकल्पलतिकावष्टभाद्भुतभूरुहः । तस्य कीर्त्तिशिवः शिष्य[स्तिष्य ?] ॐ  
ॐ [बभूव सः] ॥[२१॥\*] [यिन देव ?] ॐ — ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ —  
ॐ ॐ । नरसिंहनरेन्द्रस्य बभूवा-
- 12 भ्युदयाय सः ॥[२२\*]॥ न स्यंदनं वसुमती न च चंद्रसूर्यौ चक्रे न सारथिर-  
भूत्स च विष्ण्वयोनिः । नेषुर्हरिः परपुराणि तथापि भस्म चक्रे यतः स  
इति कीर्त्तिशिवः स्फुटं सः\* ॥[२३\*]॥ यशोभिरिंदुविशदैस्तथैवारिविकर्षितैः ।  
अपूपुरत्वं सर्वांश विवे-
- 13 ककुसुमैरिव ॥[२४\*]॥ दृष्टौ च विप्रुष्टमनोभवीपि प्रसन्नचंद्रप्रतिमाननोपि । हृष-  
प्रतिष्ठोपि शिवावसक्तोप्यभूत्स नोग्रो न च सहजिह्वः ॥[२५\*]॥ कलचुरिकुल-  
. . . . . 'यन्ति प्रदीपाः . . . . .<sup>2</sup> । स यथैव तथेन्द्रियाणि  
सर्वा-
- 14 ण्यपि विश्रामसुरद्वरिंदिरायाः ॥[२६\*]॥ विश्रामित्रजगन्मित्रगोत्रे मैत्र्याद्यलंकृताः ।  
प्रापुर्विप्राः कियंतो न प्रतिष्ठां परमेष्ठिनः ॥[२७\*]॥ येषां सम्यग्धीतवेद-  
विषयज्ञानार्थमत्यादरात्\* [येषां] — ॐ ॐ — [रदायनमभू] — — ॐ  
— — ॐ — । येषां [चार्थसमृद्धिभिः समभव-
- 15 निष्ठानि पूर्त्तानि च प्राशस्येन महीभृतामिव सदा यायावराणामपि ॥[२८\*]॥  
क्रमात्तत्राभवद्गोत्रे मैत्रीं सन्ने(र्वे)षु संदधत् । ऋचां पदक्रमाधीती वो(वो)द्वा  
च मधुसूदनः ॥[२९\*]॥ दक्षिणाशावतंसस्य कुंभयोनेरिवाधिकम् । व(व)भूव  
यस्य विवु(वु)धीदो(दो)धाय म-
- 16 हिमोदयः ॥[३०\*]॥ हिजिन्द्रभूषणात्तस्मादुमेवोमाभिधा वधुः । अलंचक्रे तनूजेन  
स्कन्देनेव जगत्त्रयम् ॥[३१\*]॥ सीधीत्य वेदान्वेदार्थानधिगम्य व्रतं वहन् ।  
ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ — — ॐ नभस्वानिव दक्षिणः ॥[३२\*]॥ प्रभासगोकर्ण[ग]-  
यादितीर्थेष्व-
- 17 नृत्नमापद्य सुरादिवर्ये । शैवं व्रतं कीर्त्तिशिवाद्भार समयमुयादुपमन्युवद्यः  
॥[३३\*]॥ कल्पायुर्विमलशिवः स एष [तस्मा]दि(हि)भ्राणः कलियुगकल्पपाद-  
पत्वम् । [यच्छा]यां विवु(वु)धगणोधिगम्य धत्ते वैधुर्यं न खलु [महीत्य]वीदयेषु  
॥[३४\*]॥ जा-

<sup>1</sup> About 5 aksharas are missing here.

<sup>2</sup> About 7 aksharas are gone here.

- 18 तिः सज्जनपूजिता रतिपतेर्व्यावर्त्तनायाकतिर्व्यक्तिः कांतिसुहृद्व्यग्रांतिसुतपा<sup>१</sup> स्त्रीतिर्गुणानां  
गुरुः । रीतिः [प्रीति]करी सन्तामतितरां नीतिः सदा तद्विदां [मीनं मञ्जल]-  
सुद्यमैकसरणेरस्वैव संदृश्यते ॥[३५५]\*] वाणी सद्गुणनैपुणप्रण-
- 19 यिनी व्र(त्र)ह्मास्यपद्माश्रया श्रीः श्रीवत्सविभूषवत्सवसतिप्रमेति [ली]कीकृतयः ।  
पतस्मिन्पुनरुद्धुतं हयमिदं सानन्द[सुद्यो(द्यी)तते<sup>२</sup> तादृग्यादृगजीजन[कु]मनसां चेत-  
सु — — — ॥[३६॥]\*] विद्यासमुद्रचंद्रस्य तपःश्रीसरसीरुहः । सत्यो-  
त्सवादेः स-
- 20 द्रुतमित्रस्यास्याद्भुतं न किम् ॥[३७॥]\*] यस्यार्थिद्विजराजदर्शनवशादानाम्बु(म्बु)-  
[भिर्व्यवर्त्तते] श्रद्धा [रात्रिदिवं] वरेण विधिना धर्मस्य तन्त्रीखिव<sup>३</sup> । यो दर्श-  
यपि सादरं द्विजपतीनचोणशोभाभरान्द्रो योजयते सुवर्णविक्रयत्<sup>४</sup>द्विहिणीनां  
स(श)तैः ॥[३८॥]\*.
- 21 सकलानृपतिकृत्यप्रत्यवेत्तासु दाह्यं समधिकमधि — — — जयधुर्यः ।  
द्विजपतिरपि पूर्णः कोमलाभिः कलाभिः कलयति व(व)ललीलां योरि —  
— — ॥[३९॥]\*] लक्ष्मीलीलां कटाक्षैरतिकृतुं कतया संततं लक्ष्यमाणो-
- 22 प्यक्षाणां न क्षमो यः कचिदपि सहते स(श)क्तिमुल्लेचयित्रीम् । पृ[क्षीपा]लेन  
नित्यं [व(व)हुल]समुचिते कार्यजाते नियुक्तोप्यादत्ते नैव जाद्यं [कहन<sup>५</sup>]पि  
विधिवन्निवर्त्तनमिति केषु ॥[४०॥]\*] [नित्यं] [वासनया] — — —  
— — — संजज्ञे न विचा-
- 23 रपूर्वकविधि[ईत्तं] न यन्नास्ति तत् । पात्रं तत्र यदर्चितं न व(व)हुशस्तीर्थं  
न तद्भूतले दानस्नानतपोभिरद्भुततमेर्यन्नामुना संस्कृतम् ॥[४१॥]\*] साधीयांसि  
महीयांसि स्थेयांसि स्थाणुरूपिणः । श्रेयांसि यस्य वर्द्धते महासीर्वं यथा-
- 24 सि च ॥[४२॥]\*] उद्यानसरसी[सत्त]प्रासादद्विजवेश्मभिः । भूमिः परिभवत्यस्य न  
कैर्भूयाभरैर्दिवम् ॥[४३॥]\*] यो मन्त्रैः करवर्त्तिनः समकरोल्लोकान् परेभ्यः परान्  
— — — र्जयसिंहदेवनृपतिर्भक्त्यातिनम्नोपि सन् । स श्रीमान्मिलेश्वरः  
कलिमलप्र-

<sup>१</sup> The *visarga* is dropped here according to the *Varṇika* on Pāṇini VIII, 3, 36.

<sup>२</sup> The *śreedantā* here means 'the breast'.

<sup>३</sup> [The form *udyōtāt* can also be correct. In that case the root is *yut* and not *dyut*.—B. C. C.]

<sup>४</sup> *Tantri* seems to be used here in the sense of 'a sinew'.

<sup>५</sup> *Vikṣāṇa* (or), (blooming) seems to be used here in the sense of *vilāsat* (shining).

<sup>६</sup> Read *krachid=api*.

25. चालनैकचमां कीर्त्तिं देव[नदीमिव], त्रिभुवने, विस्तार[विन्नदनीम्] ॥[४४॥\*] [अ]-  
चीकरच्चंद्रमौलेर्मंदिरमादरात् । गुरोः कीर्त्तिशिवस्यैतत्कीर्त्तये सकृताय च ॥[४५॥\*]  
देवाय कीर्त्तिश्वरसंज्ञिताय प्रादादमुमै जयसिंहदेवः । विभ्रद्भवे भक्तिभरं  
गुरोः
26. च ग्रामाविवेः पर्वणि न[व्य ?]दायान् ॥[४६॥\*] टेकभराख्यस्तेषामेको नवपत्त-  
लाविप्रये । अन्यौ समुद्रपाटे कंडरवाडी वडीहस्त्व(स) ॥[४७॥\*] मौन्यान्वय-  
द्विजेंद्रश्रीधरणीधरनंदनः । प्रशस्तिभक्तरोदताम्रीत्या शसि(शि)धरः कविः ॥[४८॥\*]  
सूत्रधारशि-
27. [रोरज]महोदधस्तनूद्भवः । शिलामलंकरोदेताः नामदेवोत्तरैर्ऋतैः ॥[४९॥\*] सख-<sup>3</sup>  
त्पद्मिंशत्युत्तरनवशताङ्गेपि ८२६ ॥ यावत्सूर्याचंद्रौ यातायातं नभस्तले तपतः ।  
तावत्कीर्त्तनमेतत्कीर्त्तये कर्तुः स्थिरं भूयात् ॥[५०॥\*] ॥

## TRANSLATION.

Success! Ōm! Obeisance to Śiva!

(Verse 1.) Having become a meritorious person's son of righteous deeds, (Śiva) who takes delight in blooming lotuses, who abides in venerable Brāhmaṇas, who dwells blamelessly in honoured lustre, rises from the Kāraṇḍavātī river<sup>1</sup> (?), and completely destroys the (evil) actions of the enemies of those who take refuge with him, annihilates the arrogance of demons.

(V. 2.) Śiva, who is mounted on the bull, who has the beauty of lotuses.....

(V. 3.) We praise [Śiva], whom they see.....

(V. 4.) For the realization of their self by the worlds, Śiva revealed his doctrine.....

(V. 5.) Those whose direct knowledge failed.....

(V. 6.) In his lineage in the succession of disciples in course of time, the family,.....

(V. 7.) .....

(V. 8.) Having installed his disciple, Vimalaśiva, in his own place, he.....

(V. 9.) Whose dear fame.....

(V. 10.) (He) who was named Vāstuśiva, who caused great bliss, who.....in the country of the lords of Chēdi....

(V. 11.) .....

(V. 12.) His disciple named....śiva, who acquired a great excellence of merits and wealth, in order to oblige others (and) to attain the aims of human life.....

(V. 13.) .....

(V. 14.) .....like multitudes of merits.....

<sup>1</sup> Two aksharas are inadvertently omitted here. Read —*maulī ramyaṁ maṇḍiram*.

<sup>2</sup> *Alaṅkāṛī* is grammatically incorrect. Read —*alaṅkāṛa-aitān*.

<sup>3</sup> Read *Saṁvāt śaṅkṛmśaty-uttara-nava-śatē-ṛke-pi*.

<sup>4</sup> There is an ornamental figure here.

<sup>5</sup> There is some allusion here, which is not clear to me. Monier-Williams gives *Kāraṇḍavātī* (which is perhaps intended here by *kāraṇḍa-pūrṇā*) as the name of a river.



(V. 15.) He, (*though*) possessed of equanimity, bore love towards worthy persons, was attached to holy places, followed the path approved by good people (*and*) was devoted to Śiva.....

(V. 16.) Puruṣaśiva, the best of men, who was conversant with.....was his disciple .....

(V. 17.) On account of whom there arose as much abundance—great with prosperity—in religious merit, wealth and enjoyment of Yaśaḥkārṇa as that of (*Indra*), the lord of immortals, through Brihaspati.

(V. 18.) His disciple, Śaktiśiva,.....(*who augmented*) the (*two*) royal powers of the illustrious king Gayakārṇa, made the circle of regions very bright with the mass of his fame as he did the ocean of learning with the excellence of his intellect.

(V. 19.) .....the prowess of the king Gayakārṇa ..... the hostile king forcibly.....

(V. 20.) The deeds of him, who is pre-eminently counted among good people and whose wealth is an ornament of his good heart, are sung by wise men like those of the celestial wish-fulfilling tree.

(V. 21.) The disciple of him—a marvellous tree entwined by the creeping plant of noble fame—(*was*) Kīrtiśiva.....

(V. 22.) He caused the prosperity of the king Narasiṃha....

(V. 23.) (*Unlike Śiva*) he had not the earth for his chariot, nor the sun and the moon for its wheels, nor Brahmā for his charioteer, nor Viṣṇu for his arrow.<sup>1</sup> Still he reduced to ashes the cities of the enemies (*as Śiva did those of the demons*). Hence he (*was*) clearly Kīrtiśiva (*Śiva in glory*).

(V. 24.) He filled all regions with his glory which he wrested from the enemy and which was as bright as the moon, as with the flowers of discrimination.

(V. 25.) Though he had burned the feeling of love in his glances, though his face resembled the bright moon, though he was firmly attached to religion<sup>2</sup> and was devoted to Śiva<sup>3</sup> (*even as Śiva burned the god of love by his glance, has a bright disc of the moon on his forehead, is mounted on the bull and is attached to Pārvatī*), he was (*unlike Śiva who is called Ugra<sup>4</sup> and wears serpents*) neither dreadful in appearance nor attended by backbiters.<sup>5</sup>

(V. 26.) The great lights.....the Kalachuri family. ....As he, so all his sense-organs were the celestial tree of rest to the goddess of fortune.

(V. 27.) In the *gūṭra* of Viśvāmitra which is the friend of the world, how many Brāhmaṇas, adorned with benevolence<sup>6</sup> and other (*virtues*), have not attained the pre-eminence of Paramēśthin (God) ?

(V. 28.) Their.....with great regard for the understanding of the contents of the Vēdas which they had studied in the right manner.....Though they were vagrant mendicants, their sacrificial rites and charitable works were performed with abundance of wealth and in a praiseworthy manner like those of kings.

<sup>1</sup> For the equipment of Śiva in his fight with the demons of the three cities, see *Mahābhārata*, *Drōṇaparvan*, *adhyāya* 202, vv. 71-78 (Chitrāśālā Press ed.).

<sup>2</sup> There is a play on the word *tyāga* meaning (1) religion and (2) the bull Nandi.

<sup>3</sup> *Śrīraṣakta* is to be interpreted in two ways; (i) *Śrīra-ṣakta* meaning 'devoted to Śrīra', and (ii) *Śrīra-ṣakta* meaning 'attached to Pārvatī'.

<sup>4</sup> *Ugra* is a name of Śiva.

<sup>5</sup> *Dvijakṣa* (two-tongued) means (i) a serpent, and (ii) a backbiter.

<sup>6</sup> *Mantrī* is one of the four *bhāraṇās* which Yōgiṇs cultivate.

(V. 29) In course of time there was born in that *gōṭha* Madhusūdana who bore benevolence towards all, had studied the *paḍa* and *krama* texts of the Ṛiks and understood their meaning.

(V. 30.) The rising greatness of him, who was an ornament of the southern regions, led greatly to the awakening of learned men, even as the rise of the star Agastya,<sup>1</sup> the ornament of the southern direction causes the awakening of the gods (*from slumber*).

(V. 31.) Through him who was an ornament of the foremost among Brāhmaṇas, (*his*) wife named Umā, who resembled Pārvatī, was adorned by a son even as the three worlds were by Skanda.

(V. 32.) Having studied the Vēdas and understood their contents, he, observing vows, [pleased all people] like the southern breeze.

(V. 33.) Having paid off his debt to the best of gods and others at Prabhāsa, Gōkaṇṇa, Gayā and other holy places, he received (*initiation in*) the Śaiva vow from Kirtīśiva even as Upamanyu did from Ugra (*i.e.*, Śiva).

(V. 34.) (*May*) this Vimalaśiva, who has consequently become the wish-fulfilling tree of the Kali age, live to the end of the world !—(*the tree*), having come under the shade of which a multitude of Brāhmaṇas does not indeed feel distressed on the approach of great festivities !

(V. 35.) In the case of only this (*Vimalaśiva*) who is solely devoted to exertion are seen (*the following*), *viz.*, birth in a caste (*viz.*, *Brāhmaṇa*) which is honoured by good people, a (*handsome*) form which can turn back the god of love (*in discomfiture*), a personality attended by lustre, a large increase of merits accompanied by great tranquillity and excellent austerity, a mode of behaviour which is exceedingly pleasing to good people, political wisdom which is always pleasing to the politicians (*and*) blessed silence.

(V. 36.) '*(The goddess of)* speech who is fond of proficiency in merits dwells in the lotus which is Brahmā's face, and the goddess of fortune loves to live on the breast of (*Vishnu*) who is adorned with Śrīvatsa.'—This is what people say. But, what a wonder ! this pair shines forth so joyfully in him that it has caused.....in the minds of magnanimous people !

(V. 37.) What thing concerning him is not marvellous ?—(*him*) who is the moon to the ocean of learning, a lotus to the goddess of austerities, a pleasure-mountain to the truth and a friend of virtuous conduct ?

(V. 38.) At the sight of the best of Brāhmaṇas (*who approach him*) as supplicants, his piety increases in an excellent manner, day and night with the libations of water (*poured at the time*) of making gifts like a sinew of religion. Vigilant<sup>2</sup> as he is, he confers respectfully on the best of Brāhmaṇas, whose splendour has not decreased, hundreds of red cows shining with gold even on new-moon days.

(V. 39.) Showing great vigilance in looking after all royal affairs, the indefatigable leader .....The foremost among Brāhmaṇas (*viz.*, *Vimalaśiva*), though proficient in fine arts, shows the play of his power against the enemies.....<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The star Canopus which appears on the horizon just before the commencement of *Śarad* or autumn. [There is also a veiled reference to the sage Agastya who is associated with the propagation of Aryan culture in the south.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> There is a play on the words *dakṣha*, *dvija-pati* and *rōhiṇī*. Daksha gave only one Rōhiṇī (*i.e.*, the star Alderamin) to the moon and that too on the full-moon day, while Vimalaśiva gives hundreds of *rōhiṇīs* (red cows) to Brāhmaṇas even on the new-moon day. The star Rōhiṇī is personified as the daughter of Daksha and the favourite wife of the moon.

<sup>3</sup> In this verse also there is a pun on words like *dvija-pati*, *lalā*, etc.

(V. 40.) Though he is ever looked at with great eagerness by the goddess of fortune with sportful glances, he nowhere suffers the sense-organs to have the power of making him vain. Though he is always employed by the king in many worthy affairs, he nowhere shows slackness in (the performance of) obligatory and occasional religious rites.

(V. 41.) ..... (There was) no discriminating action which he did not perform; (there was) no gift which he did not confer; (there was) no deserving person whom he did not honour many times (and there was) no holy place on the earth which he did not sanctify with marvellous gifts, bathing and austerities.

(V. 42.) Of him who is like Śiva, the exceedingly good, great and lasting blessings and glory increase like his lustre.

(V. 43.) With what ornaments (supplied by him) does not the earth surpass heaven?—(the earth, which has) gardens, tanks, charitable feeding houses, temples and houses of Brāhmanas?

(V. 44.) May that illustrious Vimalaśiva—who by his counsels has made (even) the most distant people pay taxes, (to whom) the king Jayasirīha [bows] becoming very humble through devotion spread in the three worlds his delightful fame which, like the celestial river, is capable of washing away the taint of the Kali age!

(V. 45.) He caused a temple of the moon-crested (Śiva) to be constructed for the fame and religious merit of his teacher Kīrtiśiva out of reverence for him.

(V. 46.) To this god named Kīrtiśvara, Jayasirīhadēva, through devotion to Śiva and his teacher, has made new grants of villages on (the occasion of) the sun's eclipse.

(V. 47.) Of these, the village called Tōkabhara is situated in the vishaya (district) of Navapattalā and two others (viz.,) Kaṇḍaravāḍa and Vāḍōṇa in (the district of) Samudrapāṭa.

(V. 48.) The poet Śaśidhāra, the son of the illustrious Dharanīdhara who is the foremost among Brāhmanas, born in the family of Maunya, has composed this *prāśasti* with pleasure.

(V. 49.) Nāmādēva, the son of Mahīdhara, the crest-jewel of artisans, has adorned this slab with excellent letters.

(In) the year nine hundred increased by twenty-six, in figures, 926.

(V. 50.) May this temple endure firmly for the fame of the builder as long as the sun and the moon, going and coming, shine in the firmament!

#### No. 34.—CONJEEVERAM INSCRIPTION OF BRAHMA-TANTRA-SVĀTANTRA-JIYAR : SAKA 1282.

By A. S. RAMANATHA AYYAR, B.A., MADRAS.

Kāñchīpuram in the Chingleput District was an important place of pilgrimage from very early times. Portions of this town and its environs were in the olden days known according to their religious associations, as the Buddha-Kāñchi, Jina-Kāñchi, Śiva-Kāñchi and Vishnu-Kāñchi.<sup>2</sup> The inscription<sup>3</sup> published below is engraved on the north wall of the second *piālāra* of the Varadarāja temple at Little Conjeeveram, otherwise called Vishnu-Kāñchi, which is very sacred to the Vaishnavas of the south.

<sup>1</sup> Kara-paṭṭin means also 'one who is near at hand.' The statement 'Vimalaśiva makes most distant people, near' involves contradiction, but it is only apparent, the intended sense being as given above. The figure is Varādhāhāed.

<sup>2</sup> Buddha-Kāñchi is referred to in No. 15 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1934-35 (*Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy*, 1934-35, para 56). Jina-Kāñchi is represented by Thripparattikunṇu near Conjeeveram; Śiva-Kāñchi and Vishnu-Kāñchi are respectively the modern Big and Little Conjeeveram.

<sup>3</sup> No. 574 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1919.

The characters in which the record is engraved are *Tamīl* and *Gantha*, the latter being employed for the Sanskrit words. The language is *Tamīl* with an admixture of Sanskrit words, and is somewhat illustrative of the type of *Vaishnava* composition prevalent in this period and locality. The record is very well preserved, and its orthography does not call for any comment.

The record does not quote any king's name but is simply dated in *Śaka 1282* and contains the astronomical details—*Vikārin*, *Mēsha*, *śu. 1*, Friday and *Aśvati*—which yield the equivalent A.D. 1359, March 29. It states that a certain *Vaishnavadāsa* who had been given the title of *Brahma-tantra-svatantra-Jiyar* by the god (*Hastigiriśa*), was put in charge of a *matha* evidently at *Kāñchipuram* in *Śaka 1282*. This information is of interest for *Vaishnava* religious history, as it enables us to identify this first pontiff of the *matha* with the direct disciple of the great *Vēdānta-Dēśika*, the erudite scholar, keen controversialist and deeply venerated *Vaishnava āchārya*, whose literary and religious activities are said to have extended over a major portion of the 14th century A.D.

As mentioned above, the inscription does not refer itself to the reign of any king, but it is somewhat peculiarly worded, in that it purports to have been issued by the deity himself. In the *Tamīl* records of this temple, the god is called *attiyār-nimrāṇṭiyā-Paramasvāmin*, or 'the great Lord who was pl'. The village-name *Tiruvattiyūr* having been Sanskritised into *Hastigiri*,<sup>1</sup> the god came to be known to Sanskrit authors as *Hastigiriśa*, by which name he is referred to in the opening verse of this epigraph. It is stated that on the representation made by the agent *Perumāltatan* and other *Bhāṭṭas*, the god, while seated in regal pomp with his consorts in the *abhishēka-maṇḍapa* of the temple on the throne named *Viravallāṇ* under the canopy called the *Ariyēnavallān-pandal* listening to the chanting of the songs of *Śāṭhakoṇ*, was pleased to confer the title of *Brahma-tantra-svatantra-Jiyar* on a certain *Vaishnavadāsa* and to put him in charge of a *matha* and its properties, so that he may propagate the tenets of the *Rāmānuja-darśanam*<sup>2</sup> to the *Vaishnava* laity, and maintain the library which he had collected, probably in the *matha* premises. A sentence at the end adds that this divine order (*tirumugam*) was engraved on stone by the temple-accountant.

In regard to the particular style of wording in this inscription, couched as if the orders had emanated directly from the deity himself, it may be mentioned that this convention was adopted by some of the *Vaishnava* temples in the *Tirunelvēli District* in the 14th and 15th centuries A.D., and in some instances in the *South Arcot* and *Chingleput Districts* also. Some *Śaiva* temples also appear to have sparingly copied this procedure in drafting their documents at this period. In such cases, the occasion when and the place wherefrom the orders<sup>3</sup> were issued are given at some length. Some instances may be quoted.

1. *Śakābdām 1463 nāl . . . Muḷlināṭṭu brāhmādeyam grī-Śērāvan-māhādevi-chatur-vēdimāṇgalattu vaḍapāl śrīmad-Dvārakānāthan aruḷāl Āyirattenman-pāṇḍar-kīl Virakēraṇ-piṭhattu nāmum nam peṇḍugaḷōḍuṇ kūḍi-irundū*, etc.—(*Shermādevi*, No. 186 of 1895 of the *Madras Epigraphical collection*.—*S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 750).

<sup>1</sup> *Dēśika* is believed to have been born in A.D. 1269, *Śukla*, and to have died in A.D. 1370, *Saunhya*. The present record is of help in confirming the period of his literary activity as the second half of the 14th century A.D.

<sup>2</sup> The artificial ramp formed by an enclosed *maṇḍapa* is called the '*Tirumalai*' or '*giri*', on top of which the shrine of *Varadāraja* is located.

<sup>3</sup> Compare the verse composed in praise of this *Jiyar* :

हस्तीश लीकविष्ठातं कौण्डिन्यं विदुषां वरम् ।

रामानुजायसिद्धान्तस्त्रापनाचार्यमाश्रये ॥

<sup>4</sup> This is analogous to the instances in which kings are described as having been seated in particular halls of their palaces and on particular seats, while issuing the orders contained in the respective epigraphs.

2. Nāyaṇār Tiruvīḍaikaḷi-Nāyaṇār Āḍi-ayaṇa-ttiru-maṇjaṇam śeydaruḷi Irāmānujaṇ-tirumaṇḍapattu Nālukavipperumāl-Vīrasimhāsaṇattu śrī-Śaṭhakōpaṇ tirumuttiṇ-pandal-kkīḷ Nāchchimāruḍaṇ chēndaruḷi-irundu eṅgaḷai aruḷappāḍittaruḷi nammudaiya aḍiyāril . . . nammudaiya kumāraṇ Hariyaṇaṇ kumāraṇ magaṇār Hariyaṇaṇ, etc.—(Tirukkōyilūr, No. 356 of 1929 of the Madras Epigraphical collection).
3. Nam bhaktar Malai-maṇḍalattu Tāḷaikkūḍi Śēndapirāṇ-Periyāṇaṇa Yādavarāyaṇukku nam=aḍukkaḷaiippuram . . . . . śēlvadāga nam magaṇār Vīra-Pāṇḍyadēvarkku eṭṭāvadu, etc.—(Tirunelvēḷi, No. 127 of 1894 of the Madras Epigraphical collection—S. I. I., Vol. V, No. 416).

The reigning king of the time is referred to in these records as *nam piḷḷai* or *nam kumāraṇ* 'the god's son or favourite', and in response to his formal petition that a particular transaction may be made, the god is described as sanctioning it and issuing a ratificatory order to that effect to the officials concerned. This convention does not, however, appear to have been in vogue for a long time. Āḍi-Chaṇḍēśvara, one of the sixty-three Nāyaṇmārs, is considered to be the steward-in-chief (*mūla-bhṛitya*) of Śaiva temples, and the documents relating to them are drafted in his name. Similarly also Viśhvaksēna or Sēṇai-mudaliyār is looked upon as the Manager of Vaiṣṇava temples. It is one step further to assume that the orders were issued directly by the god himself.<sup>1</sup> Such divine mandates are called *aruḷappāḍu*; and in the Śrīraṅgam temple, god Raṅgarāja is even now conventionally considered to look after the affairs of his temple himself and issue the necessary orders through the mouth of his temple-officials.

Before proceeding to examine the contents of this record, a few expressions occurring in it may be explained.

(L. 2). *Vīravallāṇa simhāsaṇam* and *Ariyaṇavallāṇ-pandal* are the names respectively of a throne and a canopy. The first was probably presented to the temple by the Hoysala king Vīra-Ballāḷa III<sup>2</sup>, while the second may have been named after some one having the title 'he who is as powerful as a lion,'<sup>3</sup> but whose title it was is not known.

*Nam peṇḍugaḷ*—viz., Viśhṇu's two consorts, Śrī and Bhūmī.

*Śaṭhakōpaṇ-pāṭṭu kēḷāṇiṅka*—Śaṭhakōpa is the name of the Vaiṣṇava saint Nammālvār, whose *Tiruvāymoli* is considered equal to the Vēdas in sanctity and is chanted in the presence of the deity on particular occasions. Endowments made for this service in Viśhṇu temples are often mentioned in inscriptions.<sup>4</sup>

(L. 3). *Perumālṭāṭaṇ*—Perumālṭāṭaṇ or Perumāḷdāsaṇ would ordinarily mean 'a devotee of Perumāl (Viśhṇu)'; but in this context it appears to have been the name of the agent, super-

<sup>1</sup> In these instances, the records commence with a Sanskrit verse specifying that the orders emanate from the god himself—

(a) सर्वलोकसमुत्पत्तिवित्तिसंहारकारणम् ।

शासनं शाश्वतं शंभोः श्रीव्रीहृद्विवासिनः ॥ —No. 127 of 1894 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

(b) एतत् वैलोक्यनिर्भाषणापसंहारकारणम् ।

श्रीमत्श्रीरङ्गनाथस्य शासनं शाश्वतं परम् ॥ —No. 51 of 1938-39 of the same collection.

<sup>2</sup> Ballāḷa III was camping at Kāñchīpuram in Bhāṇvaka (Śaka 1256)—No. 401 of 1919 of the Madras Epigraphical collection. In two other records from the same temple, one of which is dated in Śaka 1283, in the regime of Sāḷuva Maṅga, the god is described as seated in a similar manner while issuing the orders.

<sup>3</sup> A liquid measure called 'Ariyaṇavallāṇ-nāḷi' was current in this temple at this period—(No. 343 of 1919 of the Madras Epigraphical collection).

<sup>4</sup> Madras Epigraphical Report for 1908, part II, para. 35.

vising the sacred business of the temple (*nam viṭṭu karumam kēḷum*), in whose presence and that of the *Bhaṭṭas* of the temple, the order is stated to have been promulgated. The name 'Vaishṇava-dāsa' occurring in the same line has to be considered as meaning 'the servant-devotee of Vaishṇavas' rather than as the personal name of the donee in the record; for according to the *Guruparamparā-prabhāvam*, the original name of Brahma-tantra-svatantra-Jiyar was Pērarulā-layyaṇ of Viravalli<sup>1</sup> and his *dāsyānāma* on becoming a *saṁnyāsin* was Pērarulāla-Jiyaṇ.

(L. 4). *Samārādhanaṁ adukku vēṇḍum muṭṭukkaḷum*—seems to refer to the worship to be conducted to the deities kept in the *maṭha* itself and the requirements therefor. It is usual for every *maṭha* to have images of some deities for worship. In this connection, it may be noted that on the eve of the demise of Vēdānta-Dēśika, some images are said to have been bequeathed to his disciple Brahma-tantra-svatantra-Jiyar.<sup>2</sup>

*Postakaṅgaḷum idukku vēṇḍum upakaraṇaṅgaḷum*—By *postakaṅgaḷ* (*pustaka*), manuscript bundles are apparently meant. The *upakaraṇas* are the accessories and paraphernalia required for running a library—such as probably racks for the accommodation of the manuscript bundles, spare sets of *caḍjaṇ* leaves for copying work, and stylus and other scribal apparatus.

*Rāmānuja-darśanam*—is the Viśiṣṭādvaita-siddhānta as codified and expounded in his *Śrī-bhāṣya* by the great Vaishṇava apostle Rāmānuja (A.D. 1017-1137). It was he who had raised this system to an unassailable eminence and had arranged for its propagation in true missionary style, by the training of a number of able exponents and *śiṁhāsānādhipatis*<sup>3</sup> from among his numerous disciples.

(L. 5) *Nam Rāmānujam-udaiyārum nam samayattil uḷḷārum*—Rāmānujam-udaiyār appears to mean the 'followers of Rāmānuja'.<sup>4</sup> The idea seems to be that the selection of Brahma-tantra-svatantra-Jiyar as the pontiff was to receive the acceptance of Rāmānuja's followers and the Vaishṇava laity (*samayattil-uḷḷār*).

(L. 6) *Ivaṇukku nām muḍittapaḍiyum uḍuttapaḍiyum pūṣinapaḍiyum kuḍuttōm*—means that the flowers worn by the god, the clothes used by him and the sandal-paste and unguents utilised for his worship were presented to the Jiyar as a mark indicative of the god's love to the recipient. This expression is found used in some inscriptions<sup>5</sup> and in Vaishṇava literature.

As regards Brahma-tantra-svatantra-Jiyar, the donee of the record, some information is available from Vaishṇava literature. Among the South Indian religions, it was Vaishṇavism alone that had developed the 'historical sense' to an appreciable extent, and there are therefore several biographies of the Vaishṇava *āchāryas* available, collated under the names of *Vaibhavas* and *Guruparamparās* of varying volume.<sup>6</sup> One such work dealing with the life of the great Vaishṇava reformer Vēdānta-Dēśika is the *Guruparamparā-prabhāvam*<sup>7</sup> in Tamil prose by Tṛitiya-

<sup>1</sup> *Guruparamparā-prabhāvam* (Tamil, Madras.), p. 114; see also f. n. 3 on p. 319.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 138.

<sup>3</sup> There were 74 *śiṁhāsānādhipatis* who were selected. Their names are given in the reply to question No. 24 of the *Triṁśatpraśnōttaram*, *Paḷanaḍaiviṭṭakkam*, p. 30.

<sup>4</sup> The following expression from No. 61 of 1938-39 from Śrīraṅgam may be compared—*Koḍavar kōvaṇavar nam bhāṭṭakal . . . nam Rāmānujanai-udaiyār nam pāduvār*, etc.

<sup>5</sup> Compare No. 567 of 1919 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

<sup>6</sup> There are many biographies of Dēśika available. The *Vēdānta-Dēśika-raibhava-pratāpikā* by Doḍḍay-āchārya is in Sanskrit.

<sup>7</sup> Published in Madras in several editions. Dvitiya-Brahma-tantra-svatantra-Jiyar, the *āchārya* of the author of this work is said to have written the *Paṇṇirūyirappaḍi-Guruparamparā-prabhāvam*, which is not extant.

Brahma-tantra-svatantra-Jiyar. Shorn of the few miraculous elements that are inevitable in an orthodox hagiography, this work compiled by an author who lived only a few generations later than Dēśika, may be considered as fairly reliable. From it we gather the following details about Brahma-tantra-svatantra-Jiyar, the first of that name, who was a disciple of Vēdānta-Dēśika :

**Brahma-tantra-svatantra-Jiyar** belonged to the Kaunḍinya-gōtra and was originally called Viravalli Pēraruḷālayyan. Well-versed in all the *sāstras*, he became an ardent disciple of Dēśika and assumed the *saṁnyāsa* garb under the name of Pēraruḷāla-Jiyar. When the Rāṅganātha temple at Śrīraṅgam was looted by the Muhammadans in the first quarter of the 14th century, Brahma-tantra-svatantra-Jiyar fled along with his *āchārya* to Satyamaṅgalam (in the Coimbatore District) and returned to Śrīraṅgam only after some years. He was taught the *Bhagavad-vishayam* (*Āraṇyappaḍi*) by Varadāchārya *alias* Nayinārāchārya, the son and disciple of Vēdānta-Dēśika, in Kali 4440, Bahudhānya, Āvaṇi, śu. 2, Hasta (=A.D. 1338, August 18). On one occasion, he vanquished a pandit of North India in a polemical contest at Śrīraṅgam and was honoured by Dēśika with the title of 'Brahma-tantra-svatantra'<sup>1</sup> 'he who is a master in Brahma-tantra'. That accounts for the origin of the name by which he was popularly known. On another occasion during the régime of Tirumalai-Śrīnivāsāchārya<sup>2</sup> who had been installed by Dēśika as the *Śrīkārya-dhuraudhara* of the Kāñchīpuram temple, Brahma-tantra-svatantra-Jiyar overcame a Kashmirian pandit in a philosophical discussion and earned the title of 'Paryāya-Bhāshyakāra'.<sup>3</sup> Some time later under the direction of god Venkaṭeśa in a dream, he accepted the **Trusteeship of the Tirupati temple**, and during his tenure of office there, he installed an image of Vēdānta-Dēśika in a *maṭha* built by him at Tirumala, as well as in a *maṇḍapa* in the Gōvindarāja temple at Lower Tirupati. He stayed at Tirupati for a long time expounding the Vaiṣṇava philosophy to his disciples Ghaṭikāśataham-Ammā, Kidāmbi-Nayinār, Kōmāṇḍūr-Āchehān, Pīḷaiy-Appai, Pēraruḷālayyan-Appai, Kandāḍai-Āṇḍān, Viravalli-Pīḷai and others. After his demise he was succeeded by Pēraruḷālayyan-Appai. Brahma-tantra-svatantra-Jiyar was the author of two small works—the *Dirgasūri-stuti*<sup>4</sup> and the *Āchāryavatāra-ghaṭṭārtha*.<sup>5</sup>

Though these biographical details may, in the main, be accepted, a few omissions may be noticed. The *Guruparamparā-prabhāvam* does not contain a reference to the founding of a *maṭha* at Kāñchīpuram and to the installation of Brahma-tantra-svatantra-Jiyar in it as its first pontiff for the propagation of the Rāmānuja-*darśanam*, as stated in the present record, nor do the Tirupati inscriptions corroborate his Trusteeship of the Tirupati temple. But these points notwithstanding, Brahma-tantra-svatantra-Jiyar of the record under review may be identified with the disciple of

<sup>1</sup> The present record conventionally states that god himself gave the title.

<sup>2</sup> *Guruparamparā-prabhāvam*, p. 138. He was the author of a religious work called the *Prabandha-nirvāṇam*.

<sup>3</sup> A verse composed by Ghaṭikāśataham-Ammā in praise of this Jiyar reads—

पर्यायभाष्यकाराय प्रशस्तार्तिं विधुन्वते ।

ब्रह्मतन्त्रस्वतन्त्राय द्वितीयब्रह्मणे नमः ॥

<sup>4</sup> The colophon reads—ब्रह्मतन्त्रस्वतन्त्रोक्ता दिग्भूरिस्तुतिः ।

<sup>5</sup> Its colophon reads—ब्रह्मतन्त्रस्वतन्त्रेण परकाव्यतीक्ष्णम् ।

आचार्यवितारघटाय संश्लेषेण प्रकाशयते ॥

Vēdānta-Dēśika, because of the fact that the investiture of this unique title of 'Brahma-tantra-svatantra', herein attributed to the god himself, had been made more than a decade prior to the demise of Dēśika and that this *āchārya*'s name figures in three important 'pontifical lists'.<sup>1</sup>

The *maṭha* which was thus started at Kāñchīpuram under the pontificate of this Brahma-tantra-svatantra-Jiyar in A.D. 1360 grew in importance and appears to have latterly removed its headquarters to Mēlkōṭe in the Mysore State, where it became popular under the name of the Parakāla-maṭha<sup>2</sup>. There were several scholars among the subsequent heads of this *maṭha*, and a short sketch of its history has been given in the *granth-ōpasamhāra* of the *Alaṅkāra-maṇihāra*,<sup>3</sup> a work on rhetoric composed recently by one of its pontiffs also called Brahma-tantra-svatantra-Jiyar.

At about this time in Śaka 1300 there was in the Varadarāja temple at Kāñchīpuram, a minor *maṭha* called the Vēda-maṭha, which was presided over by a certain Vēdēndrasāgara-śrīpāda and which probably specialised in the teaching of the Vēdas.<sup>4</sup> Another important Vaiṣṇava *maṭha* which came into existence in this period was the Ahōbala-maṭha,<sup>5</sup> whose founder Śrīnivāsa, son of Kiḍāmbi Kēśava-āchārya of Tirunārāyaṇapuram, is, according to orthodox tradition, believed to have assumed the *Samnyāsāsrama* in Śaka 1320 (A.D. 1398) under the name of Ādivaṇ Śaṭhakōpa-Jiyar and to have been its first pontiff for a period of sixty years till A.D. 1458.

Vēdānta-Dēśika is stated in the *Guruparamparā-prabhāvam* to have been the contemporary of a certain Telugu chief named Sarvajña-Śiṅgabhūpāla and to have composed the *Subhāshita-nīṭi* for his delectation.<sup>6</sup> The same chief is said to have honoured Nayinārāchārya, the son and disciple of Dēśika, with the gift of a palanquin and other paraphernalia, when this *āchārya* went to the northern parts in his religious tours. It follows therefore that Brahma-tantra-svatantra was also a contemporary of this Śiṅga. According to the *Velugōṭivāri-vaṁśāvali*<sup>7</sup> dealing with the history of the Rēcherla chiefs, there were three chiefs of the name of Śiṅga. Of these, Śiṅga III who came to power in A.D. 1425 had the title of Sarvajña.<sup>8</sup> The author of the work on rhetoric called the *Rasārṇava-sudhākara*<sup>9</sup> was a Śiṅga, son of an Annavōta; and he has been identified with Śiṅga II and has been assigned to about A.D. 1380.<sup>10</sup> There was another earlier Śiṅga I who flourished about this time and was killed by a certain Tammaḷa-Bommayya in A.D. 1360. It is no

<sup>1</sup> In this connection the following orthodox three-fold 'lists' may be noted :

- (a) *Mantrārtha-guruparamparā*—Emberumānār, Kiḍāmbi-Āchchān, Kiḍāmbi Rāmānuja Appullān, Śrī-raṅgarājār, Appullār, Dēśikar and Brahma-tantra-svatantrar.
- (b) *Śrībhāṣhya-guruparamparā*—Emberumāpār, Tirukkurugaippirān-Pillān, Eṅgaḷālvān, Nāḍādūr-Ammāl, Appullār, Dēśikar and Brahma-tantra-svatantrar.
- (c) *Bhagavad-vishaya-guruparamparā*—Same as in (b), Dēśikar, Nayinārāchāryar and Brahma-tantra-svatantrar.

<sup>2</sup> See *Paḷanadaivilakkam*, Part II, p. 28.

<sup>3</sup> Published in the *Mysore Sanskrit Series*.

<sup>4</sup> No. 32 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1890—*S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 355.

<sup>5</sup> Vide *Tirupati Dēvaśthānam Report* (1930), p. 214, where these traditional dates are questioned and are post-dated by a cycle of sixty years.

<sup>6</sup> *Guruparamparā-prabhāvam*, pp. 120 and 139. Two other works named the *Tatvasandēśa* and the *Rahasya-sandēśa* are also stated to have been composed for the same purpose.

<sup>7</sup> Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, *Velugōṭivāri-vaṁśāvali*, Introduction.

<sup>8</sup> Vasanatārāya, brother of the latter Śiṅga III, made a gift of four *dvārapālaka* images to the Varadarāja temple at Kāñchīpuram (No. 683 of 1919) in Śaka 1359.

<sup>9</sup> श्रीमद्भूमिखंडलाधीश्वर-प्रतिगच्छमैत्रव-श्रीवद्वीतनरेन्द्रनन्दन-मुजबलभीम-श्रीशिशुभूपाल-विरचितं रसाणवसुपाकरं—

<sup>10</sup> His date has been discussed in *Śringāra-Śrīnāthamu* (Telugu) by Prabhākara Śāstrī, p. 179, etc.



doubt tempting to identify the author of the *Rasārṇava-sudhākara*, with the chief who honoured the two *āchāryas*.<sup>1</sup> As Vēdānta-Dēśika is believed to have passed away in A.D. 1370,<sup>2</sup> and as Nayaṇārāchārya had also attained to literary fame before A.D. 1360, their contemporary has been considered to have been Śiṅga I of A.D. 1360, who lived within the life-time of Dēśika but who is not known to have had the title of Sarvajña or more appropriately, Śiṅga II who actually began to rule later, but who may have been a young chieftain at the time of Nayaṇārāchārya's visit administering a portion of the territory in conjunction with his father Anavōta, for whom, however, records up to Śaka 1307 are found.

The existence of one other Śiṅga at this period may also be noted. In the Śīraṅgam plates of Mummaḍi-Nāyaka<sup>3</sup> dated in Śaka 1280, only two years earlier than the date of the present record, it is stated that a village which had been granted by one of the chiefs of Kōrukoṇḍa to a Parāśara-Bhaṭṭa, the seventh of that name, was transferred to the temple of god Raṅganātha by his mother, on the death of the latter without issue. This grant indicates that the Kōrukoṇḍa chiefs were devout Vaiṣṇavas and that a descendant of the famous Bhaṭṭar family of Śīraṅgam was honoured by one of them. This Mummaḍi-Nāyaka is stated to have had two younger brothers, one of whom was a Śiṅga who was ruling over a portion of his brother's territory with headquarters at Kōṭipura in the Godavari District. His father was a Kūna. But the chief, to whom Dēśika<sup>4</sup> had dedicated the three works referred to above, is said to have been the son of a Mādhava-Nāyaka. If this is so, he cannot be identified either with the Rēcherla Śiṅga, son of Anavōta, or the Kōrukoṇḍa Śiṅga, son of Kūna. His identity must therefore remain undetermined for the present.

Another point of interest in this epigraph is the reference to a collection of manuscripts (or a library) which was kept in the *maṭha* and a stipulation made for its proper upkeep, as envisaged in the expression 'iva tēḍiṇa postakaṅgaḷum idukku vēṇḍum upakaraṅgaḷum'. It is well-known that in the medieval centuries, religious institutions of all denominations, Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava and Jaina, flourished in South India, either as a result of royal patronage or supported by private benefactions. They appear to have been primarily intended as seminaries for the imparting of religious education and incidentally for the dissemination of secular knowledge as well. The extensive properties granted from time to time to temples and to such religious establishments were left in charge of the heads of these *maṭhas* called *Maṭhādhipatis*, *Mudaliyārs* or *Jīyars*, on whom devolved the duty of supervising the proper conduct of the services for which the endowments had been intended, and who, in turn, enjoyed some privileges as remuneration for their services. Then there were also the *Ghaṭikāsthānas* (i.e.) 'establishments for holy and learned men', and smaller educational institutions of which there were many in the land, which were responsible for the intellectual well-being of the community. The munificent donations made for the

<sup>1</sup> Mr. M. Somasekhara Sarma has kindly brought to my notice a reference from Mr. M. Doraswamayya's article in the *Tirumalai Śrī-Veṅkaṭēśvara*, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 51 ff., wherein Śiṅga Bhūpāla, the author, has been assigned to a period before A. D. 1370, on the strength of the fact that the *Rasārṇava-sudhākara* has been quoted from by the *Chamatkāra-chandrikā* of Viśvēśvara, which latter is referred to in the *Alaṅkārasudhānīthi* of Bhūganātha of about. A.D. 1370.

<sup>2</sup> The Sanskrit verses engraved in the Śīraṅgam temple eulogising the restoration of the Raṅganātha image by Gōpanārya, are stated in the *Guruparamparā* to have been composed by Dēśika himself. If so he must have passed away soon after this incident.

<sup>3</sup> *Ante*, Vol. XIV, p. 84 and *Annual Report on Epigraphy*, Madras, for 1913, pp. 129-30.

<sup>4</sup> *Life and Literary Writings of Dēśika*, by M. K. Tātāchārya, where the following is quoted—

ब्रह्मसिंह निगमान्तर्देशिकेन प्रसिद्धमदिश्यत माधवात्मजस्य ।

maintenance of these institutions are recorded in several inscriptions;<sup>1</sup> but though no specific references to libraries as such, are found in them, it is, however, reasonable to infer that when these *maṭhas*, *ghaṭikās* and *pāṭhaśālās* were functioning properly, they must have been maintaining well-stocked libraries, for the use of the teachers as well as the taught.

The numerous collections of manuscripts which have been found in *maṭhas* and other places in South India, bear ample testimony to the fact that the library was a fairly well-recognised institution of medieval religious and student life. But specific references to libraries as such are, as stated already, rather rare in inscriptions. A record of the Western Chālukya king Trailōkya-malla-Āhavamalla dated in Śaka 980 (=A.D. 1058) from Nāgai<sup>2</sup> in the Hyderabad State mentions that *Danḍanātha-Triṇētra* Madhusūdana, a general of the king, received from his master among many other endowments, a gift of land for the maintenance of six Curators called *Sarasvatī-Bhaṇḍāgāras* who were placed in charge of the library attached to the college (*Ghaṭikāśālā*) at Nāgavāvi-agrahāra, which had several hundred students on its rolls. Another interesting reference to a *Sarasvatī-bhaṇḍāra* or library is found in a fragmentary epigraph<sup>3</sup> engraved on the east wall of the third *prākāra* in the Raṅganātha temple at Śrīraṅgam in the Trichinopoly District. It is but natural to expect that this temple which is classified as belonging to the *uttamōttama* type, should have been provided with a library as well.<sup>4</sup> The record states that in an auxiliary *maṇḍapa* which accommodated this library, provision was appropriately made for the installation and worship of the images of the three presiding deities of learning—viz., Hayagrīva, Sarasvatī and Vyāsa-Bhagavān, by Pālappaḷli Nīlakaṇṭha-Nāyaka. As this person was a contemporary of Hoysaḷa Vīra-Rāmanātha, in whose 14th year inscription<sup>5</sup> (A.D. 1269) he is mentioned, the library of the Śrīraṅgam temple was in existence from the middle of the 13th century A.D. A *pustaka-bhāṇḍāra* as an adjunct to the Advaitic Śaṅkara-*maṭha* at Śrīṅgerī in the Mysore State is mentioned in two epigraphs<sup>6</sup> from Vanṭyāla near Perdurū in the South Kanara District, which belong to the early Vijayanagara period. One of them is dated in Śaka 1328 in the reign of king Bukka II and registers a gift of land for the maintenance of a certain Purāṇika Kavi-Krishṇa-Bhaṭṭa, who was the Curator in charge of this library, while the other dated a few years later in Śaka 1354 in the reign of king Dēvarāya II, relates to another gift of land made to the Curator's son Kavi-Śaṅkara-Bhaṭṭa, who evidently succeeded his father in his office.

#### TEXT.

- 1 Tirumugappaḍi' [\*] Svasti śrī[\*][\*] Ūtat=sur-āsura-ādhiśa-mauli-ratna-prabh-āruṇam [\*]  
Śrīmat-Hastigiriśasya dēvadēvasya śāsanam ॐ-[\*] Vikāri-samivatsarattu  
Mēsha-nāyaru pūrvva-pakshattu prathamaiyum Vēḷi-kkiḷamaiyum
- 2 perṛa Aśvati-nāḷ abhishēka-maṇḍapattu Vīra-Vallāḷa-simhāsanattu Ariyeṇavallāṇ-pandal-  
kiḷ nāmum nam peṇḍugaḷuḍaṇ Śaṭakōpaṇ-pāṭṭu-kkēḷānirka nam viṇu<sup>9</sup> karumam  
kēṭkum

<sup>1</sup> Several inscriptions relate to the provision made for the maintenance of such educational institutions, notable among them being those copied from Eṇṇāyiram in the South Arcot District (No. 333 of 1917 of the Madras Epigraphical collection), Kāvanūr (*An. Rep. on S. I. Epigraphy* for 1933, Part II, para. 35), etc.

<sup>2</sup> The Inscriptions of Nagai (*Hyderabad Archl. Series*, No. 8), p. 7.

<sup>3</sup> No. 139 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1938-39.

<sup>4</sup> In this connection it may be mentioned that the *Paushkara-Saṁhitā* (published at Mēlkōte, Mysore, 1934), one of the three authoritative works of the Pāṇcharātra school, has a chapter entitled '*Jñāna-pratishṭhānam*', giving rules for the formation of a library in a temple. This reference was brought to my notice by Mr. S. Parthasarathi Ayyangar of the Dēvasthānam Library at Śrīraṅgam.

<sup>5</sup> No. 4 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1937-38.

<sup>6</sup> Nos. 283 and 284 of the same collection for 1936-37.

<sup>7</sup> This word is written below 'Svasti śrī' in slightly smaller characters.

<sup>8</sup> *Svasti śrī* and several other Sanskrit words are engraved in Grantha characters.

<sup>9</sup> May also be corrected into *nam viṣṇu karumam*.

- 3 Perumāltāṭaṇum nam bhātṭa[r\*]kaḷum śolla-kkōṭṭu **Brahma-tantra-svatantra-jīyaṇ**<sup>1</sup> enru nām pār-kuṭutta Vaiṣṇavadāsaṇukku nām kuṭuttapaḍi [I\*] Ivaṇukku uṇḍāna maṭhamum maṭhattai nōkki
- 4 varum kshētramum samārādhanamum adukku vēṇḍum muṭṭukkaḷum ivan tēḍina postakaṇḷaḷum idukku vēṇḍum upakaraṇaṇḷaḷum nam Rāmānujan-darśanam naḍak-kaikkāga ivaṇukku
- 5 piṇbum ivan niyamitta ivaṇuḍaiya śiṣhyargaḷ paramparaiy=āga ivaiyirai-kkaikkōṇḍu naḍatti-ppōdakkadavargaḷ=āgavum [I\*] Ivaṇai nam Rāmānujam-uḍaiyārum nam samayattil uḷḷārum<sup>2</sup> kai-
- 6 kkoṇḍu naḍatti-ppōda-chechoṇṇōm [I\*] I-cheheydiyai=kkallilum śembilum vēṭṭikkollumbaḍi ivaṇukku nām muḍittapaḍiyum uḍuttapaḍiyum pūṣinapaḍiyum kuḍuttōm ௨ Ippaḍikku-
- 7 ttiruvāy-malarnd=aruḷinapaḍikku kōyil-kkaṇakku Pēraruḷālapriyaṇ eḷuttu ௨ I-ttirumugam eḷudina Śakābdam āyirattu iru-nūrru enbattu-iraṇḍ=āvadu ௨

## TRANSLATION.

This is according to the sacred order.

Hail! Prosperity!

This is the order of the glorious Lord of Hastigiri, the god of gods, which is red with the brilliance of the gems in the diadems of the (*supplicating*) lords of the celestials and of the *Asuras*:

"In the month of Mēsha of the (*cyclic*) year *Vikārin*, on a Friday with *prathamā-tithi* of the first fortnight and *Aśvati-nakshatra*, while We, in company with Our consorts, were listening to the songs of Śaṭhakōpa, seated on the throne (*named*) *Viravallāṇ* under the canopy (*called*) *Ariyeṇavallāṇ* in the *abhishēka-maṇḍapa* (*of the temple*)—

on the representation (*made*) by Perumāltāṭaṇ, who supervises the (*sacred*) business of Our temple (*nam viṇḍu*), and by Our *Bhātṭas*, We were pleased to assign to a *Vaiṣṇavadāsa* on whom we had bestowed the name of **Brahma-tantra-svatantra-jīyaṇ**, the *maṭha* which had been set apart for him, the lands belonging thereto, the worship to be conducted therein and the expenses therefor, the books which he had accumulated and the accessories required for them (*i.e.*, their maintenance), so that he may propagate Our Rāmānuja-darśanam, and after him, the disciples selected by him may, in succession, take possession of these and continue (*the work*).

We directed that the followers of Rāmānuja (Rāmānujam-uḍaiyār) and those of our Vaiṣṇava *samayaṁ* shall accept him (*i.e.*, his pontificate) and carry on (*the work*).

We also ordered that this information be engraved on stone and copper, and We presented him (*in token of Our regard*) what had been used (*as garlands*), what had been worn (*as clothes*), and what had been anointed (*as unguents*) by Us."

As thus graciously commanded (*by the god*), this is the writing (*or signature*) of the temple-accountant Pēraruḷālapriyaṇ.

The Śaka year in which this sacred order was written (*engraved*) is One thousand two, hundred and eighty-two.

<sup>1</sup> Read *-svatantra-jīyaṇ*.

<sup>2</sup> Engraved below the line.

## No. 35.—KASYAPA IMAGE INSCRIPTION FROM SILAO.

By B. CH. CHHABRA, M.A., M.O.L., Ph.D. (LUGD.), OOTACAMUND.

It was early in the year 1935 that the late Babu Puran Chand Nahar of Calcutta, a well-known Jain antiquarian, kindly placed at my disposal a couple of inked estampages of the subjoined inscription for decipherment and publication. He informed me that the inscription appears on a stone pedestal which is in the possession of Babu Bhagwan Das of Silao<sup>1</sup> in the Bihar subdivision of the Patna District. This gentleman, I understand, owns a collection of antiquities. He could not tell the exact provenance of the present piece, as the collection had existed in the family from before his time and is apparently not properly enlisted. Considering, however, that Silao is situated between the famous archaeological sites of Nālandā and Rājagṛiha, it is probable that the find hailed from one of these two places. But, as will be shown below,<sup>2</sup> it is more likely that the piece belonged to Silao itself.

From the estampages supplied by Babu Puran Chand, I could read a considerable part of the epigraph. For its complete decipherment, however, an examination of the original or, at least, a set of better impressions was essential. During the summer of that very year, I had occasion to visit Silao, but unfortunately I then missed Babu Bhagwan Das there. Consequently I had to go disappointed without seeing either his collection or the inscribed pedestal in question.

About two years later, Mr. J. K. Roy, the then Custodian of Nalanda Museum and Monuments, at my request, got a fresh set of impressions prepared, which he kindly sent to me along with his description of the sculptured piece. In December 1939, Mr. Amalananda Ghosh, Assistant Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Central Circle, Patna, further obliged me by furnishing me with two photographs of the damaged sculpture and three impressions, on thin paper, of its inscription. The new material enabled me to read the inscription almost entirely.

As may be seen from the accompanying photographic reproduction, the pedestal is elliptical in shape and has, in its centre, a remnant of the kneeling statue, carved in the round, which once surmounted it. The pedestal stands 9" high, and measures 20" at its longest and 14½" at its broadest. The extant portion of the figure shows that it represented a person seated in the attitude that is technically called *ālīḍhāsana*. The symmetrical lines seen on its right leg suggest folds of the *dhōṭī* or the lower garment. Further, the pedestal has, at its bottom, a tenon, about 6" long and 4" wide, which shows that the present sculpture was placed on a larger pedestal by the side of some other statue or statues. This is borne out also by the posture of the present image, as judged from its surviving portion. The posture recalls to one's mind certain representations of Garuḍa, Viṣṇu's *vāhana*, depicted as offering worship with folded hands or waiting on his master. In the present instance, however, the figure represented, as is disclosed by the inscription, not Garuḍa but Kāśyapa who, as will presently be shown, was a famous disciple of the Buddha. We may thus conclude that the present image, representing Kāśyapa in worshipful attitude, was originally installed next to the statue of his teacher, Gautama Buddha, in a shrine or a sanctuary somewhere near the modern village of Silao.

The pedestal is partitioned into two by an inward curve. The inscription runs along the upper band and consists of three lines, each measuring about 21" in length. It is

<sup>1</sup> Silao is a railway station on the Bukhtiarpur-Bihar Light Railway section of East Indian Railway.

<sup>2</sup> See below p. 331.

slightly weather-worn, especially on the right-hand extremity where a few letters in the first line I have not been able to make out. Again, due to erosion, parts of letters and signs of superscript *repha* have, at certain places, been rendered obscure. In most cases, however, they can be made out from the moulds on the back of an estampage. The average size of the letters is  $\frac{3}{8}$ ".

The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. Kielhorn described this type as "the Magadha variety of the Nāgarī alphabet"<sup>1</sup>, while some other scholars more appropriately call it "the Eastern variety of Nāgarī"<sup>2</sup>. The script of the present record bears a close resemblance to that used in the Ghōsrāwā inscription<sup>3</sup> of the time of the Pāla king Dēvapāladēva who reigned from c. A.D. 801 to c. A.D. 840<sup>4</sup>. In view of this consideration, the present inscription, which neither bears a date nor mentions any ruler's name, may be placed in the first half of the ninth century A.D.

The language of the record is Sanskrit and its composition is entirely in verse, all the three stanzas forming but one sentence. The following points are worthy of note in respect of orthography, a consonant followed by a *r* is very often reduplicated, *s* is used for *ś* in *yas=cha*, l. 2 and *gītas=cha*, l. 3, and *v* is used for *ṽ* in *Vauddha*, l. 3. The sign of *avagraha* appears twice. Grammatically, the form *amit-ardhau*, l. 1, is wrong. As an adjective of *kulē*, it ought to be *amit-ardhīni*. Similarly the use of the feminine gender in the word *ādi* in *svīya-saṃhātik-ādīr*, l. 3, is incorrect. In a compound like the present one, it should ordinarily be treated in the neuter gender. The exact sense of the expression *yānti draudharā*, l. 2, in the given context is not clear to me, though I have rendered it as 'vie with one another'<sup>5</sup>. Of lexicographical interest are the terms *pūrasa*, l. 2, and *saṃhātikā*, l. 3. The former in all probability is meant to be an equivalent of *purāṇa* which is equally of rare occurrence and means 'gold'. The latter appears here as a synonym of *saṃghāṭī* or *saṃghāṭikā* which is peculiar to Buddhist terminology and denotes 'one of the three robes of a monk' (*tri-chīvara*)<sup>6</sup>.

As regards contents, the inscription is virtually a label to the image which once surmounted the pedestal, giving in a compendious form a laudatory account of the deity represented. The deity or the deified personage, as is disclosed by the inscription, was Kāśyapa.

This Kāśyapa is no other than the Buddha's favourite disciple Kāśyapa or Mahā-Kāśyapa who is reputed to have convened the First Buddhist Council<sup>7</sup> at Rājagṛha three months after the *parinirvāṇa* of the Master. Even during the Buddha's lifetime Kāśyapa had become a foremost Arhat. It is perhaps on account of his playing such a prominent part in preserving and expounding the Lord's teachings that he has been accorded such an exalted rank as to be deified. In the Mahāyāna Buddhist iconography he has been confused with a previous Buddha, called Kāśyapa. There he figures as the sixth Mānushi-Buddha of the group of seven.<sup>8</sup> There is hardly any Buddhist treatise wherein some

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. IV, p. 244.

<sup>2</sup> Compare, for instance, the late Mr. N. G. Majumdar's remarks in *Monographs of the Varendra Research Society* No. 1 (Nālandā copper-plate of Dēvapāladēva), p. 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 307 ff. and plate.

<sup>4</sup> H. C. Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. I, p. 379.

<sup>5</sup> See below p. 334, n. 1.

<sup>6</sup> Childers, *Dictionary of the Pālī Language*, under the word *saṃghāṭī*.

<sup>7</sup> Jean Przyluski, *Le Concile de Rājagṛha*, pp. 8, 30, etc.; R. C. Majumdar *Buddhist Councils in Buddhist Studies* edited by B. C. Law, pp. 26 ff.

<sup>8</sup> Albrecht Geigy, *Gods of Northern Buddhism* p. 15; Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 10.

account of Kāśyapa may not be met with. We have, however, certain references in literature, which are of great value to us inasmuch as they not only bear out the information imparted by our inscription but also supplement it. It will, therefore, be interesting to cite them here.

The events narrated in the inscription evidently follow the order of their sequence. It may further be observed that each of the nine attributive clauses refers to one distinct happening connected with Kāśyapa's life. To sum up the whole, Kāśyapa (1) occupied the position of Surapati for seven times successively in some of his former births, (2) was born on this earth in a wealthy family, (3)<sup>1</sup>?, (4) renounced the world, forsaking his wife Kāpilēyā, (5) showed sympathy with the wretched, so much so that it excited the admiration of the gods, (6) worshipped the Lord with intense piety, (7) received the Lord's robe at the time of the latter's *nirvāṇa*, (8) expounded the Law<sup>2</sup> and finally (9) attained *nirvāṇa* on the mount Gurupāda.

In literature, it is the later Pāli works like various *Aṭṭhakathās* that furnish us with a somewhat detailed narrative of Kāśyapa's<sup>3</sup> early life, which may be summarised as follows: "His boyhood's name was Pippali Mānavaka". He was born to a wealthy Brāhmaṇa of the Kapila *gōtra* at the village of Mahātīttha (Mahātīrtha) in Magadhā. From the very beginning he was averse to worldly life. He would look after his parents so long as they lived and afterwards turn a monk. But when he came of age, his parents exhorted him to marry. He refused to do so. However, when his mother persistently remonstrated with him on this point, he devised means by which, he thought, he would have his way and, at the same time, would not incur his mother's displeasure. He got an image of a young lady of supernatural beauty fashioned of pure gold, bedecked with glittering jewels and daintily clad in red. He presented the image to his mother, declaring that if he were to have a bride of that form, he would fain go in for wedlock. He had fancied that neither would such a paragon of beauty be forthcoming, nor would he marry. This, however, did not dishearten his mother. She rather imagined that her son was very fortunate and that he must have done meritorious deeds in his former births, not alone but in company with a lady of golden hue (*suravṇa-varṇā*). She, therefore, at once called in a council of eight Brāhmaṇas, handed over the gold idol to them and charged them with the duty of finding out a damsel of the requisite beauty to be the bride of her son. The Brāhmaṇas mounted the idol on a chariot and set out on their mission. They travelled far and wide until at last they reached the city of Sāgala<sup>4</sup> in the Madra *dēśa*, where they found a girl who in grace and charm far excelled the gold image, not to speak of resembling

<sup>1</sup> Owing to the portion left unread here, it is not clear what event was described in this sentence.

<sup>2</sup> This obviously adverts to the occasion of the First Buddhist Council which was held at Rājagṛīha, convened and presided over by Kāśyapa.

<sup>3</sup> It will be clear from Dr. G. P. Malalasekera's *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names* that the Buddhist literature knows of numerous personages bearing the name Kāśyapa or Mahā-Kāśyapa. A fairly exhaustive description of the Kāśyapa of our record is given in that work under *Mahā Kassapa Thera* (Vol. II, pp. 476-483), which winds up with the remark that "Mahā Kassapa was so called to distinguish him from other Kassapas, and also because he was possessed of great virtues".

<sup>4</sup> Sāgala or Śākala has been identified with Sialkot in the Punjab. See Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, edited by S. Majumdar Sastri (1924), pp. 686 f.; N. L. Dey, *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, pp. 173 f.; B. C. Law, *Geography of Early Buddhism*, pp. 53 f. The country of the Madras lay between the Ravi and the Chinab; see N. L. Dey, *op. cit.* p. 116.

it. She was Bhadrā Kāpilāyanī,<sup>1</sup> daughter of an equally well-to-do Brāhmaṇa of the Kausika *gōtra*. She shared the propensities of Pippali Mānavaka, like him not caring for connubial felicity. Finally, however, their marriage was settled in spite of them. They married, but did not lead a married life. An opportunity offered itself and they forsook each other, renounced all and turned ascetics.

"Pippali Mānavaka, with a single robe on and a bowl in hand, left home in quest of the Buddha. He saw the Lord seated under a *bōdhi* tree called Bahuputraka somewhere between Rājagṛīha and Nālandā. It was there that he received his ordination (*upasaṃpadā*) from the Lord. Later on Pippali Mānavaka, now Kāśyapa, presented his silken *saṃghāṭī* to the Master and accepted with alacrity from the latter his coarse and threadbare robe in exchange. So ardent was Kāśyapa's faith that he attained the position of an Arhat only a week after his ordination."<sup>2</sup>

Āsvaghōsha has also left us a brief sketch of Kāśyapa.<sup>3</sup> Therein Kāśyapa is said to be *Rāj-ādi-gēh-ākhyā-dēśi* which compound Cowell translates as 'an inhabitant of Rājagṛha'.<sup>4</sup> We have just learnt from the *Aṭṭhakathās* that Kāśyapa hailed from a village called Mahātittṭha in Magadha. In the light of this information we may explain the above expression more precisely as 'an inhabitant of the country named Rājagṛha'. We know that Rājagṛīha was then the capital of Magadha. And in the present instance the country is denoted simply by the name of its capital, which practice has not been uncommon.<sup>5</sup> In this way Āsvaghōsha's statement on the point of Kāśyapa's native land is not at variance with the information contained in the *Aṭṭhakathās*. Again, according to Āsvaghōsha's description, Kāśyapa had performed six years' hard penance before he met the Master.

Āsvaghōsha does not allude to Kāśyapa's marriage with Bhadrā Kāpilāyanī, which event is, however, confirmed by references in certain stories of the Buddha's former births. Thus in the *Asūtamanta Jātaka*,<sup>6</sup> the Lord identifies the characters of that story in the following manner: "Kāpilānī was the mother of those days, Mahā-Kassapa was the father, Ānanda the pupil, and I myself the teacher."<sup>7</sup> Similarly in the *Haṭṭhīpāla Jātaka*, the chaplain was Kassapa and his wife was Bhaddakāpilānī.<sup>8</sup> Again, in the *Sāma Jātaka*, the father was Kassapa and the mother Bhaddakāpilānī.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The name *Kāpilāyanī* (or *Kāpilānī* or *Kāpilēyā* as we shall have it later) is apparently derived from *Kapila*, which, as we know from the *Apadāna* (P. T. S. edition, p. 583, *verse* 57), was Bhadrā's father's name. The same source gives her mother's name as *Suchimatī*. A detailed account of her also is found in Dr. G. P. Malalasekera's *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names* under *Bhaddā Kāpilānī Therī* (Vol. II, pp. 354-55).

<sup>2</sup> This summary is extracted from an account of *Kāśyapa-saṃnyāsa*, which is given by Mahāpandita Tripitakāchārya Rāhula Sānikṛityāyana in his *Buddhacharyyā* (Hindi), pp. 41 ff., and which in its turn is based upon the following works: *Theragāthā Aṭṭhakathā* 30; *Saṃyutta-Nikāya Aṭṭhakathā*, 15, 1, 11; *Ānguttara-Nikāya Aṭṭhakathā* 1, 1, 4.

<sup>3</sup> E. B. Cowell's edition of Āsvaghōsha's *Buddhacharita*, XVII, 12:

विजः काश्यपाख्यो धने यचराजो गुरुर्वेदविद्यासु राजादिगोहाख्यदेशी  
सुचिः (सुविः ?) पटं वैकवास्यं समाधाय सर्वान् विद्यायागमचापसे (८८ ?) वीक्षितौष्ठः ।  
यदा वीक्षितौष्ठोऽसौ कुमारस्तपः प्राचरदुष्करं तत् पठन् महात्मा  
ततोऽत्रास वीधिं मुनीन्द्रं समर्थो (समर्था) भवत्काश्यपासौ यतीशोऽर्हतामग्रगण्यः ॥

<sup>4</sup> *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XLIX, part i, p. 193 f.

<sup>5</sup> Compare such cases as *Avanti* and *Kāñchi*.

<sup>6</sup> V. Fausboll's edition of *The Jātaka*, No. 61.

<sup>7</sup> Translation of *The Jātaka*, Vol. I, p. 150.

<sup>8</sup> *The Jātaka*, No. 509. Translation, Vol. IV, p. 304.

<sup>9</sup> *The Jātaka*, No. 540. Translation, Vol. VI, p. 52.

It may at once be recognised that *Kāpilānī* and *Bhaddakāpilānī* of the *Jātakas* and the *Aṭṭhakathās*, and *Kāpilēyā* of the present inscription are but variants of one and the same name and refer likewise to one and the same person, namely Kāśyapa's wife.

It may parenthetically be pointed out that according to the *Aṭṭhakathās* it was, as noted above, somewhere between Rājagṛha and Nālandā that Kāśyapa's first meeting with the Lord took place. That position almost corresponds to the modern village of Silao. May we then suppose that the statue of Kāśyapa was set up there in order to sanctify the spot and thereby to commemorate the first meeting? In that case, the find-spot of the inscribed pedestal under discussion, as has already been hinted, must be Silao.

Now if we compare the above descriptions with the account given in our inscription, we shall find that most of the details do agree. There are, however, certain points which it has not been possible for me to corroborate by literary references. In the first place, Kāśyapa is stated to have acted as Indra for seven terms on end. He must have attained such a distinction as a reward for highly meritorious deeds on his part; but I have not been able to find any mention of this fact in literature. We are told that Gautama Buddha himself was Śakra in twenty of his antecedent births, that there is a Śakra in every *chakravāla* and that the office of Śakra, which is in fact the sovereignty of the *Tāvātimsa* angels, is held only for a limited period by the same individual.<sup>1</sup> It is said of Kāśyapa that 'he bestowed his favours only on the poor',<sup>2</sup> which sentiment is echoed in *dīn-ānāh-ānugata-mānasaḥ* of our inscription, l. 2.

We further learn from the inscription that the Buddha, while entering *nirvāṇa*, gave away his *saṃghāṭī* and other things to Kāśyapa. I could not find this event related in any of the Buddhist canonical works. All that we know in this connection is this, as we have noticed above, that the Lord and Kāśyapa exchanged their *saṃghāṭīs* shortly after their first meeting. However, the information from the Chinese sources in this regard is in perfect agreement with the account of our inscription. According to that, Tahtāgata, on the point of attaining *nirvāṇa*, addressed Kāśyapa and said *inter alia*: "The golden-tissued *Kaśhāya* robe given me by my foster-mother I bid you keep and deliver to Maitrēya when he has completed the condition of Buddha."<sup>3</sup>

Finally we come to the *nirvāṇa* of Kāśyapa himself, which is stated to have taken place on the mount Gurupāda. Here, too, the Chinese record is in full concord.<sup>4</sup> In the *Divyāradānamālā*,<sup>5</sup> the name of the mountain is given as Gurupādaka, while elsewhere it is also called Kukkuṭapāda.<sup>6</sup> The identification of this hill had long been a subject of keen controversy among such eminent scholars as Cunningham, Beal and Stein until at last the late Mr. R. D. Banerji brought the issue to a successful close by offering a thoroughly satisfactory solution. Cunningham contended that three bare and rugged hills in the vicinity of Kurkihār, 16 miles to the east of Gayā, represent the Kukkuṭapādagiri, taking the name *Kurkihār* to be a contraction of *Kukkuṭa-vihāra* or *Kukkuṭapāda-vihāra* and, at the same time, presuming a connection between this last and the Kukkuṭapāda-giri.<sup>7</sup> Beal had his objections to this identification, for, to him

<sup>1</sup> See R. C. Childers' *Dictionary of the Pali Language* under the word *SAKKO* (Śakra), p. 419.

<sup>2</sup> G. P. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*, Vol. II, p. 481.

<sup>3</sup> S. Beal, *Si-Yu-Ki* (Buddhist Records of the Western World), Vol. II, 143. The Tibetan version records that Mahākāśyapa 'changed the garments which enshrouded the Blessed one for others from his store'. W. W. Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, p. 144.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 242.

<sup>5</sup> Cowell's edition, p. 61; and Rājendralāla Mitra, *The Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal*, p. 308.

<sup>6</sup> Beal, *op. cit.* p. 142; Beal, *Travels of Fah-Hian and Sung-Yun*, p. 132; H. Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 89; Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, p. 161.

<sup>7</sup> *Reports A. S. I.*, Vol. I, pp. 14-16, Vol. XV, pp. 4-6.



the location did not agree with the accounts of the Chinese travellers. Moreover, he has emphatically pointed out that the Kukkuṭārāma or Kukkuṭa-vihāra must not be confounded with the Kukkuṭapāda-giri.<sup>1</sup> Stein had occasion to visit this part of the country in the winter of 1899, and, with a view to arriving at a definite opinion regarding the identification, he made a thorough survey. After a close examination he came to the conclusion that the Kukkuṭapāda-giri or Gurupāda-giri is represented by the Sōbhnāth hill, a part of the Maher hill, in the district of Gayā.<sup>2</sup> Stein's identification met Beal's objections to some extent, but was not totally convincing. Finally Banerji investigated the matter further, and conclusively proved that the modern representative of the Gurupāda-giri is to be found in the Gulpā hill in the district of Gayā.<sup>3</sup> This identification is warranted not only by the name *Gulpā* being phonetically a corrupt form of the *Gurupāda* itself, but also because it satisfies all other considerations, as detailed by the author.<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless, some scholars even now, knowingly or unknowingly, adhere to Cunningham's discarded identification of the Kukkuṭapāda mountain with Kurkihar.<sup>5</sup>

Judging from the description of the pedestal as well as from the nature of the inscription on it, the statue of Kāśyapa in question must have been one of considerable artistic merit, typifying the art of the Pāla period. It is greatly to be regretted that the major portion of the statue itself is not forthcoming. It would have been a unique specimen inasmuch as the known sculptural representations of Kāśyapa are few. In fact, so far as I know, we do not have a single entire piece of this kind. At Bishanpur in the Gayā district, Beglar noticed one image of Kāśyapa. "On a small bas-relief", so runs his description, "representing a figure seated cross-legged in Buddha fashion is inscribed *Ye Dharma Rāsi Maha Kasyapa (sic.)*; this statue is clearly therefore one, of the venerable president of the first synod, and is the only one I have seen or heard of, of one of Buddha's disciples."<sup>6</sup> The present whereabouts of this statue are not known. Even in 1899, when Stein visited Bishanpur, he found it missing, for he writes: "I was, however, unable to trace the small bas-relief, which is mentioned by Mr. Beglar as bearing a short inscription with the name of Mahākāśyapa."<sup>7</sup> It may in passing be pointed out that plastic representations even of the Kāśyapa Buddha, who, as has been shown above, is sometimes mixed up with the Mahā-Kāśyapa, are equally rare. The Curzon Museum of Archaeology at Muttra has recently acquired an image of the Kāśyapa Buddha, carved in the round, standing on an inscribed pedestal; but the upper half of it is missing. It belongs to the Kushāna period. The preserved part, from the girdle downwards, shows it wearing a *dhōṭī*, a *mēḷhalā* and a scarf.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See his *Travels of Fah-Hian and Sung-Yun*, p. 132 n.; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 327 f., and his *Sī-Yu-Ki* (Buddhist Records of the Western World), Vol. II, p. 95 and n. 32, p. 142 and n. 14.

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXX, p. 88.

<sup>3</sup> *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. II (1902), pp. 77-83.

<sup>4</sup> With regard to the identification of the Gurupāda-giri, the reader is also referred to Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, edited by S. Majumdar Sastri (1924), pp. 526 ff. and pp. 720 f.; and to N. L. Dey's *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India*, under Gurupāda-giri, Kukkuṭapāda-giri, Gulpā-Hill, Kurkihar and Sobhnāth Hill.

<sup>5</sup> See for instance B. C. Law's *Rājagriha in Ancient Literature* (Memoirs of the A. S. I., No. 58), p. 17.

<sup>6</sup> Cunningham's *Reports A. S. I.*, Vol. VII, p. 105.

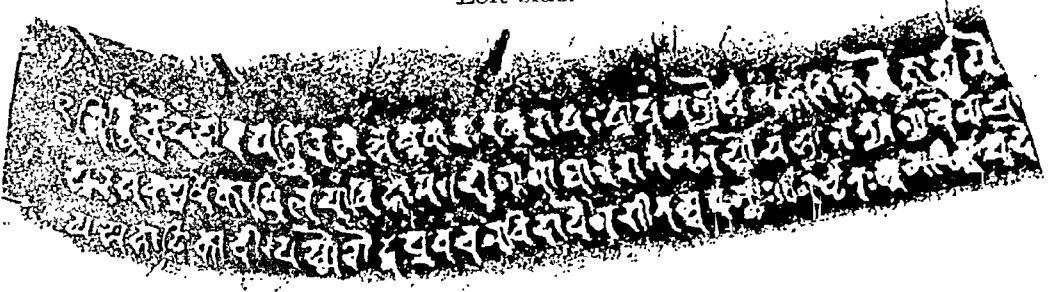
<sup>7</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXX, p. 90.

<sup>8</sup> The image is fully described and the inscription is edited by Mr. V. S. Agrawala in the *Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society*, December 1937, pp. 35-38 with Plates; and in the *Annual Report on the Curzon Museum of Archaeology, Muttra*, for the year ending 31st March 1938, pp. 2, 6, 9, with Plate.

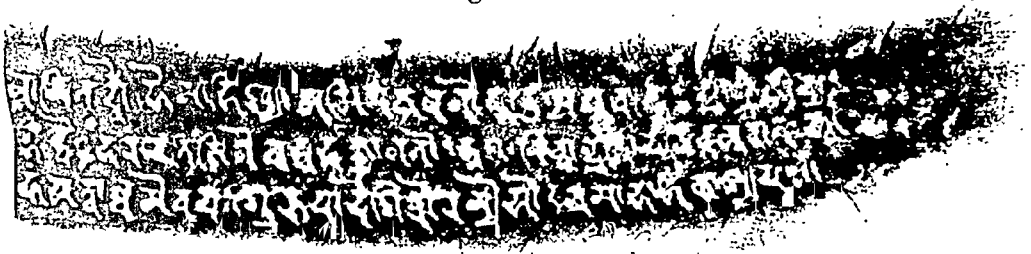


# KASYAPA IMAGE INSCRIPTION FROM SILAO.

Left side.



Right side.



SCALE : ABOUT ONE-HALF.



Hiuen Tsiang, the celebrated Chinese pilgrim, informs us of the existence of an image of the Kāśyapa Buddha enshrined in a *vihāra* to the north-west of the Bōdhi tree at Bōdh-Gayā. "It is noted for its miraculous and sacred qualities. From time to time it emits a glorious light."<sup>1</sup> There is presumably a reference to this representation of Kāśyapa in the Bōdh-Gayā inscription of Mahānāman, wherein homage is paid, in the beginning,<sup>2</sup> first to Śākyanikabandhu (i.e. Gautama Buddha) and then to Mahā-Kāśyapa, assuming that Hiuen Tsiang, too, meant 'an image of Mahā-Kāśyapa' when he said 'an image of the Kāśyapa Buddha'. Among the ruins at Bōdh-Gayā, Cunningham has identified the remains of the aforesaid *vihāra*,<sup>3</sup> while the image is not to be found at all.

There are, however, a good few sculptures which represent the group of seven or eight<sup>4</sup> Mortal Buddhas, wherein the Kāśyapa Buddha figures as the sixth<sup>5</sup>. In the Indian Museum at Calcutta we have a stone pillar from Bharaut, depicting his distinguishing *bōdhi* tree<sup>6</sup>, which is *nyagrōdha* (*Ficus Indica*).

Here I may gratefully record that to Dr. N. P. Chakravarti I owe some useful references and suggestions, especially with regard to the identity of Kāśyapa.

#### TEXT.

[Metres: २२. 1,2 *Mandākrāntā*; २. 3 *Anuṣṭubh*.]

- 1 सिद्धम्<sup>8</sup> [1\*] निर्विच्छेदं सुरपतिरभूत्स वारान्<sup>9</sup> पुरा यः प्राप्तं मर्त्ये<sup>10</sup> सुमहति कुले जन्म येनामितर्ह्य<sup>11</sup> । हेमाभिख्याममितजवनो — — — — —  
प्रात्राजीव्यः
- 2 पुरसवपुषं कापिलेयां विहाय ॥[१॥\*] दीनानाथानुगतमनसो यस्य नत्वान्यदेवा यान्ति द्वैधं भगवति जिने यस्त्व(श्च) भक्त्या नतोभूत् । निर्व्याग्रादादपि च सुगतः स्त्री-
- 3 यसंहाटिकादीर यस्मै वी(वी)वप्रवचनविदा येन गीतस्त्व(श्च) धर्मः ॥[२॥\*] निर्वृतः स्वमधिष्ठाय देहं सत्त्वा(त्त्वा)र्धमेव यः । गुरुपादे गिरौ रम्ये<sup>12</sup> सोऽयमाभाति काश्यपः ॥[३॥\*]

<sup>1</sup> Beal's *Si-Yu-Ki*, Vol. II, p. 124.

<sup>2</sup> Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions* (C. I. I., Vol. III), pp. 276 f.

<sup>3</sup> Cunningham, *Mahābodhi*, p. 36.

<sup>4</sup> These are: Vipasyin, Sikhi, Viśrabhū, Krakuchehhanda, Kanakamuni, Kāśyapa, Śākyasimha and Maitrēya. The last one does not usually appear in this group. B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 10.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* and J. Ph. Vogel, *Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum at Mathura*, I, 7 and I. 37, and pp. 135 and 139.

<sup>6</sup> Lüders, *List of Brahmi Inscriptions*, No. 760.

<sup>7</sup> From inked estampages.

<sup>8</sup> Expressed by a symbol. This may also indicate *siddhir-astu*. The same symbol is explained to represent *om* which would be less appropriate in a Buddhist record like the present one. The various interpretation of this sign is discussed above, Vol. XVII, p. 352.

<sup>9</sup> This sign cannot but be a mute *n*, though it looks more like a final *r* as found in -ādīr in l. 3 below.

<sup>10</sup> The superscript *r* here is not well marked.

<sup>11</sup> The grammatically correct form should be *amit-arddhini*, unless the word *kula*, which it qualifies, be taken here to be in the masculine gender.

<sup>12</sup> This adverbial clause *Gurupāde girau ramyē* apparently goes with the following words *so'ayama= abhāti Kāśyapab*, but in reality it is connected with the preceding portion *nirvṛtāb*, etc.

## TRANSLATION.

Success !

(V.1) **Who** had formerly remained the Lord of Gods for seven terms without intermission; **who** attained birth in a highly noble and immensely prosperous family of mortals; **who**, being possessed of unbounded speed, ..... the brilliancy of gold; **who** turned a recluse, forsaking (*his wife*) Kāpilēyā of golden form;

(V.2) Other deities in paying reverence to **whom**—his heart going out to the distressed and the desolate—vie with one another<sup>1</sup>; and **who** revered Lord Jina (the *Buddha*) with devotion; and further, on **whom** Sugata (the *Buddha*), while entering *nirvāṇa*, bestowed his *saṃhāṭikā* and the rest; and **who**, being an exponent of the Buddhist doctrines, expounded the Law;

(V.3) **Who**, after having assumed his (*human*) form solely for the sake of (*delivering the mortal*) beings, entered *nirvāṇa* on the charming hill of Gurupāda; the **very same Kāśyapa** shines forth here.

## No. 36.—A BRONZE IMAGE INSCRIPTION FROM NĀLANDĀ.

By A. GHOSH, M.A., PATNA.

The following inscription is engraved on the back of a bronze image of Balarāma, excavated in 1917-18 out of the northern verandah of Monastery Site No. 1 at Nālandā. The image is now in the Archaeological Museum at Nālandā and bears the register number S. 1-442.

The characters of the inscription belong to the eastern variety and may be ascribed to the ninth century A.D.; they have much similarity with those of the Nālandā copper-plate of Dēvapāla.<sup>2</sup> In fact, the inscription may well belong to the reign of the Pāla king Dēvapāla (c. A.D. 815-854), who is mentioned in the text of the inscription. As is common in the inscriptions of this age, the medial *z* is written both as a superscript oblique line and as a short stroke attached to the left limb of the respective letter. The medial *o* is denoted by a combination of both these signs. There are some obvious grammatical and orthographical mistakes in the inscription.

The inscription records the dedication of the image at Nālandā in the Dēvapālādēva-*haṭṭa*, or 'the mart of Dēvapālādēva', by Nisīṅgha(?)kā, the wife (?) of Śoujjeka. There is epigraphic evidence of the existence of other *haṭṭas* at Nālandā; for example, the inscription on a stone image of Avalokiteśvara, now housed in the modern Sūrya temple at Bargūn near the excavated site of Nālandā, contains a reference to a *tala-haṭṭa*, the meaning of which is not clear.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This rendering may now be accepted as exact. After I had prepared this essay, I chanced to read a passage, in a similar context, in Mahā Kassapa's account given by Dr. G. P. Malalasekera in his *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names* (Vol. II, p. 481), which has confirmed the above explanation. The passage in question reads: 'Owing to his great saintliness, even the gods vied with each other to give alms to Kassapa.'

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XVII, p. 310.

<sup>3</sup> The inscription, which is still unpublished, seems to read as follows:—*siddham*. (expressed by a symbol) śrī-Nālandā-talahataḥ dē[ya\*]dharmō=yam Śaudāmukhī śrī(?)-Ga-putrēṇaḥ ||

The inscription shows that a *haṭṭa* was founded at Nālandā by Dēvapāla, or, at any rate, was named after him. The connexions of Dēvapāla with Nālandā are attested to by other inscriptions as well. Thus, the Nālandā copper-plate referred to above records the munificence of that king in favour of Nālandā at the request of the *mahārāja* Bālaputradēva of Suvarṇadvīpa (Sumatra). Further, the Ghosrāwān<sup>1</sup> inscription acquaints us with the fact that Dēvapāla appointed a monk named Viradēva to look after Nālandā.

Another word in the inscription worthy of notice is *Malapōrasya*, occurring at the beginning of the second line; neither its meaning nor its proper position in the syntax is clear. It is interesting to note, however, that a similar word *Mallapōrasya* occurs in a dedicatory inscription on a bronze image found at Kurkihār (District Gayā), also belonging to the reign of Dēvapāla.<sup>2</sup> It is tempting no doubt to regard the word as an incorrect derivative of *Mallapura*, and to take it to mean 'a resident of Mallapura'.<sup>3</sup> But this meaning is hardly possible in the Kurkihār inscription, though it may suit the present record.

#### TEXT.

- 1 Siddham<sup>4</sup> śrī-Nālandāya śrī-Dēvapālādēva-haṭṭē
- 2 Malapōrasya Śoujjekasya<sup>5</sup> vadū(dhū?)-Nisīṅgha(?)-
- 3 kāya dēva-dharmmayā pratipādittāḥ<sup>6</sup> ||

#### No. 37.—A NOTE ON THE PANCHADHARALA PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF KING VISVESVARA.

By M. SOMASEKHARA SARMA, WALT AIR

In *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XIX, pp. 161 ff., the Dharmaliṅgēśvara temple inscription at Pañchadhārāla was ably edited by Dr. J. Nobel of the Berlin University. This inscription belongs to the Eastern Chālukya king Viśvēśvara, who ruled the territory around Pañchadhārāla in the Yellamanchili taluk of the Vizagapatam District. Vinnakōṭa Peddana was his court-poet. He dedicated his *Kāvyaḷaṅkāra-chūḍāmaṇi*, a poetical work on rhetoric in Telugu, to his patron. Both the date of king Viśvēśvara and the date of composition of the *Kāvyaḷaṅkāra-chūḍāmaṇi* had not been known definitely, so far. The inscription under discussion settles these dates satisfactorily.

The inscription records the construction of a *maṇḍapa* in the Dharmaliṅgēśvara temple at Pañchadhārāpurī in Śaka 1329 (*Śakābdē Nava-Bhānu-Rāma-Śasi-saṅkhyātē*) or A. D. 1407,

<sup>1</sup> Maitra, *Gaudalēkhamālā*, p. 45.

<sup>2</sup> This image, along with the other antiquities found at Kurkihār, is now in the Patna Museum. The full meaning of the inscription is not clear, but the relevant portion may be quoted here :—*śrī-Dēvapālādēva-rājyāt samat 19.....malla-chchhandakam Mallapōrasya pratipādittāḥ*.

<sup>3</sup> *Mallapura* or *Mallāpura* is given in the *St. Petersburg Dictionary*, Vol. V, pp. 602-3, as a place-name. Cf. *Malla*, the name of a well-known tribe.

<sup>4</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>5</sup> Is the word to be corrected to *Sauryyakasya*? [The reading seems to be *Śōkaṭjēlaṣya*.— B C C.]

<sup>6</sup> Read *Nisīṅgha(?)kāya dēva-dharmmaṣṭāyāṁ pratipādittāḥ*.



by king Viśvēśvara. As has been pointed out by the editor, there is a covert allusion to the date of a battle fought by Viśvēśvara in the text of the inscription, in the verse quoted below :

Gati-bāhu-śakti-bhū-mitim=api gaṇayat-Sarvasiddhī(dhī)-patha-bhagnam |  
sati Chitrabhānu-sākshīni Dharaṇivarāhād=ādā(dhā)vad=Andhra(dhra)-balam ||

Dr. Nobel discloses the pun contained in the verse and brings to light the historical fact, namely, that king Viśvēśvara defeated the Andhra army, near Sarvasiddhī, in the cyclic year Chitrabhānu, represented by the Śaka year *gati* (5), *bāhu* (2), *śakti* (3), and *bhū* (1), i.e., 1325.

An exact Telugu rendering of the above verse is found in canto vii of the Telugu work *Kāvyaḷaṅkāra-chūḍāmaṇi*, without, in any way, spoiling the *ślēsha*. It is as follows :

Chatur-upāya-bāhu-śakti-kṣham-āvali bāraṇiḍichi Chitrabhānu sākshī  
bāre Sarvasiddhī-padam-ēdi Dharaṇivarāhamunakun-ōḍi Rāchla-Kaḍupu ||

For the expressions *gati* and *bhū* in the Sanskrit verse the words *chatur-upāya* and *kṣhamā* were used respectively in Telugu. These are the only differences that could be found between the Sanskrit verse and the corresponding Telugu verse. The occurrence in *Kāvyaḷaṅkāra-chūḍāmaṇi*, of a faithful rendering of the verse occurring in the inscription, leads us to surmise that the composer of the Pañchadhārāla inscription might be Vinnakōṭa Peddana. He would not have incorporated in his work the exact Telugu version of the Sanskrit verse, if he were not the composer of the inscription as well. Hence, it may be concluded that the author of the Pañchadhārāla inscription could be no other than Peddana, the court-poet of king Viśvēśvara.

The editor of the inscription deserves great praise for discovering the real import of the verse when many Telugu pandits and Sanskrit scholars who printed and edited the *Kāvyaḷaṅkāra-chūḍāmaṇi* were not able to disclose this fact, just because their outlook was more literary than historical. When, however, the verse in the *Kāvyaḷaṅkāra-chūḍāmaṇi* and the corresponding verse of the Pañchadhārāla inscription are closely examined, we find that there is a small discrepancy in the date of the battle, arrived at by the editor of the inscription. He has taken *gati* to represent the numeral 'five'. But, that its value is 'four', is now ascertained by the Telugu verse, wherein the term *chatur-upāya* denoting the number 'four' was expressly used in the place of *gati* of the Sanskrit verse. Hence, the date given by Dr. Nobel should be corrected to Śaka 1324.

*Saṅkhyātharūpamānakāśikā* written by the erudite scholar, Kanuparti Venkatarāma Śrī-Vidyānandanātha, assigns the value 'four' to the term *gati* and enumerates four *gatis*, namely *Dēra-gati*, *Manushya-gati*, *Jantu-gati* and *Naraka-gati*.

The value given to *gati* even in epigraphical literature is four as is evidenced by an inscription<sup>1</sup> from Simhachalam, Vizagapatam District. The date of this inscription is given in the Telugu portion as Śaka-varshaṁbulu 1294 and in the Sanskrit portion as 'Śākābdē gati-randhra-Bhānu-geṇitē' etc. Another inscription<sup>2</sup> in Telugu from Yenamadala (Guntur District) which gives the date in chronogram 'gaṇa-bāna-gati-chandra' in verse and in figures in prose, equates *gati* with four. Thus, we find that *gati* represents four.

The existence in the *Kāvyaḷaṅkāra-chūḍāmaṇi* of the Telugu version of the verse mentioned above proves, beyond doubt, that this work had been composed after Śaka 1324, the date of the battle referred to therein.

<sup>1</sup> S. I. I., Vol. VI, No. 742.

<sup>2</sup> S. I. I., Vol. IV, No. 936,

